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ORIGINS OF  
THE ENGLISH PEOPLE AND OF  
THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

COMPILED FROM THE BEST AND LATEST AUTHORITIES

BY

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## P R E F A C E .

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THE history of a language is, in a great measure, the history of the people who speak it, and of those who have spoken it. It is the history of the many populations, different in origin, manners, and in speech, who have at various epochs occupied the soil conjointly, sometimes in friendly, but more often in hostile, relations, until people of another race, more powerful than any, have crushed them all, and, taking possession of the land, have divided it among themselves, exterminating all who resisted them, and allowing the rest to live only on condition of their being quiet and doing all the work. In this movement of successive invasions, the elder races, dispersed and reduced in number, have often been compelled to make room for others, who, conquered in their turn, have become serfs of the soil which they once occupied as masters and as rulers. It is to these conquests, kept up throughout the Middle Ages, that the majority of European nations owe their geographical limits and even their present names. Their establishment was mainly the result of greed and military power; new societies have been formed out of the wrecks of the older ones violently destroyed, but in the work of reconstruction they have always retained something of their previous existence

in their internal constitution, and especially in their language.

Languages, like nations, have their periods of growth, maturity, and decay, but while nineteen-twentieths of the vocabulary of a people lives in the literature and speech of the cultured classes only, the remainder has a robust life in the daily usage of the sons of toil; and this limited but more persistent portion of the national speech never fails to include the names of those objects which are the most familiar and the most beloved. Such are, for instance, the names of nearest relatives, father, mother, brother; of the parts of the body; of two or three of the commoner metals, tools, weapons, cereals, domestic animals; of the house, and things found in and near it; of the most striking features in the landscape, the mountain peaks and ranges, the valleys, lakes, and rivers; of the sun, the moon, the stars, the sky, the clouds, etc.; and as at all times, and in every region of the world, these names have had the same clear and well-defined meanings, their visible forms stand as a sort of material lexicon, explaining not only the more archaic forms of living languages, but even of tongues that have ceased to be vernacular.

Many nations have left no written records, and their history would be a blank volume, or nearly so, were it not that in the places where they have sojourned they have left traces of their migrations sufficiently clear to enable us to reconstruct the main outline of their history. The hills, the valleys, and the rivers are, in fact, the only writing-tablets on which unlettered nations have been able to inscribe their annals, and these may be read in the names that still cling to the sites, and often contain the records of a class of events as to which written history is for the

most part silent. These appellations, which originally had a descriptive import, referring mostly to the physical features of the land, have even the advantage over the common names of a nation's speech of being less subject to the process of phonetic decay. They seem to be endowed with a sort of inherent and indestructible vitality which makes them survive the catastrophes which overthrow empires, and outlive devastations which are fatal to almost everything else. Wars can trample down or extirpate whatever grows upon a soil, excepting only its native plants and the names of those sites upon which man has found a home. Seldom is a people utterly exterminated, for the proud conqueror has need of some at least of the natives to till the soil anew; and these enslaved outcasts, though they may hand down no memory of the splendid deeds of the nation's heroes, yet retain a most tenacious recollection of the names of the hamlets which their ignoble progenitors inhabited, and near to which their fathers were interred. Geographical nomenclature is, therefore, an important factor in all that concerns a nation's early history, and it often furnishes most effectual aid in the solution of linguistic problems.

If, then, we would trace the English language to its sources, the course to be pursued is clearly marked out. The subject, which covers a wide range of interesting studies, involves, first of all, a critical inquiry into the origin, character, and distribution of the various races of men—Celts, Romans, Saxons, Danes, Normans—who at various epochs have found their way into the British islands—their idioms and forms of religion, their social and political differences, their relative progress in the arts of civilized life. From the complexity of the subject, it

is obvious that the knowledge we possess of all these details is not the fruit of any one man's learning, but the result of long and patient labors of many specialists in each of these branches. Availing ourselves of the latest researches of the distinguished scholars whose names we quote as our authorities in the list appended, and whose acknowledged learning and accuracy need no commendation, we here present to the student, who has not time to make a close study of their numerous works, a digest of their substance, so arranged as to be neither reduced to the skeleton of a mere abridgment, nor extended to the huge dimensions of a learned work. Supposing the reader to be familiar with at least the outlines of early English history, we will not follow it throughout its continuity, but rather dwell on those great epochs of national struggle in which we find two peoples of different origin and speech, meeting first in deadly strife, and then continuing to live on the same soil in hostile relation for many generations, until, in course of time, common interests, by drawing them together, brought about a corresponding fusion of their idioms, the traces of which are still so clearly marked as not only to reveal, in almost every instance, the character and extent of each successive conquest, but even to indicate the degree of power and tenacity to national speech and customs which was displayed by each race in their amalgamation.

History and language, thus studied by the light which they shed upon each other, will impress the reader all the more vividly as the scenes depicted more truly represent the men of by-gone ages as living beings who think and speak and act, with motives for their actions. Individual celebrities are here of less account, and need

be noticed only as centers around which the great facts of history are grouped; whereas an inquiry into the sources of the language will bring us more immediately among the people, and lead us to observe the social existence of the masses in their daily relations of life. Thus considered, and divested in our imagination of the illusions of distance in time and place, the various populations which will be brought to view, either simultaneously or successively, will excite in us all the interest and sympathy with which we would look upon immediate neighbors whose collective existence is filled, like our own, with alternations of happiness and grief, of hope and of dejection. In thus reanimating past generations, our own thoughts, acts, and motives will be to some extent the measure by which we can judge theirs; and in placing ourselves in their midst we shall find that their speech also, in which they are living yet, exhibits in all its changes and vicissitudes the same phenomena which we may observe immediately around us, under our own eyes, and in our very homes. The vast amount of immigration into this country from all parts of the world, and the various idioms and dialects we hear all around us, and which in course of time must all change into English, will furnish us in this respect with an abundance of instances and illustrations.

By thus viewing the subject in its historical aspect mainly, and as it were identifying ourselves with the people whose speech we are investigating, we shall the better understand their inner life, their wants, and their ideas, their gradual progress in civilization, and at the same time the outward garb in which, at different epochs of their national existence, they have contrived to clothe their

thoughts and feelings. Thus, even in its rudest forms, the language, as it once was used, will become the object of our deepest interest when, tracing it through all its vicissitudes, we finally see it emerge from comparative obscurity to take its place among the world's leading idioms, producing masterpieces in every department of literature, and rapidly becoming the means of general intercourse among all civilized nations.

From this brief outline of the plan and scope of this work, it will be readily perceived that it is not presented as a treatise on either Early English History, or English Language and Literature, but rather as an adjunct to the former, an introduction to the latter, and an assistance. we hope, in the rational study of both.

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# ORIGINS OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE AND OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE EARLY INHABITANTS OF BRITAIN.

EUROPE has been peopled by successive immigrations from the East. Five great waves of population have rolled in, each in its turn urging the flow which had preceded it farther and farther toward the West. The mighty Celtic inundation is the first which we can trace in its progress across Europe, forced onward by the succeeding deluges of Roman, Teutonic, and Slavonic peoples, till at length it was driven forward into the far western extremities of Europe.

The Celts found in Britain at the time of the Roman invasion were of two kinds, namely: the *Gauls*, that is, the Celts who came from what is now France and Belgium; and the *Gaels* or Celts of an earlier migration, whose colonies were found in every part of the British Islands that was not held by the Gaulish nations. Dispersed among all these various tribes of Celtic origin, there were remnants of other nations of pre-historic times, and traces of these races are still discoverable here and there among the living.

It was once a general belief among the English people that they were the lineal descendants of the Low-German tribes which, during the fifth and sixth centuries, came from the shores and flats between the Rhine and the Elbe, and who in history are known by the name of Anglo-Saxons. This belief, however, has not been sustained by evidence; it being now shown that the early English conquest, which was assumed to have been one of extermination, extended only over half the island of



Great Britain, and never touched Ireland. Indeed, the older races, which still chiefly occupy their ancient homes, but are infused into the English by a thousand ties of intercourse and intermarriage, have long since formed a vital part of the nation, as much so as the Danes and the Normans, who subsequently came to England, and, like them, left their impress on the national character and language. Thus many anomalies in the vernacular will be best accounted for by the fact that the English nation is compounded of the blood of many different races, and might claim a personal interest not only in the Gaelic and Belgic tribes, who struggled with the Roman legions, but even in the first cave-men, who sought their prey by the slowly-receding ice-fields, and in the many forgotten peoples whose relics are explored in the sites of lake-villages, or sea-side refuse-heaps, or in the funeral mounds, and whose memory is barely preserved in the names of mountains and rivers. For it is hardly possible that a race should ever be quite exterminated or extinguished; the blood of the conquerors must in time become mixed with that of the conquered; and the preservation of men for slaves, and of women for wives, will always insure the continued existence of the inferior race, however much it may lose of its original appearance, manners, or language.

According to the authors of the earliest Triads,<sup>1</sup> the island which now bears the name of Great Britain was originally called the *Country of Green Hills*, afterward the *Island of Honcy*, and later, again, the *Island of Bryt* or *Prydain*, from which latter word, Latinized, the names of *Britain* and *Britannia* are supposed to have been derived.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Triads* of the Welsh bards are poetical histories in which the facts recorded are grouped in *threes*, three things or circumstances of a kind being mentioned together.

<sup>2</sup> The Celtic aborigines do not seem to have called themselves *Britons*, nor can any complete and satisfactory explanation of the name be discovered in any of the Celtic dialects. Its earliest occurrence is found in the pages of Greek and afterward Latin writers. The word, however, is foreign both to the Greek and Latin speech, but belongs to that family of languages of which the Lapp and the Basque are the sole living representatives; and hence it is inferred that the earliest knowledge of the island which was possessed by any of the civilized inhabitants of Europe must have been derived from the Iberic mariners of Spain, who either in their own ships, or in those of their Punic masters, coasted along to Brittany, and thence crossed to Britain, at some dim pre-historic period. The name *Br-itan-ia* contains, it would seem, the Euskarian suffix *-etan*, which is used to signify a district or country. We find this suffix in the names of many of the districts known to, or occupied by, the Iberic race. It occurs in *Aqu-itan-ia* or Aquitaine, in *Lus-itan-ia*, the ancient name of Portugal, in *Maur-etan-ia*, the "country of the Moors," as well as in the names of

From the remotest antiquity the Island of Prydain or Britain appeared to those who visited it to be divided, from east to west, into two almost equal portions, of which the rivers Forth and Clyde formed the common boundary. The northern part was called *Alben*,<sup>1</sup> signifying *region of mountains*; the other, to the west, bore the name of *Cymry*; and that of *Llagwria*, to the east and south. These two denominations were not derived, like the former, from the nature and appearance of the soil, but from the names of the two races of people who conjointly occupied almost the whole extent of Southern Britain. These were the *Cymry*<sup>2</sup> and the *Llagwry*,<sup>3</sup> or, according to Latin orthography, the *Cambrians* and the *Logrians*.

The Cambrian nations claimed the higher antiquity. They had come in a body from the eastern extremities of Europe, across the German Ocean. One part of the emigrants had landed on the coast of Gaul; the other had chosen the opposite shore of the strait,<sup>4</sup> and colonized Britain. There they found men of another origin and a different language, evidences of which exist even now in the names of places foreign to the Cambrian language, as well as in the ruins of an unknown age.<sup>5</sup> This primitive population of Britain was gradually forced upon the west into Wales, and north into Caledonia, by the successive invasions by strangers who landed in the east.

Some of the fugitives crossed the sea, and reached the

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very many of the tribes of ancient Spain, such as the *Cerr-etan-i*, *Aus-etan-i*, *Lal-etan-i*, *Cos-etan-i*, *Vesc-itan-i*, *Lac-etan-i*, *Carp-etan-i*, *Or-etan-i*, *Bast-itan-i*, *Turd-etan-i*, *Suess-etan-i*, *Ed-etan-i*, and others.

<sup>1</sup> *Alben*, *Alban*, *Allyn*, in Latin *Albania*, are the various forms of the Celtic *Alb* or *Alp*, "a high mountain," "Gallorum lingua, *alpes montes alti vocantur*."—Isidore of Seville, *Orig.*, 14.

<sup>2</sup> The name, pronounced very nearly like *Cumry* among the modern Welsh, has been adopted by them to denote their "new nation" in the political sense of the word. It is the plural of *Cymro*, and means "fellow-countrymen," or "confederates"; and the country is called *Cymrð*, "a federation."

"A word of protest, once for all, against the modern affectation of writing *Kelt* and *Kymry*. The former violates the sound principle of following the Latin orthography of names made familiar by classic usage, and also attempts the vain task of changing a customary pronunciation. The letter stands self-convicted of the absurdity of spelling a Welsh name with a letter (K) that does not exist in the language."—*The Quarterly Review*, April, 1885.

It may be here the proper place to state that, while the text presents the subject in its leading features, the notes are intended to afford such additional information as will satisfy the wants of the more advanced student.

<sup>3</sup> Supposed to mean "men coming from the Loire."

<sup>4</sup> *Fretum Gallicum*; *Fretum Morinorum*.

<sup>5</sup> These ruins are commonly called *Cyttiau y Gwyddelad*, "houses of the Gaels."

large island which was called *Erin*<sup>1</sup> by its inhabitants, and spread to the other western isles, peopled, it is most likely, by men of the same race and language as the aboriginal Britons. Those who retreated into North Britain found an impregnable asylum in the high mountains which stretch from the banks of the Clyde to the extremities of the island, and here they maintained their independence under the name of Gaels,<sup>2</sup> which they still bear. The time at which these movements of population took place is uncertain; but it was at a later period that the men called Logrians made their descent, according to the British annals, on the southern coast of the island.

From the same records it appears that they emigrated from the southwest coast of Gaul, and derived their origin from the same primitive race as the Cambrians, with whom their language made it easy for them to communicate. It would seem that they were kindly received, as, to make room for the new-comers, the first colonists spread themselves along the borders of the western sea, which region thenceforward took exclusively the name of Cambria, while the Logrians gave their own name to the southern and eastern parts, over which they were distributed. After the founding of this second colony there arrived a third body of emigrants, sprung from the same primitive Celtic race, and likewise speaking the same language, or a dialect differing but little from it. They had previously inhabited that portion of Western Gaul included between the Seine and the Loire, and, like the Logrians, they obtained lands in Britain without any violent contests. To them the ancient annals and national poems especially apply the name of *Brythons*, or *Britons*, which in foreign tongues served to designate, in a general manner, all the inhabitants of the island.<sup>3</sup>

These nations of one common origin were visited at intervals, either in a pacific or hostile manner, by various tribes. A band, coming from that part of Gaul which

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<sup>1</sup> *Ire, Eire, Erie*, "west"; hence *Erin*, "western island"; in Latin, *Iernia, Hibernia*.

<sup>2</sup> More correctly *Gadhels*, or *Gwyddyls*.

<sup>3</sup> In ancient times the whole group of islands were called *Britain*, or the *Britannic Isles*, the two largest being even then distinguished by the names of *Albion* and *Ierne*. The "Book of the World," a very ancient compilation, which was long attributed to Aristotle, describes them in the following passage: "In the ocean are two islands of great size, Albion and Ierne, called the Bre-tannic Isles, lying beyond the Celti; and not a few smaller islands around the Bre-tannic Isles and around Iberia encircle as with a crown the habitable world, which itself is an island in the ocean."

is now called Flanders, compelled to leave their native country in consequence of a great inundation, crossed the sea, and landed on the Isle of Wight and the adjacent coast, first as guests and then as invaders. Another band, called *Coranians*,<sup>1</sup> who were of Teutonic descent, and emigrated from a country which the British annals designate as "the Land of the Marshes," sailed up the gulf formed by the mouth of the Humber, and established themselves on the banks of that river and along the eastern coast, thus separating into two portions the territory of the Logrians. Fifty years or more before the Roman invasions began, Divitiacus, king of Soissons, and the most powerful of all Gaul, extended his dominion over the kindred tribes already settled in Southern Britain.<sup>2</sup> At a period not very remote from the life time of Cæsar himself, several Belgian tribes had invaded the island for purposes of devastation and plunder; and finding the country to their liking, they had remained as colonists and cultivators of the soil. Cæsar could recognize the names of several clans, and could point out the continental states from which the several colonies had proceeded.<sup>3</sup> The Gauls of a later generation pushed far to the north and west; but in Cæsar's age they had not yet, generally, advanced to any great distance from the shores of the German Ocean. The four kingdoms of the *Cantii* stretched across East Kent and East Surrey, between the Thames and the Channel, and the whole southeastern district was doubtless under their power. The *Trinobantes*, another Belgian tribe, had settled in such parts of the modern Middlesex and Essex as were not covered by the oak-forests or overflowed by the sea. North of them lay the territory of the *Iceni*, also a Gaulish nation, who had seized and fortified the broad peninsula which fronted the North Sea and the confluence of rivers at the Wash, and was cut off in almost every other direction by the tidal marshes and the great Level of the Fens. This region included all the dry and higher-lying portions of the dis-

<sup>1</sup> In Celtic, *Corranaiid*; in Latin, *Coritani*.

<sup>2</sup> Apud eos (Suessiones) fuisse regem, nostrâ etiam memoriâ, Divitiacum, totius Galliæ potentissimum, qui cum magnæ partis harum regionem tum etiam Britannię imperium obtinuerit.—Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.*, ii, c. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Britannię pars interior ab iis incolitur quos natos in insula ipsa memoria proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgis transierant, qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum appellantur quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt, et, bello illato, ibi remanserunt, atque agros colere cœperunt.—Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.*, v, c. 14.

tract which was afterward known as East Anglia. The other Gaulish nations in Cæsar's time were included in the *Catuvelleanian* State, a central kingdom situated to the west of Icenia and the territory of the Trinobantes, and now generally known by the name of *Catyuchlany*, or *Capellani*.

All these nations, though nearly as much civilized as their continental neighbors, are reported to have been much simpler in their ways, probably on account of their not yet having gained wealth by a conquest of the mineral districts. They had not even learned to build regular towns, though their kinsmen in Gaul had already founded cities with walls, and streets, and market-places. What they called a town, or *dunum*, was still no more than a refuge for times of war, a stockade on a hill-top or in the marshy thickets.<sup>1</sup> When peace was restored, they returned to their open villages, built of high bee-hive huts with roofs of fern or thatch, like those which might be seen in the rural parts of Gaul.<sup>2</sup> These wigwams were made of planks and wattle-work, with no external decoration except the trophies of the chase and the battle-field: for a chief's house, it seems, would be adorned with skulls of his enemies, nailed up against the porch, among the skins and horns of beasts. The practice was described by Posidonius as prevailing among northern nations, and he confessed that, though at first disgusted, he soon became accustomed to the sight. The successful warrior would sling his enemy's head at his saddle-bow; and the trophies were brought home in a triumphal procession, and were either nailed up outside, or, in special cases, were embalmed and preserved among the treasures of the family.<sup>3</sup>

As they had but recently settled on the island, we may suppose that in features and physique they resembled their kinsmen on the continent, and differed in many respects from the Britons of the preceding migration. All the Celts, according to a remarkable consensus of authorities, were tall, pale, and light-haired; <sup>4</sup> but, as between the

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.*, v, c. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, iv, 297.

<sup>3</sup> The Museum of Aix contains bas-reliefs representing Gaulish knights carrying home the heads of their enemies; and on a coin of the Æduan Dubnorix "*le chef tient à la main une tête coupée.*"—Napoléon, *Vie de Cæsar*, ii, 36, 361.

<sup>4</sup> See Livy, xxxviii, 17, 21; and compare the Gauls on the shield of Æneas, "*golden-haired and decked with gold.*"

Aurea cæsaries ollis atque aurea vestis,  
Virgatis lucent sagulis. Tum lactea colla  
Auro innectuntur.—Virg. *Æn.*, viii, 659.

two stocks in question, we learn from Strabo that the Gauls were the shorter and the stouter of limb, and with hair of a paler color.<sup>1</sup> The accuracy of the old descriptions of the Gauls, so far at least as concerns the kings and the chieftains, has been ascertained by comparing the figures that remain upon monuments and medals, and by an examination of the skeletons from Gaulish tombs in France. The women, especially, were singularly tall and handsome: and their approximation to the men in size and strength is the best evidence that the nation had advanced out of the stage of barbarism.

The men and women wore the same dress, so far as we can judge from the figures on the medals of Claudius. When Britannia is represented as a woman, the head is uncovered, and the hair tied in an elegant knot upon the neck; where a male figure is introduced, the head is covered with a soft hat of a modern pattern. The costume consisted of a blouse with sleeves, confined in some cases by a belt; of trousers fitting close at the ankle, and a tartan of plaid fastened up at the shoulder with a brooch. The Gauls were expert at making cloth and linen. They wove thin stuffs for summer, and rough felts or druggets for winter-wear, which, Pliny tells us, were prepared with vinegar, and to have been so tough as to resist the stroke of a sword. We hear, moreover, of a British dress, called *guanacum* by Varro, which was said to be woven of divers colors, and making a gaudy show.<sup>2</sup> They had learned the art of using alternate colors for the warp and woof, so as to bring out a pattern of stripes and squares. The cloth, says Diodorus, was covered with an infinite number of little squares and lines, as if it had been sprinkled with flowers, or was striped with crossing bars, which formed a chequered design. They seem to have been fond of every kind of ornament. They wore collars and torques of gold, necklaces and bracelets, and strings of brightly-colored beads,<sup>3</sup> and in their style and mode of dress they were much governed by fashion. Thus in Cæsar's time a ring

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, iv, 273.

<sup>2</sup> See Logan's *Scottish Gael*, i, c. 6, for an account of the ancient Highland dress, and of the manufacture of tartan in the Hebrides. "Bark of alder was used for black; bark of willow produced flesh-color." "*Crottil geal*," a lichen found on stone, was used to dye crimson, "and another, called *Crottil dubh*, of a dark color, only dies a filamot."—*Ibid.*, 237.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic., v, 27; "Les Gaulois portaient des colliers, des boucles d'oreilles, des bracelets, des anneaux pour les bras en or et en cuivre, suivant leur rang, des colliers en ambre," etc.—Napoléon, *Vie de Cæsar*, ii, 30.

was worn on the middle finger; but in the next generation the fashion changed, and that finger was left bare, while all the rest were loaded.<sup>1</sup>

A chief dressed in the Gaulish fashion must have been a surprising sight to a traveler. His clothes were of a flaming and fantastic hue; his hair hung down like a horse's mane, or was packed forward in a thick shock, if he followed the insular fashion. The hair and mustache were dyed red with the Gallic soap, a mixture of goat's fat and the ashes of beechen logs.<sup>2</sup> They decked themselves out in this guise to look more terrible in battle; but Posidonius, when he saw them first, declared that they looked for all the world like satyrs, or wild men of the woods.

The equipment of the Gauls and Belgians in war has been often and minutely described. The shield was as high as a man. The helmet was ornamented with horns and a high plume, and was joined to the bronze cheek-pieces, on which were carved the figures of birds and the faces of animals, in high relief. The cuirass was at first of plaited leather, and afterward was made of chain-mail or of parallel plates of bronze.<sup>3</sup> For offence they wore a ponderous saber, and carried a Gaulish pike, with flame-like and undulating edges, so as to break the flesh all in pieces. Their spears or harpoons often had a double or a triple barb, and in addition to these and the bow, dart, and sling, their ordinary missile equipment, they had some other weapons, of which the use is more difficult to explain. Strabo mentions, for instance, a kind of wooden dart,<sup>4</sup> used chiefly in the chase of birds, and which flew farther than any ordinary javelin, though it was thrown without the aid of the casting-thong. The *mataris* was another missile, of which the nature is not now clearly

<sup>1</sup> Galliæ Britannicæ in medio (annulum) dicuntur usæ. Hinc nunc solus excipitur; ceteri omnes onerantur, atque etiam privatim articuli minoribus aliis.—Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Prodest et sapo, Galliarum hoc inventum rutilandis capillis; fit ex sebo et cinere. Optimus fagino et caprino.—Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, xxviii, 12. The same wash or dye was used by the Batavi and other Teutonic tribes.—Spuma Batava. Mart. *Epig.*, viii, 23. Caustica Teutonicos ascendit spuma capillos.—*Ibid.*, xiv, 26.

<sup>3</sup> For the Gaulish weapons, see Diod. Sic., v, 30; Strabo, iv, 197. "Le Musée de Zurich possède une cuirasse gauloise formée de longues plaques de fer. Au Louvre et au Musée de Saint-Germain il existe des cuirasses gauloises en bronze. . . . La cotte de mailles était une invention gauloise."—Napoléon, *Vie de César*, ii, 34.

<sup>4</sup> Ἔστι δὲ καὶ γρόσφον ῥοικὸς ἔβλον, ἐκ χειρὸς οὐκ ἐξ ἀγκύλης ἐφιέμενον, τηλεβελώτερον καὶ βέλους, ἧ μάλιστα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὀρνέων χρώνται θήρας.—Strabo, iv, 197.

understood. It may be the weapon which is depicted on some Gaulish coins, where a horseman is seen throwing a lasso, to which a hammer-shaped missile is attached; and, if the supposition is correct, it will explain many obscure passages in ancient writings, where the weapon is described as returning to the hand of the person who cast it.<sup>1</sup>

The scythed chariots, or *covini*, should be noticed in this connection. They seem to have been low, two-wheeled carts, drawn by two or four horses apiece, on which a number of foot-soldiers, or rather dragoons, could be carried within the enemy's line. The captain or driver of the chariot was in command of the party. The charioteers drove at full gallop along the enemy's front, and sought to confuse his ranks by the noise of the charge, and the danger of being run down or caught by the scythes attached to the chariots. The drivers in the mean time drew off and formed a line, behind which their men could rally in case of need. These tactics appear to have been peculiar to the British Gauls, the inland Britons being accustomed to rely upon their infantry, and the continental Gauls being fonder of the cavalry arm. The Romans were not so much impressed with the use of the bronze scythes, which they had often seen in Gaul, as with the novelty of the whole manœuvre and the wonderful skill of the drivers. "They could stop their teams at full speed on a steep incline, or turn them as they pleased at a gallop, and could run out on the pole and stand on the yoke, and get back to their place in a moment."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *mataris* is described in the same passage of Strabo, *Ματαρίς μάτρον τῆ εἰδος*. Cicero mentions it as a distinctive weapon of the Gauls.—*Ad Her.*, iv, 32. Among the weapons which returned to the thrower were the club of Hercules, which was supposed to be attached to a lasso: see Servius on Virg., *Æn.*, vii, 741, "Teutonico ritu soliti torquere cateiam." In connection with the above, notice the following passage from the *Origines* of Isidore of Seville, which is chiefly remarkable for its omission of the lasso mentioned by Servius. "Clava est qualis fuit Herculis, dicta quod sit clavis ferreis invicem religata, et est cubito semis facta in longitudine. Hæc est cateia, quam Horatius Caiam dicit. Est genus Gallici teli ex materiâ quam maximè lentâ: quæ jactu quidem non longè, propter gravitatem evolat, sed ubi pervenit vi nimîâ perfringit. Quod si ab artifice mittatur, rursus redit ad eum qui misit. Hujus meminit Virgilius, dicens 'Teutonico ritu, etc.' Unde et eas Hispani 'Teutones' vocant."—Isid. *Orig.*, xviii, c. 7. The interest of the question lies in the fact that these reflexive missiles are sometimes confused with the Australian *boomerang*, which, if skilfully cast, will wheel back in the air to the thrower; and several strange ethnological theories have been founded on this supposition.—See Ferguson's *Essay on the Antiquity of the Boomerang*.

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.*, iv, 33; Tac. *Agric.*, c. 12; compare Lucan,

"Optima gens flexis in gyrum Sequana frenis,

Et docilis rector rostrati Belga covini."—Lucan, *Pharsal.*, i, 425.



The British Gauls appear to have been excellent farmers, skilled as well in the production of cereals as in stock-raising, and the management of the dairy. Their farms were laid out in large fields, without inclosures or fences; but they had learned to make a separation of the pasture and arable land, and to apply the manures which were appropriate to each kind of field. Their stock was much the same as that which their successors used for many years afterward; their cattle were mostly of the small Welsh breed, called the "Celtic short-horn"; and their horses, or ponies as we should rather call them, were used apparently for food as well as for purposes of draught.

With the aid of these details, we can form a reasonably clear idea of the life of the people, which will be further illustrated by the following lively sketch from a work in which all the descriptions are based on the authority of ancient writers. "The time of year is the end of the summer, when the oats and rye were reaped, and the lawns and meadows round the homesteads had been mown. The cattle are on the downs or in the hollows of the hills. Here and there are wide beds of fern, or breadths of gorse, and patches of wild raspberry with gleaming sheets of flowers. The swine are roaming in the woods and shady oak-glades, the nuts studding the brown-leaved bushes. On the sunny side of some cluster of trees is the herdsman's round wicker house, with its brown conical roof and blue wreaths of smoke. In the meadows and basins of the sluggish streams stand clusters of tall old elms waving with the nests of herons; the bittern, coot, and water-rail are busy among the rushes and flags of the reedy meres. Birds are 'churming' in the wood-girt clearings, wolves and foxes slinking to their covers, knots of maidens laughing at the water-spring, beating the white linen or flannel with their washing-bats, the children play before the doors of the round straw-thatched houses of the homestead, the peaceful abode of the sons of the oaky vale. On the ridges of the downs rise the sharp cones of the barrows, some glistening in white chalk or red with the mold of a new burial, and others green with the grass of long years."<sup>1</sup>

About one half of what is now England belonged in

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The scythed chariots were common in Gaul, and their remains have not unfrequently been found in the tombs of the Gaulish chieftains. They are said to have been used in Persia, and may have been introduced by the Greeks of Marseilles.

<sup>1</sup> Barnes, *Notes on Ancient Britain*, 53.

the time of Julius Cæsar to tribes of Gaulish origin, and comprised the best and most fertile parts of the island.<sup>1</sup> The eastern and southern districts especially, having the advantage of climate and of a constant intercourse with Gaul, were among the more civilized; they were densely populated,<sup>2</sup> and the people seem to have been comparatively rich and prosperous. Different it was in the northern and western parts of Britain, where the climate was rude and the people poor. When the island fell under Roman power, its whole western and northern coasts were little better than a cold and watery desert. According to all the accounts of the early travelers, the sky was stormy and obscured by continual rain, the air chilly even in summer, and the sun during the finest weather had little power to disperse the steaming mists. The trees gathered and condensed the rain; the crops grew rankly but ripened slowly, for the ground and the atmosphere were alike overloaded with moisture. The fallen timber obstructed the streams, the rivers were squandered in the reedy morasses, and only the downs and hill-tops rose above the perpetual tracts of wood.

Under these circumstances, Gaels and Gauls vastly differed in manners, costumes, and in language, according to their surroundings and their mode of existence. Rich soil and pasturage make shepherds, dairy-men, and farmers; the mountain and the forest, on the contrary, make warriors and hunters; while the sea-shore, with its fishermen and sailors, has other aims and interests, which make them unlike both, though all may have been originally of one blood and one speech. Thus the Gaelic tribes, while differing in many particulars from their Gaulish brethren, differed considerably among themselves, owing to local influences, which prevented their attaining a uniform standard of culture.

Among the most civilized of the Gaelic tribes we notice, in the first place, the *Damnonians* of Devon and Cornwall, and their neighbors, the *Durotriges*, who have left a vestige of their name in the modern Dorchester and Dorset. Both these tribes, it seems, were isolated from their eastern neighbors by a wide marsh of woods and fens,

<sup>1</sup> The tract of country over which the English, in the beginning of the seventh century, ruled south of the Humber, coincided almost exactly with the Gaulish portions of Britain.—L. Rhys, *Lectures*, 185.

<sup>2</sup> *Hominum est infinita multitudo, creberrimaque ædificia.*—Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.*, v, 12.

which probably helped to preserve for them that superiority of culture which distinguished them from the inland tribes. Diodorus informs us that these southern nations had been taught to live "in a very hospitable and polite manner by their intercourse with the foreign merchants." The Greeks came for their minerals, the Gauls for furs and skins and the great wolf-dogs which they used in their domestic wars. There must have been many other sources of information from which the natives could learn what was passing abroad. There were students from Gaul constantly crossing to take lessons in the insular Druidism; the slave-merchants followed the armies in time of war, the peddlers explored the trading-roads to sell their trinkets of glass and ivory, and the traveling sword-smiths and bronze-tinkers must have helped in a great degree to spread the knowledge of the arts of civilized society. Thus the Damnonians had the advantages of trade and travel. It appears from a passage in Cæsar's "Commentaries" that their young men were accustomed to serve in foreign fleets and to take part in the Continental wars. The nation had entered into a close alliance with the *Veneti*, or people of Vannes, whose powerful navy had secured the command of the Channel. A squadron of British ships took part in the great sea-fight which was the immediate cause or pretext of Cæsar's invasion of the island; and his description of the allied fleet shows the great advance in civilization to which the Southern Britons had attained. "The enemy," he said, "had a great advantage in their shipping; the keels of their vessels were flatter than ours, and were consequently more convenient for the shallows and low tides. The forecastles were very high, and the poops so contrived as to endure the roughness of those seas. The bodies of the ships were built entirely of oak stout enough to withstand any shock or violence. The banks for the oars were beams of a foot square, bolted at each end with iron pins as thick as a man's thumb. The sails were of untanned hide, either because they had no linen and were ignorant of its use, or, as is more likely, because they thought linen sails not strong enough to endure their boisterous seas and winds."<sup>1</sup> We are told by a later writer that the ships and their sails were painted blue, for the purpose of making them less conspicuous at a distance.

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<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.*, iii, 9, 13.

Advancing northward, we find the *Silurians* across the Severn Sea, the *Demetæ*, the *Dobuni* of the Vale of Gloucester, and the *Cornavii*, who held a narrow territory between the Malvern Hills and the mouth of the Dee. None of these tribes appear to have shared in the culture which the Damnonians had gained from their intercourse with foreigners. What little commerce they undertook was carried on in frail *currags*, in which they were bold enough to cross the Irish Sea. Boats of that kind are still used in Ireland, with the substitution of tarred canvas for the original covering of bull's hide. All these tribes were probably of a mixed race, if we may judge from the persistence of the Silurian features among the modern population of the district. Their neighbors, the *Ordovices*, on the contrary, were a nation of Gaelic descent, and are sometimes described as holding all North Wales. Next we come to a central region, bounded on the south by the Gaulish kingdoms, and on the north by the *Brigantian* territories, and belonging to a mixed assemblage of tribes, who became known under one name, as the nation of the *Coritavi*. They consisted in part of Celtic clans, and in part of the remnants of a ruder people. Cæsar says that most of these people were mere savages, that they grew no grain at all, but lived on meat and milk, and were clad in the skins of beasts.<sup>1</sup> The Celts in the midland districts may possibly have lived in permanent villages, raising crops of oats or some rougher kind of grain for food, and weaving themselves garments of hair or of coarse wool from their puny, many-horned sheep; but the ruder tribes, who subsisted entirely by their cattle, would naturally follow the herd, living through the summer in booths on the higher pasture-grounds, and only returning to the valleys to find shelter from the winter storms. They were an utterly barbarous people, too careless to trouble themselves with agriculture,<sup>2</sup> as if they had no patience to wait for the turn of the seasons, and preferred to trust to the chances of war for food and plunder. They disfigured themselves with woad,<sup>3</sup> and this fashion seems to have survived even in

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.*, v, c. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.*, xiv, c. 38.

<sup>3</sup> The woad-plant, called *vitrum* from its use in the manufacture of glass, has properties like those of indigo. "The herb usually yields a blue tint, but when partially deoxidated it has been found to yield a fine green; the black color was a third preparation, made by the application of a greater heat."—Herbert's *Britannia*, lvi.

some districts conquered by the Gauls. The men used it as a war-paint, staining their faces and limbs blue and green, to look more ghastly and terrible, for, like savages in general, they thought that an enemy could never withstand an army of such grim aspect.<sup>1</sup>

To the north of the Coritavi stretched a confederacy or collection of kingdoms, to which the Romans applied the name of *Brigantia*. We first hear of these confederate states about the year 50, when their combined territories extended from one coast to the other, its northern boundary closely following the line of Hadrian's Wall. The people seem to have been comparatively rich and prosperous, and so eminent were they in war that they repeatedly repulsed the advance of the Imperial legions. Seneca boasted that the Romans had bound with chains of iron the necks of the blue-shielded Brigantes; but it was long before these turbulent tribes were actually subdued, and even in the second century they seem to have preserved some remains of their ancient liberty.

The story of Queen Cartismandua is the best illustration of the character and habits of these people. The luxury of her court may have had no existence except in the fancy of Tacitus: but the barbarian queen was doubtless rich in her palace of wicker-work, in a herd of snow-white cattle covering the pastures of the royal tribe, an enamelled chariot, a cap or a corselet of gold. She was the chief of one of the many tribes of which the Brigantian nation was composed. At a time when every valley had its king with an army of villagers, an ale-house council, and a precarious treasure of cattle gained and held by the law of the strongest, it was seldom possible for the nation to unite in any common design, even for the purpose of resisting the peril of a foreign invasion. The gathering of a national army was an affair of meetings, and treaties, and solemn sacrifices to the gods. When the sacred rites were fulfilled, the blood tasted, and the rival deities and chieftains united by a temporary bond, the noblest and bravest of the tribal leaders was chosen as a war-king or general in command. But as often as not the treaty failed and the clans fought or submitted as each might feel inclined. "Our greatest advantage," said Tacitus, "in deal-

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<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Germ.*, c. 43; Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.*, v, c. 14. Compare the "Virides Britannos" of Ovid, *Amor.*, ii, 16, 39; the "Cærum Saxona" of Sidonius, viii, 9; and the vermilion-painted Goths described by Isidore of Seville, *Orig.*, xix, 23.

ing with such powerful nations is that they can not act in concert; it is seldom that even two or three tribes will join in meeting a common danger; and so, while each fights for himself, they are all conquered together."<sup>1</sup>

As the Romans advanced westward in their British conquests, they observed that certain tribes were different in manners and appearance from the Gaulish and the Insular Celts; and they were led, by a mistaken estimate of the vicinity of Ireland to Spain, to account for this fact by the hypothesis of a Spanish migration. "Who were the original inhabitants of Britain," says Tacitus, "and whether they sprang from the soil or came from abroad, is unknown, as is usually the case with barbarians. Their physical characteristics are various, and from this conclusions may be drawn. The red hair and large limbs of the Caledonians point clearly to a German origin. The dark complexion of the Silures, their curly hair,<sup>2</sup> and the fact that Spain is the opposite shore to them, are evidence that Iberians of a former date crossed over and occupied those parts."<sup>3</sup> The Irish bards had some remembrance of this passage, and played upon the similarity of such local names as Braganza and Brigantes, Hibernus and Iberia, Gallicia and Galway; and it became an article of faith among their countrymen that the island was discovered soon after the flood by three Spanish fishermen, which tradition, even now, is not unfrequently pressed into the service of the theory that the dark population in parts of the British Islands and the Basques of the Pyrenees are descended from one common stock. No Spanish origin, however, is attributed in any of these legends to the *Feru-Bolg* or *Fir-Bolgs*, who are identified in many other traditions with the original stock, typified in the short and swarthy people of the western and southwestern parts of Ireland.<sup>4</sup>

Whether or not the *Fir-Bolgs* of Irish tradition can be connected with the pre-Celtic tribes, it is certain that in

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<sup>1</sup> *Olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur. Nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius quam quod in commune non consulunt, etc.*—Tacit., *Agr.*, xii.

<sup>2</sup> *Colorati vultus et torti plerumque crines.*—Tacitus, *Agric.*, c. ii. "*Sylorum colorati vultus, torto plerique crine et nigro nascuntur . . . qui Hispanis a quibusque attenduntur similes.*"—Jornandes, *De Getar. Orig.*, c. ii.

<sup>3</sup> Compare note, page 3.

<sup>4</sup> A celebrated antiquary named Duaid Mac Firbis, who compiled genealogical works in 1650 and 1666, mentions the remnant of the *Feru-Bolg*. "There are many of their descendants till this very day in Ireland," he says, "but their pedigrees are unknown."

many parts of Ireland there are now remnants of a short, black-haired stock, whose physical appearance is quite different from that of the tall, light Celts. The same thing has been observed in the Scottish Highlands and in the Western Isles, where the people have a "strange, foreign look," and are "dark-skinned, dark-haired, dark-eyed, and small in stature."<sup>1</sup> And it is a matter of familiar knowledge, that in many parts of England and Wales the people are also short and swarthy, with black hair and eyes, and with heads of a long and narrow shape. This is found to be the case not only in the ancient Siluria, but in several districts in the eastern Fen country, and in the southwestern counties of Cornwall and Devon; and the same fact has been noticed in the midland counties, where we would expect to find nothing but a population with light hair and eyes, and where the names of the towns and villages show that the Saxon and Danish conquerors occupied the districts in overwhelming numbers. These facts render it extremely probable that some part of the Neolithic population has survived in England until the present time, with a constant improvement, no doubt, from its crossing and intermixture with the many other races who have successively passed into the island.

The nations of pre-historic Britain have been classified according to a system derived from the history of the metals. The oldest races were in the pre-metallic stage, when bronze was introduced by a new nation, sometimes identified with the oldest Celts, but now more generally attributed to the Finnish or Ugrian stock. The periods of pre-historic time, the duration of which is unknown, but which are distinguished by the transitions from the possession of polished flint and bone to that of bronze, and afterward of iron and steel, are usually divided into, 1, the Palæolithic, or earlier portion of the Stone Age; 2, the Neolithic, or later portion of the Stone Age; 3, the Bronze Age; and 4, the Age of Iron—a division based

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<sup>1</sup> McLean, *Highland Language and People, Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vii, 76: "In these respects the Highland people bear a strong resemblance to the Welsh, the Southwestern English, the Western and Southwestern Irish."—(*Ibid.*) Campbell, *West Highland Tales*, iii, 144, speaks of the short, dark natives of Barra: "Behind the fire sat a girl with one of those strange foreign faces which are occasionally to be seen in the Western Isles, a face which reminded me of the Nineveh sculptures, and of faces seen in St. Sebastian. Her hair was as black as night, and her clear dark eyes glittered through the peat-smoke. Her complexion was dark, and her features so unlike those who sat about her, that I asked if she were a native of the island, and learned that she was a Highland girl."

upon a methodical examination of the various remains of these early ages found in different parts of the world.

We need not describe in detail the relics of the Palæolithic tribes who ranged the country under an almost arctic climate, waging their precarious wars with the wild animals of the Quaternary Age. The searching of their caves and rock-shelters, and of the drifts and beds of loam and gravel, has brought to light great numbers of their flint-knives, stone-hammers, and adzes, and instruments for working on leather. Their rough dug-out canoes are found in the mouths of the estuaries. The beads and amulets, and the sketches of the mammoth and groups of reindeer which have been found in some deposits, show that they were not without some rudiments of intelligence and skill; at any rate, they were equal to pressing necessity, and could trap and defeat the larger carnivorous animals of the time. The little we know as yet of these early tribes, renders it impossible to prove satisfactorily any continuity of race between them and people now found in England or anywhere else in Europe.<sup>1</sup>

In this respect far more is known of the Neolithic Age, on which so much research has been of late years expended, that we can form some clear idea of the habits of the people of that time, of the nature of their homes, and even of their physical appearance.

The most important relics of that period are the great mounds or Tombs of the Kings, the vaults and tribal sepulchres, which remain still buried in earth or denuded, such as the *cromlechs*,<sup>2</sup> *dolmens*,<sup>3</sup> and *standing stones*, all round the British Islands and along the opposite coasts. The mounds have been, in most cases, disturbed by early treasure-hunters, or by persons searching for saltpeter, or by farmers who required the mold for the purpose of agriculture. The massive structures of stone which were thus laid bare have been the subject of all kinds of fanciful theories about serpent-worship and the ritual of the Druids; and in former ages they were generally regarded with superstitious feelings, which now linger among the most ignorant peasantry. The way in which the crom-

<sup>1</sup> Good descriptions of the Palæolithic societies will be found in *L'Homme primitif* by Figuier, and in *L'Homme pendant les Ages de la Pierre* by Dupont.

<sup>2</sup> In Welsh, "an incumbent flagstone," compounded from *crom*, "crooked, bending," hence, "laid across," and *llech*, "a flagstone." It was supported like a table by other stones set on end.

<sup>3</sup> The usual name of these monuments in Brittany; from the Celtic *dol*, "table," and *men*, "stone."



lechs were regarded by the Celts in Britain may be inferred from the archaic superstitions which survive among the Bretons of the Léonnais, a district chiefly colonized by emigrants from Britain, where the peasant-women make offerings for good fortune in marriage to the fairies and dwarfs who are believed to haunt these relics of past ages.

The tombs of the Neolithic Age in England are of two kinds, distinguished by the absence or presence of a stone vault or a series of such vaults. The huge *unvaulted* mounds of Dorset and South Wilts are thought to have been built as tribal graves by the earliest of the immigrants from Asia. They were built for the most part in picturesque and striking situations, that they might be seen from far and wide. The *vaulted* tombs, or the ruined remains of their chambers, are found in all parts of the south of England, in North Wales, and in the north of Scotland. According to a prevalent opinion, these vaulted tombs were copied from subterranean houses, constructed to supply the want of natural caves. It has been doubted, indeed, in many cases, whether the *Picts-houses* in Scotland, and the Irish *Cloch-duns*, which resemble them, were tombs or subterranean houses, some being furnished with seats and recesses, which can hardly be regarded as other than the abodes of the people by whom the barrow was constructed; others being too narrow and ill-ventilated to serve for anything but tombs.

It is seldom that relics of any great importance are found in British barrows of these early types. The list of discoveries includes a few delicate leaf-shaped arrow-heads, and some other articles of horn and polished stone, with some occasional deposits of buck's horns, the tusks of boars, skulls of oxen, etc. From the bones which have been taken from the tomb, the anatomists have concluded that the Neolithic Britons were not unlike the modern Esquimaux. They were short and slight, with muscles too much developed for their slender and ill-nurtured bones; and there is that marked disproportion between the sizes of the men and women which indicates a hard and miserable life, where the weakest are overworked and constantly stunted in their food. The face must have been of an oval shape, with mild and regular features; the skulls, though bulky in some instances, are generally of a long and narrow shape, depressed sometimes at the crown, and

marked with a prominent ridge from back to front, like the keel of a boat reversed.

These sepulchral discoveries show that at some early time these Neolithic tribes were alone in their possession of Britain; and that afterward they were invaded by the men of a different race, who had already seized the dominions on the opposite coasts along the Atlantic; for suddenly, and without the appearance of any intermediary forms, the tombs are discovered to contain bronze weapons of a fine manufacture. Hence the appearance of these people in England seems to be coincident with the introduction of this metal; for all the graves where it is found contain their remains, either alone or in company with those of the Neolithic people; but where the bones of the Stone-Age men are buried by themselves, no trace of the metal weapons has ever yet been discovered.

The people of this second race were tall men of the fair Finnish type that still prevails so largely among the modern inhabitants of Denmark and in the Slavonian countries. They differed remarkably from the straight-faced, oval-headed men who are identified with the Celts and Anglo-Saxons of early English history. They were large-limbed and stout, the women being tall and strong in proportion, as in a community where life was easy and food cheap. The men appear to have been rough-featured, with large jaws and prominent chins, and skulls of a round, short shape, with the forehead, in many cases, rapidly retreating. They seem to have mingled peaceably with the people of the older settlements, for the barrows of the Bronze Age contain almost an equal proportion of long-shaped and short-shaped skulls; and it is reasonably argued that this is evidence that the new occupants agreed and intermarried with the people of the older type, especially as skulls have not unfrequently been found which combine the characteristics of these different kinds of men.

The barrows of the Bronze Age are found in almost every part of England. They vary slightly in form, being for the most part bowl-shaped in the north, and oval or bell-shaped in the south. Their exploration has produced a great body of evidence to illustrate the life of the Bronze-Age Britons. It is clear that they were not mere savages, or a nation of hunters and fishers, or even a people in the pastoral and migratory stage. The tribes had learned the simpler arts of society, and had advanced to-

ward the refinements of civilized life, before they were overwhelmed and absorbed by the dominant Celtic people. They were, for instance, the owners of flocks and herds; they knew enough of weaving to make clothes of linen and wool, and, without the potter's wheel they could mold a plain and useful kind of earthenware. The stone hand-mills, and the seed-beds found in Wales and Yorkshire, show their acquaintance with the growth of some kind of grain; while their pits and hut-circles prove that they were sufficiently civilized to live in regular villages.

At what time and by what process they became incorporated with the Celtic peoples must remain altogether uncertain. Where the rule of cremation has prevailed, it is difficult to distinguish their ornaments and weapons from those of the Celtic type; and even where a round-headed population actually survives, it is usually hard to separate it from the stock of the later Danes. It is clear, however, that the older Bronze-Age tribes remained in some parts of England as late as the period of Roman invasion; and it seems probable that future investigation will confirm the theory that the languages of the Celts in Britain were sensibly influenced by contact with the idioms of those Finnish tribes who were the earlier occupants of the country.

The Celtic languages are for the most part dead, and of some even the tradition is now almost forgotten. Those which survive are found in Wales and Ireland, in some parts of the Scotch Highlands, in the Isle of Man, and in Brittany. Of those that are dead we may mention, for England, the Pictish and the Welsh<sup>1</sup> of Strat-

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<sup>1</sup> *Welsh* is not a Celtic word, but the name given by all Teutonic tribes to foreigners, and more particularly to the conquered Latin and Celtic nations. In Anglo-Saxon, *weal*, *wealk*, meant "a bondman, a slave"; *hors-wealk*, "a groom"; and *wyln*, *wylken*, "a female slave"; showing the low servile condition to which the old inhabitants of Britain had become reduced under Saxon dominion. Thus we read in the *Leges Ine*, art. 78: "Si servus walisus anglicum hominem occidat." The Celtic idiom of Wales is still called *Cymraeg* by those who speak it; but the Anglo-Saxons called it *Wilsce*, *Willisc*, *Walisc*, and the people who spoke it, *Walas*, whence the English *Welsh* and *Wales*. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, his French friends and visitors were called by the contemporary annalist "tha Welisce menn," and he himself was said by the chronicler to have come "hider to lande of Weallande." So the Germans of the Continent call all the Italians and their language *Welsch*. In Luther's version of the Bible, Acts x, i, we read: "Cornelius, ein Hauptmann von der Schaar, die da heist Welsche," for "Cornelius, a centurion of the band called the Italian band," as reads the English version. The name of *Walloon* in Belgium, of Canton *Wallis* in Switzerland, and *Wallachia* are probably so derived. *Walsh* is still in use as a surname. See pages 208 and 484.

clyde, and the Cornish or West-Welsh, which died out in Devon in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and finally disappeared in Cornwall a little more than a century ago, though many of the words are still in use among the country people. To this branch belongs the Bas-Breton or Brezonec of Brittany, which is still a living language there.<sup>1</sup> There are traces and remnants, besides, of several idioms which may be all classified as Gaulish; similar forms were once used in Thrace and Galatia,<sup>2</sup> and others in Celtiberia, of which we can only know that they were confused by intermixture with the lost languages of Spain.

The surviving Celtic dialects, in England as well as in France, possess a large mass of literature, which is, in great part, no doubt, of comparatively modern production, but, some of it claiming in its substance, if not in the very form in which it now presents itself, an antiquity transcending any other native literature of which the country can boast. The following extracts are the Gaelic, Irish, Welsh, and Manx versions of the passage in St. Luke, chapter vii, verses 11 to 17, which refers to the resurrection of the widow's son at Nain, and which are extensive and varied enough to be taken as fair specimens of the dialects represented:

## SCOTCH-GAELIC.

11. Agus tharladh an las 'na dhéigh sin, gu'n deachaidh e chum baile d'an goirear Nain; agus chaidh a'dheisciobuil maille ris, agus sluagh mòr.

12. A nis an uair a thainig e'm fagus do gheatadh a' bhaile, feuch, ghiùlaineadh a mach duine marbh, aon mhac a mhàthar, agus bu bhantrach i; agus bha sluagh mòr do mhuinntir a' bhaile maille rithe.

13. Agus an nair a chunnaic an Tighearn i, ghabh e truas dith, agus thubhairt e rithe, Na guil.

## IRISH.

11. Agus tharla an la 'na dhi-áigh sin, go ndeachaidh sé do'n Chathruigh d'á ngoirthear Naim: Agus do chuardar Mórán d'á dheisciobluibh leis, agus buidhean mhór.

12. Agus an tan tháinig sé a ngar do dhoras na caithreach, féuc, do bhí deune marbh agá bhreith amach, do bhí 'na áon mhac agá mháthair, agus i 'na baintreabhaigh; agus do bhí coimhthionól mór ó'n chathruigh 'na fochair.

13. Agus ar na faicsin do'n Tighearna, do ghabh trúaige mhór di é, agus a dubhairt sé ría, Na guil.

<sup>1</sup> See page 464.

<sup>2</sup> See page 457.

14. Agus thainig e agus bhean e ris a' ghiùlan (agus sheas iadsan a bha 'ga iomchar) agus thubbairt e, Óganaich, a deirim riut éirich.

15. Agus dh'eirich an duine bha marbh 'na shuidhe, agus thòisich e air labhairt; agus thug e d'a mhàthair e.

16. Agus ghlac eagal lad uile; agus thug lad gloir do Dhia, ag ràdh Dh' éirich fàidh mòr 'nar measg-ne; agus, Dh'amhaire Dia air a Shluagh féin.

17. Agus ehaidh an t-iomradh so mach a'rsan air feadh Judea uile, agus na dùcha m'an cuairt uille.

14. Agus thainic se agus do bhean sé ris an gcombraidh: (agus do sheasadar an luchd do bhí aga iomchar), agus a dubhairt sé, A oganaigh, a deirim riot, éirigh.

15. Agus d'eirigh an duine marbh 'na Shuidhe, agus do thionnsgain sé labhairt, agus do thug sé d'a mhàthair féin é.

16. Agus do ghabh eagla fad uile: agus tugadar gloir do Dhía, ag ràdh, d'éirghe faidh mór an ar measg: agus D'féuch Dhia air a phobal féin.

17. Agus do chúaidh au tuarasgabháil so amach air feadh thíre Iudaighe uile, agus air feadh gach éintíre timcheall.

## WELSH.

11. A bu drannoeth, iddo ef fyned i ddinas, a elwid Naïn; a chyd ag ef ye aeth llawer r'i ddisgy blion, a thyefa fawr.

12. A phan ddaeth efe yn agos at borth y ddinas, wele un marw a ddygid allan yr hwn oedd unig fab ci fam a honno yn weddw: a bagad o bobl y ddinas vedd gyd â hi.

13. A'r Arglwydd pan y gwelodd hi, a gymmerodd, druga-redd arni, ac a ddywedodd wrthi, Nac wyla.

14. A phan ddaeth *attynt*, efe a gyffyrddodd á'r (elor a'r rhai oedd yn ei dwyn, a safasant), ac efe a ddywedodd y mab ieuange, yr wyf yn dywedyd wrthyt, Cyfod.

15. A'r marw a gyfodold yd ei eistedd, ac a ddechrenodd lafaru, ac efe a'l rhoddes i 'w fam.

## MANX.

11. As haink eh gy-kione yn laa er-giyn, dy jagh eh gys ard-valley va enmyssit Nain; as hie ymmoddeeh jeh e ynseydce mârish, as mooarane sleih.

12. Nish tra haink eh ergerrey da giat yn ard-valley, cur-my-ner, va sleih cur lhien magh dooinney marrvo, va ny ynrycan mac da e voir, as v'eeish ny ben-t'feoghe: as va ymmoddeeh jeh sleih yn ard-valley mâree.

13. As tra honnick y Chiarn ee, ra chymmey echey urree, as dooyrt eh r'ee, Ny jean keayne.

14. As haink eh, as venn eh rish y carbyd (as hass adsyn va fo) as dooyrt eh, Ghooïnney aeg, ta mee gra rhyt T'ree.

15. As hoie yn dooinney mar-roo seose as ren eh toshiaght dy loayrt; as livrey eh eh gys e voir.

16. Ac ofn a ddaeth ar bawb ;  
a hwy a ogoneddasant Dduw,  
gan ddywedyd, Prophwyd mawr  
a gyfododd yn ein plith ; ac  
Ymwelodd Duw a'i bobl.

17. A'r gair hwn a aeth allan  
am dano trwy holl Judea, a  
thrw y gwbl o'r wlad oddi am-  
gylch.

16. As haink aggle orroo ooil-  
ley ; as hug ad moylley da Jee,  
gra, Ta phadeyr mooar er n'irree  
seose ny mast, ain ; as Ta Jee  
er yeeaghyn er e phobble.

17. As hie yn geo shoh magh  
my-e-chionc trovid ooilley Ju-  
dea, as trovid ooilley yn cheer  
mygeayrt.

In another part of this volume<sup>1</sup> we give the Breton version of the same passage, which, though coming nearest to the Welsh, differs from it as much as all modern Celtic dialects differ among themselves. Still, in Cæsar's time there was a striking similarity between the language of the Gauls on both sides of the straits, especially between the dialect of the men of Kent and that of their kinsmen across the water, with only such differences as would naturally be found in colonies long separated from their parent-states. Tacitus informs us that these differences were but slight,<sup>2</sup> and Pliny, having to mention a particular soil by the name in which it was known in both countries, makes no distinction between the two idioms.<sup>3</sup> Finally, we know from Cæsar that the Gaulish Druids who wished to obtain a more special knowledge of Druidism went to Britain to learn there by heart a large number of verses containing the higher doctrines of the British Druids.<sup>4</sup> This similarity, however, was confined to the Gaulish nations, there being, even at that early time, a marked difference between their dialect and the Welsh and Irish, though all bore marks of a common descent from some primitive Celtic original. At one time, it is true, the Welsh and the Gaulish much resembled each

<sup>1</sup> See page 543.

<sup>2</sup> Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum. . . . In universum tamen æstimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est ; eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasionem ; *sermo haud multum diversus*.—Tacitus, *Agric.*, xi.

<sup>3</sup> Alia est ratio quam Britannia et Gallia invenere alendi eam (*terram*) ipsa ; *quod genus vocant margam*. Spissior ubertas in ea intelligitur ; est autem quidam terræ adeps, ac velut glandia in corporibus, ibi densante se pinguidinis nucleo.—Plin., xvii., 4.

<sup>4</sup> Disciplina (druidum) in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur ; et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo, discendi causa, proficiscuntur.—Cæsar, *De bello Gallico*, vi, 13. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur (druides). Itaque nonnulli annos vicenos in disciplina permanent ; neque fas esse existimant ea litteris mandare.—Cæsar, *De bello Gallico*, vi, 14.

other, and an intimate connection between the Welsh and Gaulish nations was inferred from the similarity of their languages,<sup>1</sup> especially in those points in which they both differed from the oldest Irish. But on closer investigation it appears that the Welsh and Irish languages, centuries before, resembled each other in the very points in which they afterward differed; and came, in fact, as near together as the Welsh afterward came to the Gaulish. Many forms of the ancient Welsh, moreover, have been recovered from sepulchral inscriptions, bearing epitaphs in the same *Ogham* character as is used in the oldest Irish inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

This identity between the earliest forms of Welsh and Irish renders it highly probable that the nations were once united. There are many indications that at one time they possessed a common stock of religious and social ideas; nor, indeed, is there any evidence against their original unity, except the fact that their languages became different in form. But length of time and remoteness in place introduce wonderful changes in a language. In the lapse of centuries many differences would naturally grow up between the nations separated by the sea, and possibly in each case by contact with the peoples whom they found already in possession. One chief difference would, of course, consist in a gradual divergence of idiom. Every language must continually change and shift its form, exhibiting, like an organized being, its phases of growth, maturity, decline, and decay; and, in the case of these divided peoples, it is hardly to be supposed that their unwritten idioms would follow precisely the same course of phonetic alteration. There is no reason to disbelieve in their original unity, merely because the Welsh insensibly approached the Gaulish form; the Welsh itself broke up, during the historical period, into several different dialects; and the difference which we have already noticed between the modern Scotch, Irish, Welsh, and Manx may

<sup>1</sup> Even as late as the twelfth century, William of Malmesbury noticed but a slight difference between Welsh and Breton. "Lingua nonnihil a nostris Brittonibus degeneres."—*Gesta*, i, 1. Giraldus, who wrote about the same time, calls the Breton an old-fashioned Welsh. "Magis antiquo linguæ Britannicæ idiomati appropriato."—*Descr. Cambr.*, c. 6.

<sup>2</sup> The Ogham character will be explained on page 135. The oldest of the Welsh MSS. is the "Juvencus Codex," assigned to the ninth century. There are several poems by authors who lived in the sixth century, and who described some of the incidents of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest; but they survive in versions of which the language has been considerably modernized.—Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*; Villemarqué, *Manuscrits des Anciens Bretons*.

help us to understand how the change of the older language was effected.

Although the Druids committed nothing to writing, the religion of the British tribes has exercised an important influence upon literature. The mediæval romances and the legends, which for a long time stood for history, are full of the "fair humanities" and figures of its bright mythology. Unfortunately, the history of this religion has been obscured by many false theories, which have stood much in the way of discovering its true principles. According to some, traces of revealed religion have been found in the doctrines attributed to the Druids; others have invented for them the mission of preserving monotheism in the West; while others, again, have credited them with the learning of Phœnicia and Egypt. According to their opinion, the mysteries of the "Thrice-Great-Hermes" were transported to the northern oak-forests, and every difficulty was solved, as it rose, by a reference to Baal and Moloch. The lines and circles of standing-stones became the signs of a worship of snakes and dragons. The ruined cromlech was mistaken for an altar of sacrifice, with the rock-basin to catch the victim's blood, and a holed-stone for the ropes to bind his limbs.

The Welsh Triads became the foundation for another theory. They profess to record the exploits of a being called "Hugh the Mighty," who led the Cymry from the Land of Summer to the islands of the Northern Ocean. It must be observed, however, that the date of these Triads has been approximately fixed by the form of their language and by other internal evidence, which prevents their being considered as of any authority on the subject of early Celtic mythology. Although some few date from the twelfth century, it is clear that they mostly belong to a period between the conquest of Wales and the rebellion of Owen Glendower, whose bard, "Jolo the Red," was the chief compiler of the legend of Hugh the Mighty, whom the Welsh call "Hu Gadarn." This Hugh seems to have been a solar god. His chariot is described as "an atom of glowing heat"; he is said to be "greater than all the worlds; light his course and action; great on the land and on the seas; and his two oxen are bright constellations in the firmament."

The Welsh bards retained a stock of tropes and allusions, which derived their origin from the ancient British paganism; but an examination of their poems shows that,



though their writings are full of mythological allusions, they contain nothing which can be treated as a real tradition of Druidic doctrine. They seem to have been founded, in several cases, on some myth of the moon and shadows. The white fairy Ceridwen, for instance, makes war upon the Prince of the Dwarfs. In one form of the story the fairy becomes an old witch, and the dwarf is a boy who watches the boiling cauldron. Three drops of the liquor of knowledge are tasted by Gwion. Pursued at once by the hag, he changes himself into a hare and flies; but she transforms herself into a greyhound and turns him, whereupon he runs toward the river and becomes a fish, and she, in the form of an otter, chases him under water till he is fain to become a bird of the air—and so on, in a series of equally interesting adventures, which appear in slightly different forms in the Irish stories of Finn Mac Cumhal, and likewise among the adventures of Sigurd, in the "Song of the Nibelungs." The Welsh bard borrowed incidents and allusions from every kind of literature. The very legend of Hugh the Mighty is, in the main, but a travesty of the life of the Patriarch Noah, confused by an intermixture of the exploits of Hugh of Constantinople, a paladin of romance, who took part in the adventures of the legendary armies of Charlemagne. In these poems, figures of all times and countries pass in a strange procession, among which we recognize several personages who once were worshiped as gods in Ireland and Western Britain. But it is in vain we look for anything about the Druids, their very name having been forgotten for centuries before the travesty of their doctrines was propounded under the title of *Bardism*. Nor, again, will anything be found about the Gaulish gods, whose rites were transported to Britain, at first by the Belgian settlers, and afterward by Roman soldiers. For them we must rely on the classical descriptions, obscure and scanty as they are, to learn what little is known about the nature of Gaelic paganism.

The religion of the Gauls appears to have borne some general resemblance to that of the Gaelic tribes. It has become known, in part, by the sketch in Cæsar's "Commentaries," by Pliny's chapters on magic, and a few scattered allusions of the Latin poets; but in a greater degree by the comparison, in modern times, of inscriptions upon ruined altars, and of legends and observances, in which some fragments of the old creed have been by chance re-

tained. The Roman writers, indeed, have left us little definite information on the subject. They seem to have felt a natural contempt for the superstitions of their barbarous neighbors. Cicero, for example, was a friend of the Druid Divitiacus; yet he did not think it worth while to record the result of their curious discussions. Julius Cæsar was himself a pontiff, and published a book upon divination, but he noticed the foreign religions only so far as they were connected with public policy. He does not mention the British religion at all; and we owe his short sketch of the Gaulish Pantheon merely to the fact that, for political purposes, it was the same as that of the Roman world. The greater gods were revered, under various titles, by every nation in Gaul; and their worshipers held much the same doctrine about them as all the rest of the world. A Pluto reigned in Darkness, and a Jupiter in Heaven. Mars was the God of War; Apollo, Mercury, and Minerva brought precious gifts to mankind. The names of a host of minor deities appear in the inscriptions, or are vaguely preserved in the country legends; some of them reappear as giants in nursery tales, and it seems probable that most of the monsters and gigantic figures which adorned the mediæval processions, the traditions of which are not even now entirely obliterated, were connected with the worship of some local god.

"The doctrine of the Druids," says Cæsar, "is thought to have been invented in Britain, and to have been carried over to Gaul; and, at the present time, those who wish to gain a more precise knowledge of the system travel to that country for the purpose of studying it." Druidism is probably to be traced to the race or races which preceded the Celts in their possession of the British Isles,

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<sup>1</sup> The Gauls were taught by the Druids to call themselves the children of Pluto, and the parable may have referred to the idea that all things have come from Chaos. Cæsar attributed to this belief their practice of reckoning by nights instead of days. A birthday, or the first of the month or year, was considered to begin at sunset on the previous evening. The habit was common to all the northern nations, and seems to have been a natural consequence of the measurement of time by the moon. The Gauls began their months on the sixth night after the moon was new, and just before her face was half-full.—Cæsar *De Bell. Gall.*, vi, 17; Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, xvi, 98. The year began with the same phase of the satellite, and so also did the cycle of thirty years. It follows from this that the year consisted of thirteen lunar months, falling short of the true solar year by about one day. In the course of about twenty-nine years they would have apparently gained a month on the solar year, and in order to make the solstices and equinoxes fall within the appropriate lunar months it became necessary to intercalate a whole month, or to repeat the thirteenth month in the last year of the cycle.

and its abnormal character makes it easy to suppose that it was devised by the wild Silurians. The Irish word for Druid is *Draoi*, which in Irish literature mostly means "a magician," or "soothsayer," and is usually rendered by *magus* in the "Lives of the Saints." Our traditions of the Scottish and Irish Druids are evidently derived from a time when Christianity had long been established. These insular Druids are represented as being little better than conjurers, sorcerers, and rain-doctors, who pretend to call down the storms and the snow, and frighten the people with the "fluttering wisp" and other childish charms. They divine by the observation of sneezing and omens, by their dreams after the holding of a bull-feast, or chewing raw flesh in front of their idols, by the croaking of their ravens and chirping of tame wrens, or by licking the hot adze of bronze taken out of the rowan-tree faggot. They are like our Indian medicine-men, or the *Angekoks* of the Esquimaux, dressed up in bull's-hide coats and bird-caps with waving wings. The chief Druid of Tara is shown to us as a leaping juggler, with ear-clasps of gold and a speckled cloak; he tosses swords and balls in the air, just like the athletes and slight-of-hand men that now may be seen parading in the circus.<sup>1</sup>

The Gaulish Druids were more cultivated. They knew the Greek modes of reckoning, and were probably acquainted, to some extent, with the doctrines of Pythagoras. They had gained a political supremacy, their judgments were taken as the voice of the gods, and they were themselves exempt from all earthly service. They were, in fact, ecclesiastics of the mediæval type; and men of the highest rank were eager to belong to their church. The Druids of Strabo's description walked in scarlet and gold brocade, and wore golden collars and bracelets;<sup>2</sup> but for all that their doctrines may have been much the same as those of the soothsayers of the Severn, the Irish medicine-men, and those rustic wizards of the Loire, whose oracle was a sound in the oak-trees, and whose decisions were rudely scratched upon the blade-bone of an ox or sheep.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See O'Curry, *Lect.*, 9, 10; and *Revue Celtique*, i, 261.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, iv, 275.

<sup>3</sup> In the little comedy of "*Querolus*," written in the fourth century, the discontented hero is bidden by the familiar spirit to go to the banks of the Loire. "Vade, ad Ligerim vivito. Illic jure gentium vivunt homines: ibi nullum est præstigium; ibi sententiæ capitales de robore proferuntur et scribuntur in ossibus; illic etiam rustici perorant et privati judicant; ibi totum licet." The response is, "Nolo jura hæc silvestria."—*Querolus*, ii, 1.

The doctrines of the British Druids seem to have belonged to that common class of superstitions in which the magician pretends to have secret communication with the spirits, by which he acquires a controlling influence among the ignorant and credulous masses. "Britannia on this day," said Pliny, "celebrates the art of magic with such wondrous ceremonies that it seems as if she might have taught the *Magi* of Persia."<sup>1</sup> These men assumed to be interpreters of the designs of Heaven; and they even used a sacred jargon, which passed for the language of the gods. They foretold the future by the flight of birds and the inspection of victims offered in sacrifice. The Druids of Mona used to slay their captives, and tell fortunes from the look of their bodies; they would devote a man to the gods, and strike him down with a sword; and as he fell they would gather omens from his mode of falling, his convulsive movements, and from the flow of blood which followed. If any person of importance were in peril from disease or the chance of war, a criminal or a slave was killed or promised as a substitute. The Druids held that by no other means could a man's life be redeemed or the wrath of the gods appeased; and they went even so far as to teach that the crops would be fertile in proportion to the harvest of death. It became a national institution to offer a ghastly hecatomb at particular seasons of the year. The memory of the public sacrifices seems to have been preserved by the Irish proverb, in which a person in great danger was said to be "between two Beltain fires."<sup>2</sup> In the Highlands, even in modern times, there were May-day bonfires, at which the spirits were implored to make the year productive; the ritual of the ancient sacrifices has survived in the unconscious heathenism of the country-people, and relics of the old creed are still constantly found in heroic poems and nursery tales.

<sup>1</sup> Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii, 21.—The lives of St. Patrick and St. Columba are full of their contests with royal magicians, who are called "Druids" in the native chronicles. St. Patrick's hymn contains a prayer for help "against black laws of the heathen, and against spells of women, smiths, and Druids." By *women* was meant "the witches," and by *smiths*, "the invisible smiths," who shod horses in a cavern if a proper fee was left upon a neighboring stone, usually the remains of some cromlech.

<sup>2</sup> *Beltain*, *Beltane*, or *Beltein*, from the Gaelic *bealteine*, "Bel's fire"—*Bel* being the name for "the sun," and *teine* meaning "fire." It is a festival of remote antiquity, still partially observed in Scotland on May 1st, generally among trade corporations; and in Ireland on June 21st, and is supposed to be the relics of the worship of the sun, such as kindling fires on hills, or other ceremonies, the significance of some of which is not now known.

The Gauls had once believed, like their Latin neighbors, in some shadowy existence of the dead in a Hades or Elysium, fashioned after the type of the present world. They used to cast on the funeral pyre whatever things the dead man had loved, that his spirit might enjoy them in the world to come; and at the end of the funeral his favorite slaves and dependents were burned alive on the pile, and sent to keep their master company. But in the time of Julius Cæsar the Druids had learned, or invented, a totally different doctrine. They endeavored to persuade their followers that death was but an interlude in a succession of lives. In this or in some other world the soul would find a new body and lead another human life, and so onward in an infinite cycle of lives. Their people, they thought, could hardly fail in courage when the fear of death was removed. "One would have laughed," said a Roman, "at these long-trousered philosophers, if we had not found their doctrine under the cloak of Pythagoras."<sup>1</sup>

This doctrine, probably, accounts for certain restrictions by which particular nations and tribes were forbidden to kill or eat certain kinds of animals. It was a crime, for instance, in Southern Britain, to taste the flesh of the hare, the goose, or the domestic fowl, though it was allowed to rear and keep them for amusement.<sup>2</sup> The reason for the prohibition is unknown, but it should be, probably, connected with the fact that in some parts of Europe these animals have retained a sort of sacred character. Thus in Brittany and in Russia, among the country-people, a fowl is still offered as a propitiation to the household spirits, and in the last-named country the goose is sacrificed to the gods of the streams.<sup>3</sup> The hare is an object of disgust in some parts of Russia and Western Brittany, where, not many years ago, the peasants could hardly endure to hear its name. The oldest Welsh laws contain several allusions to the magical character of the hare, which was thought to change its sex every month or year, and to be the companion of the witches, who often assumed its shape. In one part of Wales the hares are called St. Monacella's lambs, and, up to a very recent

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<sup>1</sup> Valerius Maximus, ii, c. 6, compare Lucan's phrase:

"regit idem spiritus artus

Orbe alio: longæ, canitis si cognita, vitæ

Mors media est."—*Pharsal.*, i, 451.

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar, *De Bell Gall.*, v, c. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Lang's *Essay on the Folk-lore of France*; *Revue Celtique*, ix, 195.

time, no one in the district would have dared kill one.<sup>1</sup> In Ireland, also, St. Colman's teal could be neither killed nor injured; St. Brendan provided an asylum for stags, wild-boars, and hares; and St. Beanus protected the crows and hazelhens, which build their nests upon the Ulster mountains.<sup>2</sup>

We may notice in this connection the fact that the names of several Celtic tribes, or the legends of their origin, show that an animal, or some other real or imaginary object, was chosen as a crest or emblem, and was probably regarded with a superstitious veneration. A powerful tribe or family would feign to be descended from a swan, or a water-maiden, or a "white lady," who rose from the moonbeams on the lake. The moon herself was claimed as the ancestress of certain families. The legendary heroes are turned into "swan-knights," or fly away in the form of wild geese. We hear of "griffins" by the Shannon, and of "calves" in the country round Belfast. There are similar instances from Scotland, in such names as "clan chattan," or the "wild cats," and in the animal crests, which have been borne from the most ancient times as the emblems of the chieftains. The tribes who fought at Catteraeth are distinguished by the bard who sang their praises, as wolves, bears, or ravens; and the families which claim descent from Caradoc or Owain take the boar or the raven for their crest. The early Welsh poems are full of examples of the kind. Aneurin speaks of "Cian the Dog"; he calls his followers "dogs of war," and describes the chieftain's house as "the stone, or castle of the white dogs."<sup>3</sup>

It seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose a connection between the law concerning the use of certain kinds of food, and the superstitious belief that each tribe had

<sup>1</sup> The sacred character of the animal is indicated by the legend of Boadicea, who, according to Dion Cassius, "loosed a hare from her robe, observing its movements as a kind of omen, and when it turned propitiously the whole multitude rejoiced and shouted."—Dion Cass., lxii, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Girald. Camb., *Topogr. Hibern.*, ii, cc. 29, 40. Compare the same writer's story of the loathing shown by the Irish chieftains on being offered a dish of roasted crow.—*Conqu. Hibern.*, i, c. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Aneurin's *Gododin*, St. 9, 21, 30. There are many traces of the same practice among the Teutonic nations. Their heroes were believed, in many cases, to have descended from divine animals, like the children of Leda and Europa. The pedigrees of the Anglo-Saxon kings contain such names as *Sigefugel*, *Scefugol*, and *Beorn*, which seem to be connected with legends of a descent from animals. Compare such patronymics as Wolf, Lyon, Stagg, Hogg, Hare, Wren, Dering, Harting, Baring, and the like.

descended from the animal whose name it bore, and whose figure it displayed as a crest or badge. There are several Irish legends which appear to be based on the notion that a man might not eat of the animal from which he or his tribe was named.<sup>1</sup> Such facts suggest inquiry as to whether the religion of the British tribes may not, in some early stage, have been connected with that system of belief under which animals were worshiped by tribes of men who were named after them, and were believed to be of their breed. This form of superstition prevails at the present day among our own Indians, as well as some South American tribes, among the natives of Australia, and in some of the African kingdoms; traces of its existence have also been found in the early history of the Germans, Greeks, and Latins, as well as in the traditions of the Semitic peoples in Arabia and Palestine.<sup>2</sup>

This brief sketch of early English history will give a general idea of the condition of the country and its inhabitants at the time of the first Roman invasion, which took place fifty-five years before our era. The details here presented will enable the student to follow intelligently the subsequent vicissitudes of the British nations, first under Roman rule, and afterward under Saxon dominion; and enable him to form an opinion as to the degree of Celtic influence that may have had its weight upon the character, mind, and language of the nation into which the original owners of the land have become to a great extent absorbed. In order to facilitate reference to the relative situation of Britain and the neighboring countries, whose people were to play such important parts in the island's destinies, and at the same time to avoid the confusion arising from maps covered with names belonging to different epochs, only the permanent features of the

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<sup>1</sup> In the story of the death of Cúchulain, contained in *The Book of Leinster*, some witches offer the hero a dog cooked on spits of rowan-wood. Cúchulain's name signified "the Hound of Culand," and was connected with the cult of a god called "Culand the Smith." The story turns on the idea that "one of the things he must not do was eating his namesake's flesh." See the translation of the story by Mr. Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, iii, 176; O'Curry, *Mann. Anc. Irish*, ii, 363.

<sup>2</sup> The system mentioned in the text is usually called "Totemism," from the word "*totem*" or "*dodhaim*," which the Indians apply to the plant, animal, or other natural object representing the ancestor and protector of the group of persons who share the name and crest. The "*totem*" may not be eaten by any member of the group. Another rule provides that persons with the same "*totem*" may not intermarry. For the theory of the wide distribution of "Totemism" among the nations of the ancient world see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article, "The Family."

land, such as mountains, rivers, sea-coasts, are indicated on the map accompanying this chapter. Enlarged copies of this map, or parts thereof, made by the student, and filled in by himself with historical as well as geographical details as the narrative proceeds, will be found far more instructive, and will make a more lasting impression.





## CHAPTER II.

## THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF BRITAIN.

THERE is something at once mean and tragical about the story of the Roman Conquest. Begun as the pastime of a reckless despot, and carried on under a false expectation of riches, its mischief was certain from the beginning. Ill-armed country-folk were matched against disciplined legions and an infinite levy of auxiliaries. Vain heroism and ardent love of liberty were crushed in tedious and unprofitable wars. On the one side stand the petty tribes, prosperous nations in miniature, already enriched by commerce and rising to a homely culture; on the other the terrible Romans, strong in their tyranny and an avarice which could never be appeased.

“If their enemy was rich, they were ravenous; if poor, they lusted for dominion; and not the East nor the West could satisfy them.”<sup>1</sup> They gained a province to ruin it by a slow decay. The conscription and the grinding taxes, the slavery of the many in the fields and mines, must be set against the wealth and comfort of the few, and the empty glory of belonging to the empire. Civilization was in one sense advanced, but all manliness had been sapped, and freedom had vanished from the country long before it fell an easy prey to the Angles and Saxons, who founded the English kingdom.

The first invasions of Julius Cæsar had been followed by a century of repose. The fury of the civil wars secured a long oblivion of Britain; and, when the empire was established, the prudence of Augustus forbade the extension of the frontier. His glory was satisfied by the homage of a few British chieftains who came with gifts to the capitol, and the names of the “suppliant kings” are still recorded in the imperial inscriptions. The wish of Augustus was law to his successors, and for two reigns the islanders were left to boast of their alliance with Rome. It had become the fashion among the leading

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<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola vita*, c. 30.

Romans to despise a country which was hardly worth a garrison. "It would require," said some, "at least a legion and some extra cavalry to enforce the payment of tribute, and then the military expenses would absorb all the increase of revenue."<sup>1</sup> Others laughed at the exploits for which a three-weeks' thanksgiving had once seemed barely sufficient. "Divine Cæsar," they said, "landed his army in a swamp, and fled before the long-sought Britons."<sup>2</sup> Too much, it was thought, had been made of a march along the high-road and the fording of a stockaded river; the legions had been forced back to the coast by an army of chariots and horsemen; no princes were sent as hostages, and no tribute had ever been paid.

The invasion, however, was of greater importance than the critics were disposed to allow, though its effects were chiefly seen in an increased commerce with the Continent. It was the conquest of Gaul which most affected the British nations. The influence of the empire was felt and accepted by the continental Celts, and the provincial fashions found a crowd of imitators in the rustic kingdoms of the Thames. Another result of the conquest was an increase of the Gaulish settlements in Britain. Commius, the Prince of Arras, who once was sent by Cæsar as his envoy to Britain, took refuge from the Romans on the island which he had helped to invade, and the *Atrebates* were thenceforth established on the upper Thames. The *Belgæ* founded a settlement on the Solent, from which they spread westward to the mouth of the Severn, and built towns at Bath and Winchester (*venta Belgarum*). The *Parisii* left their island on the Seine, and settled in the fens of Wolverness, "all round the fair-havened bay."<sup>3</sup> The graves on the Yorkshire coast still yield the remains of their iron chariots and horse-trappings, and their armor, decorated with enamel and the red Mediterranean coral.<sup>4</sup> The prosperity of the native states was indicated

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, iv, 278.

<sup>2</sup> Oceanumque vocans incerti stagna profundi,

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.—Lucan, *Phars.*, ii, 571.

<sup>3</sup> Πρὸς οὗς περὶ τὴν εὐλίμενον κόλπον, Παρίσιοι, καὶ πόλις Πετουαρία . . . Ἐστὶ Ἀτρεβάτιοι καὶ πόλις Ναλκούα . . . Πάλιν τοῖς μὲν Ἀτρεβατίοις καὶ τοῖς Καντίοις ὑπέκεινται Ῥήγνοι, καὶ πόλις Νοιδμαγος, τοῖς δὲ Δοθουνοῖς, Βέλγαι.—Ptolem. *Geographia*, lib. ii, c. iii. The main city of the Parisii was Lutetia Parisiorum, now Paris.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny says that coral had been used by the Gauls down to his time for ornamenting their armor.—*Hist. Nat.*, xxxii, 11. That the art of enameling was not confined to the Continent is shown by a passage in the *Imagines* of Philostratus, where the philosopher informs the Empress Julia Domna that this

by the rise of regular towns in place of the older camps of refuge, as well as by the increase of the continental trade. An advance in metallurgy was marked by the use of a silver coinage, by a change from the bronze weapons to the steel sabers and ponderous spears of Gaul, and by the export, not only of their surplus iron, but of the precious ores, which were found and worked in the West; and the ultimate conquest was doubtless hastened by the dream of winning a land of gold and a rich reward of victory.<sup>1</sup>

The immediate cause of the second invasion, however, was the discord of the British chieftains. The sons of Cymbeline were at war with the house of Commius, to whose territory Kent and some bordering districts belonged. A prince of that house sought refuge and vengeance at Rome, and the courtiers of Claudius caught at the chance of gratifying their master's vanity. An army of four legions<sup>2</sup> was landed on the southern coast, and Caractacus and his brothers were driven far to the west and afterward back to some great river, which may have been the Thames. The capture of Camulodunum, their great stronghold, was reserved for the emperor's hand. The battle seems to have been arranged with Eastern pomp: and elephants clad in mail, and bearing turrets filled with slingers and bowmen, marched, for once, in line with the Belgian pikemen and the Batavians from the island in the Rhine<sup>3</sup> (A. D. 44).

Claudius returned from an easy victory to a triumph of unexampled splendor, which shows the importance attached to the conquest, and the degree of subjection in which it was intended that Britain should be held in the future. A ship "like a moving palace" bore him homewards from Marseilles, and the Senate decreed the gift of a naval crown to welcome the conqueror of the ocean.<sup>4</sup> The record of the rejoicings has been preserved, and inscriptions are extant to show the honors and decorations,

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beautiful work was made by the "islanders in the Outer Ocean."—Philost., *Imag.*, i, 28.

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the British lead-mines, where most of the silver was found, see Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv, 49. The metal, he says, lay like a thick skin on the surface of the ground.

<sup>2</sup> On the strength of a Roman legion, see page 43.

<sup>3</sup> The Batavians from the island formed by the Rhine and Maas took a prominent part in the conquest of Britain.—Tacitus, *Hist.* i, 59; iv, 12; *Ann.* xiv, 38; *Agric.*, 18, 36. See page 75.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii, 20; xxxiii, 16; Sueton, *Claud.*, 17.

the collars, bracelets, and ornaments which were lavished on all who had gained distinction in this war. It may be even interesting to notice the great display and extensive preparations made to celebrate the consolidation of the conquest on this occasion. First in the triumph came the images of the gods, and the figures of the emperor's ancestors, and then the booty of the war, the crowns sent by the provinces, and gifts from all parts of the world. Claudius passed in his general's dress of purple, with ivory scepter and oak-leaf crown. Messalina's carriage followed; and then came the officers distinguished on the field, marching on foot, and in plain robes. On reaching the capitol, the emperor left his car, and mounted the steps praying, and kneeling, with the help of his sons-in-law, who supported him on either side.<sup>1</sup>

Another day was given to games in the circus, and the factions were promised as many chariot-races as could run between morning and night;<sup>2</sup> but the number was diminished to ten by the time taken up in beast-fights and other shows which were more appropriate to the amphitheatre. Bears were hunted and killed, perhaps in allusion to the war still raging in the northern forests. Gladiators were matched in single combat between the races; and, as a crowning show, the famous "Pyrrhica" was danced by boys of the best families in Asia, who had been summoned to take part in the rejoicings. At the sound of the trumpet they rushed in, dressed in splendid uniforms, and counterfeited, in the war-dance, all the movements used in the field, advancing and retreating, and breaking rank and wheeling into line again, now seeming to bend away from an enemy's blows, and now to hurl the spear or draw the bow.<sup>3</sup>

Afterward came the brutal sports, which seemed to

<sup>1</sup> Dion Cassius, lx, 23; Sueton, *Claud.*, 17.

<sup>2</sup> As many as twenty-four races were run in one day by Caligula's orders in A. D. 37, each race taking about half an hour. The course was seven times round the hippodrome. The circus, in the reign of Claudius, was constructed to hold about 150,000 persons; but it was very much enlarged in later reigns.—Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxviii, 24, 101; Pausanias, v, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Dion Cass., lx, 30. For descriptions of the "Pyrrhica," see Plato, *Leg.*, vii, 18; Claudian, *Sext. Cons. Honor.*, 621. "Puelli puellæque virentes florentes ætatulâ, formâ conspicui, veste nitidi, incessu gestuosi, Græcanicam saltaturi Pyrrhicam dispositis ordinationibus decoros ambitus inerrabant, nunc in orbem rotatum flexuosi nunc in obliquam seriem connexi, et in quadratum patorem cuneati et in catervæ discidium separati."—Apul. *Metamorph.*, x, 29. "Ut est ille in pyrrhicâ versicolorus discursus quum amicti cocco alii, alii et luto et ostro et purpurâ creti, alii aliiq̄e cohærentes concursant."—Fronto, *Epist. ad Cas.*, i, 4.

the Romans to be the chief reward of victory. "It is the greatest pleasure in life," Cæsar himself had said, "to see a brave enemy led off to torture and death." The Field of Mars, on the other side of the river, was now chosen as the scene of a fresh entertainment. At a place where the park was surrounded by water on three sides, a fortress was built, in imitation of the walls and stockades of Camulodunum; and the straw-thatched palaces and streets of wattled huts were defended, stormed, and sacked by armies of British captives reserved to die in a theatrical war. Three years afterward, when Plautius gained his triumph for the conquest of Southern Britain, the massacre was renewed in a somewhat different form. The prisoners were enrolled among the heavy-armed gladiators, who fought as "Gauls" and "Samnites" against the "Thracians," armed with the target, and crooked dagger, and *retiarii*, with nets and harpoons, ready to entangle their adversaries as the fisherman catches the tunny-fish.<sup>1</sup> Thousands of Britons are said to have perished in these combats, and in the chariot fights, in which they were compelled to exhibit their native modes of warfare.<sup>2</sup>

As the conquest advanced, other uses were found for the captives, in the mines and public works, or in military service abroad. As early as A. D. 69, a force of 8,000 Britons was enrolled in the army of Vitellius, and in later times we find their levies scattered in all parts of the world, in the forts on the Pyrenees and the Balkans, in the Household at Constantinople, and along the distant frontiers of the African and Armenian deserts.<sup>3</sup>

The wantonness of the Roman tyranny appears from the complaints attributed to the provincials, and the rec-

<sup>1</sup> Friedländer quotes the song of the *retiarius*: "Non te peto, piscem peto, quod me fugi" Galle?"—*Manners of the Romans*.

<sup>2</sup> The Roman sentiment on the subject is illustrated by the exulting words of Tacitus on the destruction of the Bructeri on the Rhine. "The gods grudged not even to let us see the spectacle; over 60,000 men fell on the field, not under the Roman sword and spear, but in a still more stately fashion, dying to make a show before our delighted eyes."—Tacitus, *Germ.*, c. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Tacitus, *Agric.*, 15; *Hist.*, i, 59. With the exception of this author (55–135 A. D.) and Ptolemy, whose great work was published about 120 A. D., the *Notitia Imperii*, or Official Calendar of the Empire, which was compiled about the end of the fourth century, is almost the only authority for the stations of the British regiments. It mentions some quartered in Gaul, Spain, Illyria, Egypt, and Armenia, and others enrolled among the home forces or palatine guards. Though it was against the policy of the State to allow the natives of any province to serve at home, inscriptions have been found at places in Yorkshire and Cumberland which indicate the presence of a British contingent.

ord of those evil doings which led to Boadicea's revolt. The legal dues, indeed, were severe, though, perhaps, not intolerable. The conscription was necessary for repairing the drain upon the other provinces, though the Britons complained that their sons were torn away "as if they might die for every country but their own." The tribute, the tithe of grain, and the obligation of feeding the court and the army, were all endurable when the burden was equally distributed; but such a thing was never known to happen till Agricola came to the government and restored her good name to Peace. Before this time the Britons were treated as slaves and prisoners of war: the colonists thrust them from their lands; the tithe-farmers combined to buy up the stock of grain, which the chieftains were forced to purchase back at a ruinous price, to fulfil their duty to the government. The illicit contrivances for gain were more intolerable than the tribute itself. The people groaned under a double tyranny; each state had formerly been governed by a single king; "but now," they said, "we are under the legate and the procurator; the one preys on our blood and the other on our lands; the officers of the one and the slaves of the other combine extortion and insult; nothing is safe from their avarice and nothing from their lust."

It was under these circumstances that the Icenian mutiny took place, which ended so disastrously for the Britons. "Prasutagus, famous for his great treasures, had made Cæsar and his daughters joint heirs, thinking by this token of respect to save his kingdom and family from insult—which happened quite otherwise; for his kingdom was made a prey by the captains, and his house pillaged by the slaves. And, as if the whole was now become lawful booty, the chiefs of the Iceni were deprived of their paternal estates, and those of the blood royal were treated as the meanest slaves."<sup>1</sup> The revolt began in A. D. 61, when Suetonius Paullinus had been two years in command. The nations of Eastern and Central Britain moved in vast hordes to sweep the helpless province. The Roman soldiers were dispersed in forts and block-houses, and the natives were exhausting the refinements of cruelty on all who fell into their hands, as though endeavoring, said the angry Romans, to avenge in advance the terrible punishments which awaited them. Paullinus

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<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.*, xiv, 31.

was then at Mona, whence he was recalled by the news that the Ninth Legion was annihilated. Marching in all haste across the island, by the new military road, he reached London with what few troops he had been able to collect upon the route; and, resolving to sacrifice this one town to the safety of the rest, he gave orders to march, receiving into his army such as were able to follow him. Those who by reason of weakness, sex, or age, staid behind, or were tempted by their affection for the place to remain, were destroyed by the enemy. London was sacked as soon as its defenders retreated, and, before the latter got far, they learned that Verulam was destroyed by another wing of the mass which was closing upon them. It was believed that over 70,000 people had been massacred in the three captured towns.<sup>1</sup>

The fate of the province was at stake, and Paullinus determined to risk a decisive battle as soon as he could gain an advantage of position. Finding that the main force of the enemy was encamped on a plain skirted by steep and thickly-wooded hills, he forced his way through the forest and emerged at the mouth of a ravine, where he formed his line of battle. The Britons covered the plain with long lines of wagons, stretching as far as the eye could see, their infantry skillfully disposed, and their horsemen drawn up in troops and squadrons, "in such numbers as never were elsewhere seen." They seem to have delivered their assault in the old British fashion, charging along the enemy's lines with masses of mounted men, while the infantry pushed up behind, and drove back the Roman skirmishers under a shower of darts and stones. The legionaries are described as never moving until all their missiles had been discharged with more or less effect; then suddenly wheeling into a wedge-shaped figure, they charged and cut the enemy's line into two, the auxiliaries following and hewing down the enemy with their heavy sabers, and the cavalry riding down whatever force that still remained unbroken. The great-

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<sup>1</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, xiv, 33 (Camden). London, Verulam, and Camulodunum were all open towns, though founded on the sites of Celtic fortresses. They were all fortified in later times, and their walls long remained among the most conspicuous of the monuments left by the Romans. The fortress of Verulam remained standing until its materials and "fine masonry work, some porphyrie, some alabaster, were required for building St. Alban's Abbey."—Leland's *Itin.* v, *introd.*, xviii. The walls, the massive tower, and in fact the whole of the church were built out of the ruins of Verulam; even the newels of the staircases are constructed with Roman tiles.

est slaughter was at the wagons, where the crowd of fugitives was entangled, and the bodies of men, women, and horses were piled together in indiscriminate heaps.<sup>1</sup>

This battle practically decided the fate of Britain. Large reinforcements were forwarded from the provinces on the Rhine; and the mutinous and suspected tribes alike were ravaged with fire and sword. The punishment was so sharp and long-continued that Paullinus was at last accused of personal feeling. "His policy," it was said, "was arrogant; and he showed the cruelty of one who was avenging a private wrong." He was quietly removed, and the province remained at peace until the accession of Vespasian. Even then we hear of no great combinations among the tribes; the states of the Brigantians were divided in Cartismandua's quarrel, and the Silures were left to fight alone in their final contest with Frontinus.<sup>2</sup>

The province was finally consolidated by the valor and prudence of Agricola, who professed to like the people and to prefer the British wit to the labored smartness of the Gauls. He determined to root out the causes of war by reforming the abuses of the government, and by persuading the natives to leave their rude ways of living, to build temples, and courts, and fine houses, to speak Latin, and to wear the Roman dress. The hostile tribes were alarmed by sudden campaigns, and then bought over by the offer of a generous peace. His first year of office was taken up by the expedition against the Ordovices and the conquest of the Isle of Mona. In his second campaign he was engaged with the tribes of the western coast; and his final victory over the Caledonians was in A. D. 84. We are told that he always selected the place of encampment himself, and marched with his soldiers in their explorations of the estuaries and forests. Many of the nations in those parts submitted to give hostages, and to allow permanent forts to be erected within their territories; and "it was observed by the best masters of war that no captain ever chose places to better advantage, for no castle of his raising was ever taken by force, or sur-

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<sup>1</sup> "The victory," says Tacitus, "was very noble, and the glory of it not inferior to those of ancient times; for by the report of some there were slain little less than fourscore thousand Britons, whereas the Romans lost but about four hundred killed, and had not many more wounded."—*Annal.*, xiv, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, *Agric.*, 17.



rendered upon terms, or quitted as incapable of defence."<sup>1</sup>

Thirty-five years after Agricola's return to Rome, the Emperor Hadrian was summoned to the defence of the frontier.<sup>2</sup> The Roman conquest and dominion now extended over all the southern part of the island to the foot of the northern hills, which in former days had served as a rampart to the aborigines against the invasions of the Cambrians, and now protected them against the enterprises of the Romans. The territory which the Roman invasion had secured was limited by very nearly the same boundary which the Gaulish invasions had reached in Cæsar's time, and the Gaelic race remained free, while the foreign yoke oppressed the more ancient conquerors. They more than once compelled the Imperial Eagles to retreat, and their ancient aversion to the Gaulish inhabitants of South Britain was greatly increased during the wars they had to wage with the Roman governors, in whose armies some of the latter were known to serve as auxiliaries. The plunder of the Roman colonies and municipal towns, adorned with sumptuous palaces and temples, further excited, by new temptations, the national spirit of aggression. The men of Alben or Caledonia<sup>3</sup> passed the Clyde every spring in their osier boats covered with hides, and their irruptions becoming more and more frequent, gave a fearful renown to the people of Albany under the name of *Scots* and *Picts*,<sup>4</sup> which alone we find employed by the Latin authors, who seem to have been ignorant of the name of *Gaels*.

The former of these two names appertained to the inhabitants of the island of Erin, which the Romans called

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Agric.*, 22. Before Agricola was appointed to the chief command, he had served in Britain under Vettius Bolanus, and Cerealis, who subdued the revolted Brigantians in A. D. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Hadrian arrived in Britain in A. D. 120.

<sup>3</sup> *Caledonia*, in Gaelic *Calyddon*, "the land of forests."

<sup>4</sup> Venit et extremis legio præterita Britannis  
Quæ Scoto dat frena truci, ferroque notatas  
Perlegit exangues, Picto moriente figuras.

Claudianus, *De Bello Getico*, v, 416, et seq.

In the legendary history of Ireland the Picts are represented by the *Tuatha Dè Danann*, and by the *Cruithnigh*, a name which was the Irish equivalent of the Latin *Picti*, supposed to have had reference to the practice of some of the British tribes to paint themselves with woad. Whether or not this practice prevailed among the Picts is by no means certain. At any rate, no nation would have called themselves by such a name. Far more probable it is that the *Picts* of Scotland, as well as the *Pictones* of Gaul, are "the fighters," the name being traceable to the Gaelic *peicta* and the Welsh *peith*, meaning "a fighting man."

indifferently Hibernia or Scotia. The close relationship between the Celtic Highlanders and the men of Hibernia, with the frequent emigrations from the one country to the other, had produced this community of name. In northern Britain, however, the term applied specially to the inhabitants of the coast and of the great archipelago of the northwest; and that of Picts to the eastern population on the shores of the German Ocean. The respective territories of these peoples were separated by the Grampian Hills, at the foot of which Gallawy, the leading chieftain of the northern forests, had valiantly combated the Imperial legions. The manner of life of the Scots wholly differed from that of the Picts; the former, dwellers on the mountains, were hunters or wandering shepherds; the latter, enjoying a more level surface, and being more permanently established, occupied themselves in agriculture, and constructed the solid abodes, the ruins of which still bear their name. When these two peoples were not actually leagued together for an irruption of the south, even a friendly understanding ceased at times to exist between them; but on every occasion that presented itself of assailing the common enemy, the two chiefs became brothers, and set up their standards side by side. The Southern Britons and the Roman colonists, in their fear and their hate, made no distinction between the Scots and Picts.<sup>1</sup>

It was especially for the defence of the northern frontier against these nations that Hadrian had been summoned to Britain. The beginning of his reign was troubled by border-wars, and more than once the Caledonians were threatening the heart of the province. The Ninth Legion, in Paullinus's time, had suffered so severely that it was either broken up altogether or was united with the Sixth,<sup>2</sup> which had come over with Hadrian, and

<sup>1</sup> Gildas, *De excidio Britannia*, passim.

<sup>2</sup> Each legion numbered at first about 7,000 regulars, with at least as many auxiliaries, some trained like the heavy-armed legionaries, and others fighting according to their own methods, and even in some cases under the command of their native chiefs.—*Tac., Ann.*, iv, 5. Of the Batavi, for instance, the historian says: "Mox auctâ per Britanniam gloriâ, transmissis illuc cohortibus quas vetere instituto nobilissimi popularium regebant."—*Hist.*, iv, 12. The numbers of the legionaries were diminished under the later emperors, when an almost absolute reliance was placed on the German mercenaries. Large forces of barbarians were from time to time sent over to assist the legions in Britain. Thus when Marcus Aurelius had defeated the Moravian tribes, he compelled them to send a great part of their army to serve on the Caledonian frontier; and in the same reign a contingent of 5,000 Sarmatians was drafted from the Lower Danube to

was established as a permanent garrison at Eburacum, the site of the modern city of York. This city seems to have grown out of a Roman camp, and to have taken the place of Isurium, the capital of the Brigantian district.<sup>1</sup> In these days the Roman soldiers were pioneers and colonists. A Roman camp was "a city in arms," and most of the British towns grew out of the stationary quarters of the soldiery. The ramparts and pathways developed into walls and streets, the square of the tribunal into the market-place, and every gateway was the beginning of a suburb, while straggling rows of shops, temples, gardens, and cemeteries, were sheltered from all danger by the presence of a permanent garrison. In the center of the town stood a group of public buildings, containing the courthouse, baths, and barracks; and in course of time every important place had its theatre and circus for races and shows. Such towns, which from the nature of their origin were always situated in strong strategic positions, were invariably surrounded with lofty walls, protected by turrets set apart at the distance of bowshot, and built of such solid strength as to resist the shock of the battering-ram. This kind of wall, in the construction of which the Romans displayed such remarkable skill,<sup>2</sup> was the prototype of the colossal structure known as the "Picts' Wall," which Hadrian built from sea to sea, as a protection against the attacks of the northern tribes, and of which the ruins may still be seen extending for miles between Tynemouth and the estuary of the Solway.<sup>3</sup>

This wall, a masterpiece of military engineering, run-

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the stations between Chester and Carlisle; and there are records relating to German soldiers from districts now included in Luxemburg, which show that in some cases whole tribes at once were attached to one or other of the auxiliary regiments in Britain.

<sup>1</sup> Isurium is called "Isu-Brigantum" in the *Antonine Itinerary*, as if it had long retained the position of the native capital. An inscription of A. D. 108 shows that some Roman buildings were erected at York under Trajan, whose fondness for such mural records earned him the name of "Parietaria," or "Wall-flower."—Kenrich., *Arch. Essays*, 184.

<sup>2</sup> The ruins of Roman walls generally show them to consist of a certain number of courses of hewn stone or ashlar, separated at intervals by double-bonding courses of Roman tile, joined by a superior cement, the interior of the wall being filled up with rubble.

<sup>3</sup> The merit of the work has been sometimes claimed for Severus, for the generals who in the fifth century brought temporary help to Britain, and even for the native princes whom their masters had abandoned to the enemy. But after a long debate the opinion has now prevailed that the whole system of defence bears the impress of a single mind, and that the wall and its parallel earthworks, its camps, roads, and stations were all designed and constructed by Hadrian alone.

ning along the cliffs and clinging to their edges, was about twenty feet high and over eight feet thick, guarded, where the ground permitted, by a fosse on its northern side. In this were set 320 watch-towers, about a quarter of a mile apart, with a "mile-castle" between every fourth and fifth tower, in which the soldiers were always in readiness. Twenty-three permanent stations are shown by the Imperial Calendars to have lain along the line of the wall, with garrisons drawn from as many different countries, so that no two adjoining camps should be held by soldiers from the same part of the world. The list shows a motley array of Germans and Gauls, of Spaniards, Moors, and Thracians, spearmen from Friesland and cavalry from Illyria, Basques of the Pyrenees and Sarmatians from the lowlands of the Danube; and the correctness of the official record is conclusively shown by the discovery of altars and mortuary inscriptions set up in not a few of the stations by men of the same foreign battalions, as appear by the "Notitia" to have been quartered there. These camps or forts lay, for the most part, between the wall and the triple earthworks, a few being set at some distance to the north and south, to form a line of supports and to guard the military roads which led from the inland fortresses to the camps on the Forth and Clyde. These stations were crowded with streets and buildings, and adorned with baths and temples, and towns of considerable size grew up, in time, under the protection of the garrisons. There are ruins so vast and complete still scattered on these desolate hills that they have been styled, without too much exaggeration, the "Pompeii" of Britain.<sup>1</sup> "It is hardly credible," said an old traveler, what a number of august remains of the Roman grandeur is to be seen here to this day: in every place where one casts his eye there is some curious antiquity to be seen, either the marks of streets and temples in ruins, or inscriptions, broken pillars, statues, and other pieces of sculpture, all scattered on the ground."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The remains of a wall are all along so very visible that one may follow the track; and in the wastes I myself have seen pieces of it for a long way together standing entire, except the battlements only, which are thrown down."—Camden, *Brit.* (Gibson), 1048, 1050. Some of the mile-castles were standing in 1708; "one observes where the ridge has been, and also the trench all before it on the north, as also some of their little towers or mile-castles on the south side."—*Ibid.*, 1051. A description, of the year 1572, gives the measure of the wall at that time, "the bredth iii yardis, the hyght remainith in sum places yet vii yardis."—See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, 53.

<sup>2</sup> Gordon, *Itin. Septent.*, 76.

After the peaceful age of the Antonines, the debatable land about the walls became the scene of a perpetual warfare, which raged or smoldered, as the barbarians burst across the line or were chased into the recesses of their mountains. The expedition of Severus made it certain that the Highland tribes could never be finally subdued. The old emperor was holding his court at Rome, when letters were received from York, announcing that the army had been driven back upon the fortresses, and that the barbarians were ravaging the land. Severus seems to have been weary of the splendor and corruption by which his despotism was maintained; and, determined to lead the campaign himself, he transferred his court to York, and massed the army upon the frontier. The restoration of the province was followed by a further advance, which ended in a costly failure. The plan of invasion was unsuited to the nature of the country. The estuaries were bridged, and roads were driven through the fens, but still, as the troops pushed their way, the enemy retreated to more distant places of refuge, and, before a precarious peace could be arranged, it was estimated that 50,000 men had perished in the never-ending ambuscades and skirmishes, or had died of cold and disease. Before two years had passed the war broke out again, and Severus vainly threatened to extirpate every tribe in the hills. He died, and his death is said to have been hastened by omens of approaching ruin. After his death he was deified; and his sons Caracalla and Geta admitted the Caledonians to easy terms of peace. The province remained secure till Britain obtained a short-lived independence, "by carelessness or by some stroke of Fate," according to the Roman story, but in truth by the courage and wisdom of an obscure Batavian adventurer. A new danger had arisen from the pirate fleets of the Franks, who infested the British seas, and had even found their way to the coasts of Spain and Africa. Carausius the Menapian, the commander of the Imperial navy, was suspected of encouraging the pirates in order to have a share in their booty, and his only chance of life was a successful rebellion in Britain. Here he proclaimed himself emperor in A. D. 288, and ruled the island peacefully until, in the seventh year of his reign, he was murdered by his minister Allectus. The scanty garrison was reinforced by volunteers from Gaul and a large force of Franks, who served as legionaries in the new

army, and as sailors on the ships of war. The usurpation was condoned, though the insult could never be forgiven; and the Menapian was accepted as a partner in the empire by Diocletian and Maximian, whose origin was as humble as his own, though they assumed to rule the world by the wisdom of Jupiter and in the strength of Hercules.

The Franks were fast arriving at complete dominion in Britain, when Constantius broke their power by a decisive battle, in which Allectus himself was killed. The Roman fleet had successfully blockaded Boulogne, the outpost and stronghold of the insular power, and the friends of Allectus were weakened by an attack on their settlements near the Rhine. An army of invasion was landed under cover of a fog at a point west of the Isle of Wight, where the British galleys were stationed. It is difficult to extract the truth from the rhapsodies of the courtly chronicler; but we may believe that Allectus advanced too rashly, and with too implicit a confidence in his German followers. It was said that hardly a Roman fell, while all the hillsides were covered with the bodies of the Franks, who might be recognized by their tight clothes and broad belts, and by their fashion of shaving the face, and of wearing their reddened hair in a mass pushed forward on the forehead.<sup>1</sup> The imperial forces at once pushed on to London, where a remnant of the Franks was defeated. "The city," in the words of its historian, "seemeth not to have been walled in A. D. 296, because, when Allectus the Tyrant was slaine in the field, the Franks easily entered London, and had sacked the same, had not God of his great favour at the very instant brought along the River of Thames certain bands of Romane souldiers, who slew those Franks in every street of the City."<sup>2</sup>

In Diocletian's new scheme of government the world was to be governed by two emperors, administering the

<sup>1</sup> Eumenius, *Paneg. Constant.*, 15, 16, 17. Compare the description of the Franks in the letters and poems of Sidonius Apollinaris. "Ipse medius incensit, flammeus cocco, rutilus auro, lacteus serico: tum cultui tanto comâ rubore cute concolor."—*Epist.*, iv, 7.

"Rutili quibus arce cerebri  
Ad frontem coma tracta jacet, nudataque cervix  
Setarum per damna nitet, tum lumine glauco  
Albet aquosa acies, ac vultibus undique rasis  
Pro barbâ tenues perarantur pectine cristæ."—*Carm.*, vii, 238, 242.

<sup>2</sup> Stow's Survey of London (1619), 6.

Eastern and the Italian provinces, while the frontiers were guarded by two associated "Cæsars," the one governing on the Danube, and the other in the united regions of Spain, Gaul, and Britain. The dominion of the West was assigned to Constantius, first as "Cæsar" and then as "Augustus," after the retirement of Diocletian. Constantius resided at York, and is said to have been successful in war with the Picts and Scots; but he is chiefly remembered as father of Constantine the Great, and as husband of that pious Helena, whose legend takes so many shapes in the fabulous chronicles of Wales. Constantius died in the year A. D. 306, soon after the Caledonian war, and Constantine the Great was at once chosen by the soldiers to succeed him in the sovereignty of the West, though the dignity was legally confirmed only in the following year. It is believed that his election was chiefly due to the friendly zeal of a German king, who had brought his army to Britain to assist in the northern campaign.<sup>1</sup>

The scheme of government which Diocletian had designed was in some respects amended by Constantine. Britain formed part of a vast proconsulate, extending from Mount Atlas to the Caledonian deserts, and governed by the Gallic Prefect, through a vicar or deputy at York. The island was divided into five new provinces, without regard to the ancient boundaries.<sup>2</sup> To each was assigned a governor experienced in law, who dealt with taxation and finance. The army was under the general jurisdiction of the two masters of the cavalry and infantry, who directed the forces of the Empire of the West. But so far as Britain was concerned, it was under the orders of the "Count of Britain," assisted by two important, though subordinate officers. The "Count of Britain"

<sup>1</sup> This chieftain was called "Crocus," a name which probably meant "the Crow"; it may be compared to that of "Rolf Krake." "Cunctis qui aderant annitentibus sed præcipuè Croco Alamannorum rege, auxilii gratiâ Constantium comitato, imperium capit."—Victor, *Jun.*, c. 41. "This," says Gibbon, "is perhaps the first instance of a barbarian king who assisted the Roman arms with an independent body of his own subjects. The practice grew familiar, and at last became fatal." Valentinian in the same way engaged the services of "King Fraomar."—Ammian. Marcell., xxix, 4.

<sup>2</sup> The names of the provinces appear in the *Notitia*. They were distinguished as *Britannia Prima* and *Secunda*; *Flavia Casariensis*; *Maxima Casariensis*; and *Valentia*. The last was between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus; the situation of the rest is unknown, though it is believed that *Britannia Prima* was the southeastern province, and *Maxima* the district between the Wash and Hadrian's wall.

commanded in the north, while the "Count of the Saxon Shore" held the government of the "maritime tract," and provided for the defence of the fortresses which lined the southeastern coast.<sup>1</sup>

The completion of this system of defense, and the establishment of the Diocletian constitution, cost the British provinces as much in freedom and importance as they seemed to gain in security. The country suffered in many different ways. It had come to be a mere department under the Court of Trêves—one of several Atlantic regions which were regarded as having the same political interests and a common stock of resources. The defenses of Britain were sacrificed to some sudden call for soldiers in Spain and on the Alpine passes, and the shrunken legions left behind could barely man the fortresses upon the frontier. The provinces which might have stood safely by their own resources were becoming involved in a general bankruptcy. The troops were ill-paid and were plundered by their commanders, the laborers had sunk into serfdom, and the property of the rich was so heavily charged by the State that the owners would have gladly escaped by resigning their apparent wealth. The burdens of taxation were constantly multiplied by the complexity of the system of government, and the increase of departments and offices. The visit of the Imperial tax-gatherers was compared to the horrors of a successful assault in war. A writer of that time describes the scene in a provincial town, where every head of cattle in the neighborhood had been numbered and marked for a tax. All the population of the district was assembled, and the place was crowded with the land-owners, bringing in their laborers and slaves. "One heard nothing but the sound of flogging and all kinds of torture; the son was forced to inform against his father; the wife against her husband; failing everything else, the men were compelled to give evidence against themselves, and were taxed according to the confessions which they made to escape from torments."<sup>2</sup>

These evils pressed upon the world from the age of Constantine until the empire was finally dismembered and the general ruin completed, of which they were a princi-

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<sup>1</sup> *Litus Saxonum per Britannias*. There was another "Saxon Shore" on the opposite coast, with its headquarters at Boulogne.

<sup>2</sup> Lactantius, *De Mort. Persecut.*, 23.—Compare this statement with the description of the Roman régime in Gaul about the same period, page 473.



pal cause. The history of Britain during this period, so far as it can properly be said to have had a history at all, is concerned with the establishment of the Christian Church, by which the general misery was alleviated; with several attempts at separating the three Atlantic countries from the crumbling Empire of the West; and finally with the growth of the barbarian kingdoms, by which all those countries were overwhelmed in turn. Christianity was not recognized as the religion of the State until the proclamation in the year A. D. 324, by which Constantine exhorted his subjects to follow their emperor's example in abandoning the errors of paganism; but it had been tolerated, with few intermissions, from the time when Hadrian had found a kindly excuse for the Christians by classing them with the worshipers of his favorite Serapis.<sup>1</sup> The persecution of Diocletian had hardly extended to Britain, where Cæsar Constantius had protected the Christians, though he could not prevent the destruction of their sacred buildings. But Druidism was doomed, and in the main absorbed by the old Latin religion, which itself had long ceased to satisfy the minds of educated men, though its visible emblems were respected until the destruction of the temples, under Theodosius, at the end of the fourth century. By that time the Roman population of Britain, soldiers and colonists, included foreigners from almost all parts of the then known world, and the temples, altars, and images were used indifferently by worshipers of all kinds, and under the various creeds which they had brought with them from their native countries.<sup>2</sup> Many of the outward forms, and even some of the doctrines of Christianity, were imitated by the pantheistic religions which spread from Egypt and the East, and overlaid the old rites of Isis and Osiris,<sup>3</sup> or

<sup>1</sup> Illi qui Serapim colunt Christiani sunt; et devoti sunt Serapi qui se Christi episcopos dicunt.—Vopiscus, *Ad Saturnin.*, c. 8. For the nature of the worship of Serapis, see Tac., *Hist.*, iv, 83; and Apuleius, *Metamorph.*, xi, 27, 28. He was regarded as the "Deus Pantheus," the spirit of the universe manifested in countless forms, and was identified, as the convenience of worshipers required, with several of the older gods. The Egyptian Isis, the goddess of nature, was usually worshiped with Serapis in the same temple.

<sup>2</sup> For a list of Roman temples, of which the remains have been found in England, see Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.*, vii, 332. Many of the epithets used on British inscriptions are of unknown origin, but they appear, in general, to refer to the native country of the worshiper.

<sup>3</sup> The religion of Isis, though deformed by archaic "mysteries," was gradually developed into an elevated form of nature-worship. The goddess was at one time regarded as the spirit of the ether through which the sun proceeds, and so by a natural transition she became the companion of Osiris, the hidden

of Mithras, "the unconquered lord of ages," who was revered as the illuminator of all darkness, and as the mediator and the friend of man. We learn from sculptured tablets, and from inscriptions and symbols on tombs, that Mithraism<sup>1</sup> at one time prevailed extensively in Britain; and its influence was doubtless strengthened by the artifice of its professors in imitating the Christian sacraments and festivals, but its authority was destroyed, or confined to the country districts, where the pagan rites were finally forbidden by law.<sup>2</sup> After the year 386 we find records of an established Christian Church in Britain, "holding the Catholic faith and keeping up an intercourse with Rome and Palestine."<sup>3</sup>

As early even as the middle of the fourth century the British provinces were persistently attacked by sea and land. The Picts and Scots, and the warlike nations of the *Attacotti*, from whom the empire was accustomed to recruit its choicest soldiers,<sup>4</sup> the fleets of Irish pirates

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and nocturnal sun, and reigned like Proserpina, in the world of the dead. After the second century she united in herself the attributes of all the goddesses, and became the representative of Nature. See the hymns preserved by Apuleius: "Te superi colunt, observant inferi, tu rotas orbem, lumnas solem, regis mundam, calcas Tartarum: tibi respondent sidera, redeunt tempora, gaudent numina, serviunt elementa: tuo nutu spirant flamina, nutriunt nubila, germinant semina, crescunt gramina," etc.—Apul., *Metamorph.*, xi, 5, 30. As to the worship of Osiris, "summorum maximus et maximorum regnator," see the same work, xi, 30, and the *Dialogue of Hermes Trismegistus*, by the same author.—Apul., *Asclep.*, 41.

<sup>1</sup> *Mithraism*, from *Mithra*, "the sun," in the ancient mythology of the Parsees, or fire-worshippers. Mithraism came from the Persians to the Egyptians, and from them to the Greeks. It was introduced into Italy in the year of Rome 637, and was then at its height during the reign of Commodus. After being suppressed in Italy in A. D. 391, it made its way into Gaul, and from there into Britain, where it has left many traces of its existence, mixed up with those of early Christianity.

<sup>2</sup> In an account of the spread of Mithraism in Britain and the inscriptions to *Sol Socius*, *Sol Invictus Mithras*, and the like, and of the Mithraic caves and sculptures found near Hadrian's wall, see Welbeloved, *Eburacum*, 79, 81. St. Jerome describes the destruction of a cave of Mithras at Rome in the year 378, with the symbols used in initiation—*Opera*, i, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Haddan, *Councils*, i, 10. "The statements respecting British Christians at Rome or in Britain, and respecting apostles or apostolic men preaching in Britain in the first century, rest upon guess, mistake, or fable."—*Ibid.*, i, 22. The evidence for British Christianity in the second century, including the Letter of Pope Eleutherius and the well-known story of King Lucius, is also pronounced to be unhistorical.—*Ibid.*, p. 25. Mello, a British Christian, was Bishop of Rouen between the years 256 and 314, and in the latter year bishops from York, London, and Caerleon were present at the Council of Arles. In the year 325 the British Church assented to the conclusions of the Council of Nicæa.—*Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> The *Notitia Imperii* mentions several regiments of Attacotti serving for the most part in Gaul and Spain. Two of their regiments were enrolled

in the north, the Franks and Saxons on the southern shores, combined forces, whenever a chance presented itself, to burn and devastate the country, to cut off an outlying garrison, to carry off women and children like cattle captured in a foray,<sup>1</sup> and to offer the bodies of Roman citizens as sacrifices to their blood-thirsty gods. The Saxons especially were dreaded for their sudden and well-calculated assaults. They swept the coast like creatures of the storm, choosing the worst weather and the most dangerous shores as inviting them to the easiest attack. Their ships, when dispersed by the Roman galleys, were re-assembled at some point left undefended, and they began to plunder again; and they were taught by their fierce superstition to secure a safe return by immolating every tenth captive in honor of the gods of the sea.<sup>2</sup>

In the year 368 the Court at Trêves was startled by the news that the Duke of Britain had perished in a frontier ambush, and that the Count Nectaridus had been defeated and slain in a battle on the Saxon shore. The Picts, the Attacotti and the Scots had broken through the walls and were devastating the northern provinces; the coasts nearest to Gaul were attacked by the Franks, and their neighbors the Saxons, who were ravaging the south with fire and sword.<sup>3</sup> Theodosius, the best general of the empire, was sent across the channel with two picked legions and a great force of German auxiliaries. On approaching London, the old town, then known as "the Augustan City," he divided his army to attack the scattered troops of marauders, who were covering the coun-

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among the "Honorians," the most distinguished troops in the Imperial armies. Though their country is not certainly known, it seems probable that they inhabited the wilder parts of Galloway. Orosius, speaking of the time of Stilicho, about A. D. 400, calls them "barbari qui quondam in foedus recepti atque in militiam adlecti Honoriaci vocantur."—Oros., vii, 40.

<sup>1</sup> In the work of destruction no rank, age, or sex was spared. Children were butchered before the faces of their parents, husbands in sight of their wives, and wives in sight of their husbands. Noble women and girls were carried away with other plunder, bound by ropes and thongs, and goaded along with the points of spears and lances. The barbarous Picts dragged away their captives without mercy into their own country, either retaining them as slaves or selling them like cattle to the other savages.—Ric. Hagustald, *Hexam Chron.*, 318.

<sup>2</sup> Mos est remeaturis decimum quemque captorum per æquales et cruciarias pœnas, plus ob hoc tristi quam superstitioso ritu, necare.—Sidon. Apollin., viii, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Gallicanos vero tractus Franci et Saxones iisdem confines, quo quisque erumpere potuit terrâ vel mari, prædis acerbis incendiisque et captivorum funeribus hominum violabant.—Ammian. Marcell., xxvii, 8.

try and driving off their captives and stolen cattle to the coast. The spoil was successfully recovered, and the general entered London in triumph. There he awaited reinforcements, finding, by the reports of spies and deserters, that he had before him the forces of a crowd of savage nations, and being anxious to gain time for recalling the soldiers who had deserted to the enemy or had dispersed in search of food. At last, by threats and persuasions, by stratagems and unforeseen attacks, he not only recovered the lost army and dispersed the confused masses of the enemy, but even succeeded in regaining all the frontier districts, and in restoring the whole machinery of government.<sup>1</sup>

A few years afterward occurred the revolt of Maximus, a Spaniard who had served under Theodosius, and had afterward gained the affection of the turbulent soldiery in Britain. The Emperor Gratian had exhibited an undue liking for the Alani, his barbarian allies, and it was feared, or alleged, that there was danger of their occupying the western provinces. Maximus, who probably had started the rumor himself, seized the opportunity, and, having himself proclaimed emperor in Britain, in A. D. 383, he proceeded to justify the soldiers' choice by a splendid and successful campaign against the Picts and Scots. In the course of the next year he raised a large army of Britons and Gauls to supplement his regular forces, and, passing over to the mouth of the Rhine, he succeeded in establishing himself at Trêves, and was eventually acknowledged as Emperor of the West. The career of Maximus seems to have deeply impressed the Britons, whose poets were never tired of telling how he married a British lady, and how, when he was slain, "at the foaming waters of the Save, his soldiers settled in Gaul, and founded a Lesser Brittany across the sea." The Britons of a later age found consolation even in thinking that the defeat of Maximus, and the loss of the army which he had led from their shores, were the proximate causes of the English conquest.<sup>2</sup> It is probable enough that the drain of the continental war was a cause of weakness to the province, and an inducement to the

<sup>1</sup> Zosimus, iv, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Hi sunt Britones Armorici et nunquam reversi sunt ad proprium solum usque in hodiernum diem. Propter hoc Britannia occupata est ab extraneis gentibus, et cives ejus expulsi sunt, usque dum Dominus auxilium dedit illis. —Nennius, *Hist. Brit.*, 23; Gildas, *Hist.*, 14.

barbarians to renew their attempts at conquest. Certain it is, that at least on two occasions, fixed with reasonable accuracy as the years 396 and 400, the coasts were again attacked by the Saxons, and that the country near Hadrian's Wall was occupied and ravaged by the Scots and Picts until their power was broken by the sword of Stilicho.<sup>1</sup>

The independence of Britain was a consequence of the invasion of Northern Gaul by the Vandals. Communication with the body of the empire was cut off by a horde of these rude warriors, associated with Suevi from the German forests and Alani from the shores of the Euxine. The army determined to choose their own leader, and in the year 407 they raised a private soldier named Constantine to the throne of the western empire. His success in recovering Gaul and Spain compelled the feeble Court of Ravenna to confirm the usurper's title; but a period of anarchy followed which brought new dangers upon Britain, and caused its final separation from the Roman power. Gerontius, at first the friend and afterward the destroyer of Constantine, recalled the barbarian hosts which had retreated beyond the Rhine, and invited them to cross the channel and to join in attacking the defenceless government of Britain.<sup>2</sup> The "Cities of Britain," assuming in the stress of danger the powers of independent communities, succeeded in raising an army and repelling the German invasion. Then, having earned safety for themselves, they refused to return to their old subjection, if any obedience could indeed be claimed by the defeated usurper, or by an emperor reigning in exile. The Roman officials were ejected, and native forms of government established. Honorius was content to cede what he was unable to defend, and to confirm measures which he was impotent to repeal. The final dismissal of the province took place in A. D. 410, when the emperor sent letters to the cities, relieving them from any further allegiance, and bidding them provide in future for their own defence.

Thus ended Roman rule in Britain, after four centuries of tyranny and oppression, leaving the country utterly ruined and in the most helpless condition.

When the island was proclaimed part of the Roman Empire, the diffusion of the Latin language among the na-

<sup>1</sup> Claudian, *Tert. Cons. Hon.*, 55, cf. *Prim. Cons. Stilichon.*, ii, 250.

<sup>2</sup> Zosimus, vi, 5, 6, 10.

tive population was there, as everywhere else, one of the first means employed by the conquerors to rivet their dominion. Agricola, having spent the first year of his administration in establishing order and tranquillity, did not allow another winter to pass without beginning the work of training up the national mind to a Roman character. Tacitus informs us that he took measures for having the sons of the chiefs educated in the liberal arts, exciting them to exertion, as we have seen, by professing to prefer the natural genius of the Britons to the studied acquirements of the Gauls;<sup>1</sup> the effect of which was that those who lately had disdained to use the Roman tongue now became ambitious to know it well. In later times, no doubt, schools were established and maintained in all the principal towns of Roman Britain, as they were throughout the empire, though not on such an extensive scale as in Gaul, where, during the same period, many schools of the highest character were flourishing in all parts of the country.<sup>2</sup> In Britain, on the contrary, not only is there no mention made by contemporary authors of the existence of any such schools whatsoever, but it even appears that the older schools of Gaul were resorted to by the Britons who pursued the study of the law. Juvenal, who lived at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century, speaks in one of his satires of "eloquent Gaul instructing the pleaders of Britain."<sup>3</sup> It is noticeable, also, that while the names of many natives of Gaul appear favorably in connection with the last age of Roman literature, no British name of any literary reputation is found mentioned anywhere during the same period, if we except one Sylvius Bonus, referred to rather slightly by the poet Ausonius, who flourished in the fourth century; but of his works, or even of their titles or subjects, we know nothing. Still, four hundred years of Roman occupation must have left their mark among the people. Workmen, contractors, tradespeople, and all those whose interest it was to draw custom, must have spoken both Latin and Celtic, and in official transactions the use of the former was of course imperative. We know, moreover, that Cunobelin, one of the British chiefs

<sup>1</sup> Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum antiferre, ut, qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent.—Tacitus, *Agric.*, ii.

<sup>2</sup> See page 462.

<sup>3</sup> Gallia caudidicos docuit facunda Britannos.—Juvenal, *Sat.*, xv, 3.

who lived in the reigns of the emperors Tiberius and Caligula, erected different mints in the island, and coined money of gold, silver, and copper, inscribed with Roman characters. The British coins in general, when bearing inscriptions, are invariably found stamped with Roman capitals. Numerous monumental and other inscriptions likewise sufficiently attest the prevailing usage for such purposes of the old Roman characters; and as many rude stones of the earlier centuries, thus inscribed and still found in Wales, are in a Latin base enough to be attributed to illiterate stone-masons, we may infer that, if the speaking of Latin was not as universal in Britain as it was in Gaul during the same period, a certain knowledge of that language must have been diffused throughout the entire nation, as it certainly was among the educated in the larger cities. Many Latin words, moreover, though changed considerably by British orthography and mispronunciation, may yet be traced in the Cambrian dialect, as for instance: *ather*, from *aer*, air; *airm*, from *arma*, arms; *fear*, from *vir*, man; *capat*, from *caput*, head; *carn*, from *caro*, flesh; *bo*, from *bos*, ox; *aicheal*, from *aquila*, eagle—all words of popular use, and with the same meaning as in Latin, and which, therefore, since the Welsh were never distinguished for any high literary culture, may be referred more probably to the Roman occupation of Britain than to any subsequent studies of its inhabitants. Still, inasmuch as but few Celtic words have found their way into the English vocabulary, it is doubtful whether any Latin word in modern English is traceable to that remote period. This will appear more clearly from the following chapter, in which the Celtic influence upon the English mind, language, and vocabulary, will be more especially considered.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE ENGLISH CONQUEST.

A FEW years proved the vanity of the success which the Britons had gained over the Romans, and extinguished forever their hopes or dreams of freedom. After the retreat of the legions they organized anew under their ancient chiefs of tribes, and created the office of Chief of Chiefs, exercising a central and royal authority, as their annals declare, and they made the office elective. This new institution, destined in all appearance to give to the people greater union and strength against foreign aggression, became, on the contrary, a source of internal division, of weakness, and eventually of servile subjection. Of the two great populations who shared the southern part of the island, each pretended to have an exclusive right to furnish candidates for the royal dignity; but as the seat of this central monarchy was the old municipal town of London, it resulted that men of the Gaulish race attained more easily than others the supreme rank of Chief of Chiefs. The Cambrians, jealous of this advantage, asserted that the royal authority lawfully belonged to their race, as being the most ancient, and having originally received the others hospitably on the British shores. Hence arose a serious dispute, which soon became a deadly one, and plunged all Britain into a civil war, by quarrels of precedence and rivalry. Under a succession of chiefs, styled national, but always disowned by a part of the nation, no army was raised, and nothing was done to guard the frontiers against the aggressions that threatened the country on all sides.

In the midst of this disorder, the Picts and Scots again forced the passage of the walls, and new fleets from Ireland were ravaging the Cambrian shores, while the entire eastern coast was infested by the German corsairs, whose raids became even more frequent and more daring. Many foreign tribes, settled in the country, and always hostile to either branch of the British population, fomented their



dissensions, and secretly sided with the enemy against the natives. Several British tribes made great efforts separately, and fought some successful battles against the German and Gaelic aggressors. On one occasion some British Christians obtained a signal victory under the lead of St. Germanus, who visited the island as a missionary in A. D. 429, in company of St. Lupus of Troyes. The two bishops had been sent to Verulam to promote the Christian interests, and during the spring of the following year the missionaries continued their labors in the valley of the Dee. The country around was infested with Picts and Scots, and it was feared that they would storm the camps where the British forces were concentrated. The bishops of Gaul had been chosen for their political as well as for their religious capacities; and Germanus, accustomed to war, was easily persuaded to help his converts against the heathen. Easter Sunday was spent in baptizing a small army of converts; then the orthodox soldiers were posted in an ambushade, and the pagans fled panic-stricken at the triple "halleluia," which suddenly echoed among the hills.<sup>1</sup> Other British successes are recorded as due to the aid of Roman troops who, under the leadership of Ambrosius Aurelius, came over from Gaul at the solicitation of some of the tribes on the southern coast, who were still in frequent communication with the continent. But the time soon arrived when the Romans themselves, pressed on all sides by the invasions of the barbarians, had to fall back upon Italy, leaving the Britons defenceless, and without hope for further assistance from any foreign source.<sup>2</sup>

At this time the dignity of Supreme Chief of Britain was in the hands of a man of the Gaulish race, named Guorteyrn,<sup>3</sup> who repeatedly assembled around him all the chiefs of the British tribes, for the purpose of taking concerted measures for the defence of the country against

<sup>1</sup> Constantius, *Vita Germani*, 28; Sidonius Apoll., *Epist.*, vi, 1; Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, i, 20. Pope Gregory alludes to the battle in his Commentary on Job, "Ecce! lingua Britannia . . . coepit alleluia sonare."

<sup>2</sup> Malmesbury's account of the defenceless state of Britain was probably not exaggerated. He says: Ita cum tyranni nullum in agris præter semibarbaros, nullum in urbibus præter ventri deditos reliquissent, Britannia omni patrocinio iuvenilis vigoris viduata, omni exercitio artium exanita, conterminarum gentium inhiationi diu obnoxia fuit.—*Gest. Reg.*, lib. 1, § 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Guorteyrn*, according to Cambrian orthography. The Anglo-Saxon historians write *Wyrtgeorne* and *Wyrtgerne*, which, from their manner of pronouncing the name, probably produced about the same sound.

the constantly increasing invasions; but it seems that very little harmony prevailed in these councils, for the men of the west scarcely ever approved what the Gaulish chiefs proposed. At last Guorteyrn, in virtue of his royal pre-eminence, and by the advice of several Gaulish chiefs, but without the consent of the Cambrians, resolved to engage a number of foreign soldiers who, for subsidies in money and grants of land, should in the British service wage war against the Scots and Picts—a measure which its opponents stigmatized as an act of cowardice, and which, as events showed afterward, contained in germ all the calamities which befell the Celtic race in Britain.

Of the conquest itself, no accurate narrative remains. The version which is usually received is full of fable and frequent contradiction, and based in part on the statements in the histories of Gildas and Nennius, and in part upon chronicles which seem to owe much more to lost heroic poems, in which the exploits of the Saxon chieftains are celebrated, than to any accurate and regular entries made of facts and dates by contemporary writers.

The Welsh poems throw little light on the matter. The bards were for the most part content to trace the dim outlines of disaster, and to indicate by an allusion the issue of a fatal battle or the end of some celebrated warrior. The poems of the sixth century, at any rate in the form in which they have descended to our times, are too vague and obscure to be useful for the purposes of history. Nor are the British historians themselves more explicit. The collection of Welsh and Anglian legends which is attributed to one Nennius contains a few important facts about Northumbria, mixed up in confusion with genealogies, and miracles, and fragments of romance. Here, too, we get the list of the twelve battles of Arthur, with their Welsh names, "which were many hundred years ago unknown; but who Arthur was," to use Milton's words, "and whether any such reigned in Britain, hath been doubted heretofore, and may again with good reason." Milton calls him "a very trivial writer, . . . utterly unknown to the world till more than six hundred years after the days of Arthur."<sup>1</sup> Nennius, abbot of Bangor,

<sup>1</sup> For an account of Arthur, see Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*. "Hic est Arthur de quo Britonum nugæ hodieque delirant; dignus plane quem non fallaces somniarent fabulæ, sed veraces prædicarent historiæ."—Will. Malmesb., *Gesta*, i, 8. The existence of this hero is now admitted, though the scene of his doubtful exploits is variously laid at Caerleon, in the Vale of Som-

was once believed to have flourished about the beginning of the seventh century, but from internal evidence as regards errors in names of poems and places, it is now doubted whether any such person ever really existed at all, and whether the book which bears his name, *Historia Britonum*, is not the work of some anonymous writer of the twelfth century. At any rate, his account of the conquest differs in many particulars from that of other British writers, especially in reference to the early parts of the struggle. Hengist and Horsa and their men, who happened to be in Britain when Guorteyrn resolved to engage foreign auxiliaries, he says, were exiles,<sup>1</sup> who first fought bravely for the Britons and afterward took sides against them. "In those days," so his legend runs, "Vortimer fought fiercely with Hengist and Horsa, and drove them out as far as Thanet; and there three times he shut them in, and terrified, and smote, and slew. But they sent messengers to Germany to call for ships and soldiers, and afterward they fought with our kings, and sometimes they prevailed and enlarged their bounds, and sometimes they were beaten and driven away. And Vortimer four times waged on them fierce wars; the first, as was told above; and the second, at the stream of Derwent; and the third, at a ferry which the Saxons called Episford, where Horsa and Catigern fell. The fourth war he waged in the plain by the Written Stone on the Gaulish sea, and there he gained a victory, and the barbarians were beaten, and they turned and fled, and went like women into their ships."<sup>2</sup>

In repeating the story from the English side, and quoting as far as possible the actual words of the Anglo-Saxon chronicles, beginning with the year 449, in which the conquest of Kent, according to their reckoning, commenced, we will find that they differ from the above statement in almost every essential particular. The leaders, according to the latter, having landed at "Ypwine's-Fleet," at first gave aid to the British king; "but after six years they fought with him at a place called 'Ægil's-Threp,' and there Horsa was slain, and Hengist and his son 'Ash'

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erset, in the Lowlands of Scotland, and in the Cumbrian Hills; it seems to be true that he engaged in a war with the Princes of the Angles in Northumbria; but his glory is due to the Breton romances, which were amplified in Wales and afterward adopted at the Court of the Plantagenets as the foundation of the epic of chivalry.

<sup>1</sup> Nennius, *Hist. Brit.*, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Nennius, *Hist. Brit.*, 43, 44.

took the kingdom; and after two years they fought against the Britons at a place called 'Crecgan-Ford,' and there slew four thousand men; and the Britons then forsook Kent-land and in mighty-terror fled to London-Burgh."<sup>1</sup> The last battle is described by Henry of Huntingdon in language which seems to have been taken from some heroic poem of which the original no longer exists. "When the Britons went into the war-play they could not bear up against the unwonted numbers of the Saxons, for more of them had lately come over, and these were chosen men, and they horribly gashed the bodies of the Britons with axes and broadswords."<sup>2</sup> "And about eight years afterward Hengist and 'Ash' fought against the Welsh near Wipped's-Fleet, and there they slew twelve princes; and one of their own thanes was slain, whose name was Wipped. And after eight years were fulfilled, Hengist and 'Ash' fought again with the Welsh, and took unnumbered spoil; and the Welsh fled from the English as from fire. And after fifteen years 'Ash' came to the kingdom, and for twenty-four years he was king of the Kentish men."<sup>3</sup>

The commentators have sought in vain to harmonize these conflicting legends. Ebbesfleet, in Thanet, is usually identified with the landing-place, and the sites of the two principal battles are placed at Aylesford and Crayford on the Medway. But the matter abounds in difficulties, and from neither of these documents is it possible to reach any satisfactory conclusion concerning the early days of the conquest.

Gildas is a more important witness. He was a British ecclesiastic, born in the town of Alcluyd, now Dumbarton, as he states himself, in the year of the *pugna Badonica*, or "Siege of Mount Badon," which a chronological table, called *Annales Cambrenses*, places in the year 526. Referring to this siege as having taken place forty-four years before he was writing, his history dates from over a century after the supposed landing of Hengist. Like his brother, the famous bard Aneurin—if Aneurin was his brother, for one theory is that Aneurin and Gildas were the same person—he commenced his career as a bard, or composer of poetry, in his native language. He was eventually converted to Christianity, and became a zeal-

<sup>1</sup> Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *Ann.*, 449, 455, 457.

<sup>2</sup> Henr. Huntingd., ii, 4.

<sup>3</sup> A. S. Chron., *Ann.*, 465, 473.

ous preacher of his new religion. Gildas is the author of two declamatory effusions, the one commonly known as his history, *De Excidio Britanniae Liber Querulus*; the other, *De Excidio Britanniae et Britonum Exultatione*. They both consist principally of violent invectives directed against his own countrymen, not less than against their continental invaders and conquerors, and throw but little light upon the obscure period to which they relate. He was one of those who eventually retired to Brittany, where he died. He is said to lie buried in the cathedral of Vannes.

As this author wrote in the middle of the sixth century, he may be taken as representing the opinions of men who might themselves have taken part in the war. But he himself made no pretence to anything like historical accuracy. "If there were any records of my country," he said, "they were burned in the fires of the conquest, or carried away on the ships of the exiles, so that I can only follow the dark and fragmentary tale that was told me beyond the sea." No lamentation was ever keener in note, or more obscure in its story, than the book in which he recounted "the victory and crimes of Britain, the coming of a last enemy more dreadful than the first, the destruction of the cities, and the fortunes of the remnant that escaped." His work can hardly be considered a history, but seems to be rather intended for a dramatic description of an episode in the history of Cumbria. The drama begins in the year 450, when the Emperor Marcian reigned in the east and Valentinian the Third in the west. "The time was approaching when the iniquity of Britain should be fulfilled; the rumor flew among the people that their old invaders were preparing a final assault; a pestilence brooded over the land, and left more dead than the living could bury," and the complaint is swollen by invectives against the stubbornness of the rulers and the brutishness of the princes. We are brought to the chamber of Gwrtevyrn and his nobles, debating what means of escape might be found. "Then the eyes of the proud king and of all his councilors were darkened, and this help, or this death-blow they devised, to let into our island the foes of God and man, the fierce Saxons, whose name is accursed, as it were a wolf into the sheep-cotes, to beat off the nations of the north."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Gildas, *Hist.*, 4.

The men came over, he says, in three "keels," loaded with arms and stores. Their first success in driving out the Scots and Picts was followed by the engagement of a larger force of mercenaries; but a quarrel soon arose about their pay, which grew into a general mutiny. Their allowance, he adds, was found for a long time, and so "the dog's mouth was stopped"—citing the native proverb; "but afterward they picked a quarrel, and threatened to plunder the island unless a greater liberality was shown." The historian denounces them in a mystical and fervid strain: they are "young lions," wasting the land, and "whelps from the lair of the German lioness"; and their settlement in Northumbria is described, in the words of the prophet, as the wild vine, that "brought forth branches and shot forth sprigs," the root of bitterness and the plant of iniquity. The enemy is next likened to a consuming fire, as he burst from his new home in the east and ravaged the island as far as the Western Sea; and the chronicler describes, with a horrible minuteness, the sack of some Cumbrian city, and the destruction of the faithful found therein. "And some of the miserable remnant were caught on the hills and slaughtered, and others were worn out with hunger, and yielded to a lifelong slavery. Some passed across the sea with lamentations instead of the sailor's song, chanting, as the wind filled their sails, 'Lord! Thou hast given us like sheep appointed for meat, and hast scattered us among the heathen'; but others trusted their lives to the clefts of the mountains, to the forests, and the rocks of the sea, and so abode in their country, though sore afraid."<sup>1</sup>

The next original authority for the earlier portion of English history is Bede, upon whom the epithet of "Venerable" has been justly bestowed by the respect and gratitude of posterity. He was born some time between the years 672 and 677, at Yarrow, a village near the mouth of the Tyne, in the country of Durham, and was educated in the neighboring monastery of Wearmouth,

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<sup>1</sup> The principal migrations to Brittany took place in the years 500 and 513. With the consent of the ancient inhabitants, who acknowledged them as brethren of the same Celtic origin, the new settlers distributed themselves over the whole northern coast, as far as the little river Coësnon, and southward as far as the territory of the city of Veneti, now called Vannes. Many curious documents relating to the Britons of the migration are found in the *Appendices to the Histories of Brittany*, by Halléguen and Du Courson. See also E. Souvestre *Les derniers Bretons*.

where he resided, as he himself relates, from the age of seven to that of twelve, during which he applied himself with all diligence, he says, to the meditation of the Scriptures, the observance of the regular discipline, and the daily practice of singing in the church. In his nineteenth year he took deacon's orders, and in his thirtieth he was ordained priest. From this date till his death, in 735, nearly three hundred years after the first Saxon invasion of Britain, he remained in his monastery, giving up his whole time to study and writing. His principal task was the composition of his celebrated *Historia Ecclesiastica*, a title which prepares us for a great preponderance of the ecclesiastical over the secular history of the country. Bede's own authorities, as we learn from his introduction, were certain of the most learned bishops and abbots of his contemporaries, of whom he sought special information as to the antiquities of their own establishments. All these facts must be borne in mind when we consider the value of his authority, that is, his means of knowing, as determined by the conditions of time and place.

Now, it is from Bede that the current opinions as to the details of the Anglo-Saxon invasion are mainly taken; especially the threefold divisions into Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, as well as the distribution of these three divisions over the different parts of England.<sup>1</sup> His is the first statement concerning the Saxon invasions which contains the names of either the Angles or the Jutes. Gildas, who wrote more than one hundred and fifty years earlier, mentions only the Saxons. It is also the passage which all subsequent writers and chroniclers have either translated or adopted. It reappears in Alfred, and again in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, thus:

Of Iotum comon Cantware ȝ From the Jutes came the in-  
 Wihtware · ƿ̅ ys seo mæið ðe habitants of Kent and of Wight,  
 nu eardað on Wiht · ȝ ƿ̅ cynn that is, the race that now dwells

<sup>1</sup> Advenerunt autem de tribus Germaniæ populis fortioribus, id est Saxonibus, Anglis, Jutis. De Jutarum origine sunt Cantuarii, et Victuarii, hoc est ea gens quæ Vectam tenet insulam et ea quæ usque hodie in provincia Occidentali Saxonum Jutarum natio nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Vectam. De Saxonibus, id est, ea regione quæ nunc Antiquorum Saxonum cognominatur, venere Orientales Saxones, Meridiani Saxones, Occidui Saxones. Porro de Anglis hoc est de illa patria quæ Angulus dicitur, et ab illo tempore usque hodie manere desertus inter provincias Jutarum et Saxonum perhibetur, Orientales Angli, Mediterranei Angli, Merci, tota Northanhymbrorum progenies, id est illarum gentium quæ ad Boream Humbri fluminis inhabitant, cæterique Anglorum populi sunt orti.—*Historia Ecclesiastica*, i, 15.

on West-Sexum þe man nu gyt  
 hæst Iutna cyn · of Eald-Seaxon  
 comon East-Sexa · ȝ Suð-Sexa ·  
 ȝ West-Sexan. Of Angle comon ·  
 se á sibðan stod weste betwux  
 Iutum ȝ Seaxum · East-Engla ·  
 Midel-Engla · Mearca · ȝ ealle  
 Norðhymbra.

in Wight, and that tribe amongst  
 the West Saxons which is yet  
 called the Jute tribe. From the  
 Old-Saxons came the East-Sax-  
 ons, and South-Saxons, and  
 West-Saxons. From the An-  
 gles' land (which has since  
 always stood waste betwixt the  
 Jutes and Saxons) came the  
 East - Angles, Middle - Angles,  
 Mercians, and all the Northum-  
 brians.

Now, the Saxon Chronicle<sup>1</sup> consists of a series of en-tries from the earliest times to the reign of King Stephen, each under its year—the date of the Anglo-Saxon invasion being the one usually given as A. D. 449. The value of such a record depends upon the extent to which the chronological entries are contemporaneous with the events noticed. When this is the case, the statement is of the highest historical value; when, however, it is merely taken from some earlier or later authority, or from tradition, it loses the character of a register, and becomes merely a series of supposed facts and dates, correct or incorrect, as the case may be. When the Anglo-Saxon really begins to be a *contemporaneous register* is uncertain; all we know is, that it is so for the latest, and not so for earlier entries. So, when it speaks of “a tribe among the West-Saxons, which is *yet* called the Jute tribe,” it gives only a sort of contemporary evidence that in the time of Bede, from whose history the passage is copied, there was a people in England known by the name of Jutes; but that these were the descendants of a Jute tribe, believed to have been among the first invaders, some three hundred years previous, and all the time keeping up a distinct nationality among the West-Saxons, is by no means certain. Indeed, the fact is by some greatly doubted. Bede calls them both *Jutæ* and *Vitæ*. King Alfred writes *Geatum*; Ethelwerd, *Giotos*; and Eotas, *Iotas*, *Iutan*, *Iotan*, and even *Ghetes*, are the various forms in Anglo-Saxon to denote a class of people supposed to have come from Jutland. Considering the unsettled state of orthography in those days, all these forms of *Jut*, *Jót*, *Iut*, *Iot*, *Eot*, *Giot*,

<sup>1</sup> Generally cited by Mr. Freeman under the title of the *English Chronicles*, owing to his repudiation of the term *Anglo-Saxon* in the place of *English*. See pages 371-373, and 381-385.



and even *Ghet*, *Gaut*, *Geat*, *Gwit*, *Wiht*, and *Vit*,<sup>1</sup> are good enough to represent some sound we now would write *Jut*, and to suggest Jutland as the original home of those people. But in ancient maps that country is called *Noriuthia*, and *Gautland*, *Götland*, *Jotland*, *Reidhgotaland*, and *Eygothaland* are the old Scandinavian names by which the country was originally known,<sup>2</sup> until the latter part of the eleventh century, when we find it called *Jutland*, and its inhabitants *Juthas*, by Adam of Bremen, in his description of Denmark.<sup>3</sup> In the year 952, the people themselves called the country *Vitland*;<sup>4</sup> and as late as 1309 A. D., we find it referred to in a Westphalian document by the name of *Vithlandia*.<sup>5</sup>

*Jutes*, therefore, as a national name, is rather of comparatively recent date. In the first century there was a Teutonic tribe on the Danube, known to the Romans as the *Iutugi*, *Juthungi*, *Vithungi*, afterward referred to as *Eutii* or *Eucii* by Theodebert on notifying the Emperor Julian of their submission,<sup>6</sup> and again, by Venantius Fortunatus, as *Euthiones*, and as enemies of the Franks.<sup>7</sup> Later on they are spoken of as an insignificant tribe, dwelling near the *Varini*, between the Elbe and the Oder, whence, in course of time, they migrated to the extreme north of the Danish peninsula, where Adam of Bremen found them. As to the etymology of the name, it is undoubt-

<sup>1</sup> The permutation of G=V=W is common in almost all languages; as *wages*, in French, *gages*; warren, *garenne*; waffle, *gaufre*; war, *wer*, *guerre*; Walter, *Gauthier*; Wales, *Galles*; William, *Guillaume*, etc. The nation mentioned as *Varini* by Pliny and Tacitus is called *Warni* by Jornandes; Cassiodorus writes *Guarni*. The permutation of G=J=Y is found in the English *yet*, the German *Jetzt*, and the Anglo-Saxon *get*, *git*, *giet*, *gyt*. The J for G is often heard in Berlin among the uneducated.

<sup>2</sup> *Shiöld réðh líndum, thar sem nú er köllut Danmörk, en thá var kallat Götland.—Skaldskaparm*, p. 146. That heiter nú Jotland er thá var kallat *Reidhgotaland*.—*Form. Edda*, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Prima quidem pars Daniæ, quæ Jutland dicitur, ab Egdora in boream longitudine portenditur . . . in eum angulum, qui Wendila dicitur, ubi Jutland finem habet.—Adam Bremensis, De Situ Daniæ*, c. 208. *Primi ad ostium Baltici sinus in Australi ripa versus nos Dani, quos Juthas appellant, usque ad Sliam lacum habitant.—Idem.*, c. 221.

<sup>4</sup> *Dania cismarina quam Vitland incolæ appellant.—Annales Saxonici*, A. D. 952.

<sup>5</sup> *Westph. Monum. rer. Germ.*, iii, 362. In old Danish chronicles, *Vitland* is sometimes called *Vithesleth*.

<sup>6</sup> *Subactis cum Saxonibus Eucii*, qui se nobis voluntate propria tradiderunt usque in oceani litoribus dominatio nostra porrigitur.—*Vgl. S.*, 375.

<sup>7</sup> *Quem Geta, Wasco tremunt, Danus. Euthio, Saxo, Britannus, Cum patre quos acie te domitasse patet.*

—Venant. Fortunat, *ad Chilperic*, c. 580.

edly a variation of the Gothic root *thiuda*, *tiut*, *diut*, meaning "men of the nation," which has given the Latin forms, *Teutoni*, *Teutones*, *Niuthones*, on the one hand, and *Iuti*, *Euti*, *Euthones*, *Euthiones*, etc., on the other; and so the name of *Teut* or *Deut*, which, with its suffix *ish*, *sch*, *ch*, has produced the forms *Deutsch* and *Dutch*, and which, being after all of remote Celtic origin, could very easily have changed in British mouths into *Jutes*,<sup>1</sup> and been so recorded in writing in all the various forms in which we afterward find it. That, first used as a term of fear and hatred, it remained in the language to indicate particularly those foreign tribes that occupied Kent and the Isle of Wight, as being more savage and cruel than the rest, is very likely; "Lord," says a certain litany, "deliver us from the fury of the Jutes"; but that no trace of any numerous and formidable tribe or league of that name is found in the fourth or fifth century anywhere on the Continent is quite certain.

Nicknames, like surnames, have at all times been bestowed on individuals and parties, sometimes in admiration, though more generally from hatred or dislike; and many men of note, and nations famous in history, have gloried in the end in names that have been thrown at them first in spite or in derision. Nicknames for men and tribes were very common among the early Germans.<sup>2</sup> The names of Franks, Saxons, Langobards, and others, have had no other origin; and in the same way that of *Deutsch* or *Dutch*, pronounced *Jutes* by the Britons, to designate the early German marauders, may have clung to the first body of invaders, and remained associated with the terror they inspired. Also nothing is more natural than that the latter should have kept to the original name of *Dutch* or *Deutsch*, however mispronounced, as a tribal designation, among the many others who came after them; or that their descendants should be found still, in Bede's time, in Kent and Wight and among the West-Saxons, just as the descendants of the original Dutch settlers in America are still found in particular localities, where they are known from others by their names, their features, their habits, and in many instances even by their still speaking their forefathers' lan-

<sup>1</sup> *Jew* for *dew*, and *ajew* for *adieu*, are by no means uncommon mispronunciations, even now, among the uneducated.

<sup>2</sup> See Kemble's *Essay on the Anglo-Saxon Nicknames*.—Archæol. (Winchester), 1845.

guage. That in the time of King Ethelbert the people of Kent spoke *Dutch* is proved by the fact that Augustin, on his mission to England, took with him as interpreters men from the Salian Franks, who originally came from the Rhenish Netherlands, where the language was the ancient idiom of Holland;<sup>1</sup> while a comparison of the *Asega-boc*, containing the ancient laws of Friesland and North-Holland, with the Kentish laws of Ethelbert and his successors, will further show that the language and the customs of these nations in the sixth and seventh centuries was still identical. This is corroborated, moreover, by the vast amount of words which English and Dutch have yet in common, and which was even much greater in the older forms of language; while, on the other hand, no trace whatsoever of Jutish occupation is found anywhere in England, whether as showing a distinct and separate nationality, or in the way of language—a fact which stands in remarkable contrast with the numerous traces which the Saxons, the Angles, and after them the Danes, have left behind as incontestable evidences of their occupancy.

Intimately connected with the Jutish legend is that of the great chieftains Hengist and Horsa, which also has elements in it that seem to belong to fiction rather than to history. Thus, when we find them approaching the coasts of Kent in three vessels—exactly the same number in which Ælla, some twenty-five years later, effected a landing in Sussex, and in which, forty years later, again, Cerdic came to Wessex—we are strongly reminded of the old Gothic tradition which carries a migration of the *three* nations, the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Gepidæ, also in *three* vessels, to the mouth of the Vistula. Vessels in those days were not very large;<sup>2</sup> and to think that the crews of Hengist and Horsa's *three* vessels, after some bloody encounters with the Scots and Picts, in which they must have lost at least a few of their number, were still strong enough to set the whole British nation at defiance, even after the reinforcements referred to by Gildas, would be like believing that the epic poem of

<sup>1</sup> See pages 107, 166, 193, 386, and 430-440.

<sup>2</sup> Chance has preserved for us in a Sleswick peat-bog one of the war-keels of these early seamen. The boat is flat-bottomed, seventy feet long, and eight or nine feet wide, its sides of oak boards, fastened with bark ropes and iron bolts. Fifty oars drove it over the waves with a freight of warriors, whose arms—axes, swords, lances, and knives—were found heaped together.—Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*.

Beowulf and the Chanson de Roland had reference to facts that had actually occurred. Bede says he was informed that a monument with Horsa's name was standing in the eastern parts of Kent,<sup>1</sup> but where this was, exactly, seems to have been unknown as early as the time of King Alfred, the passage in which reference to such a monument is made by Bede having been even omitted from the English version of his history. Its site being fixed subsequently at Horsted, near Aylesford, seems chiefly due to the great cromlech in that neighborhood having been already assigned to Prince Catigern, who, according to Nennius, fell in battle on the same day as Horsa. One point being fixed, it became easy to identify the rest; and hence the apparent certainty with which localities have been settled for almost all the events in the legends of Hengist and Horsa.

It is still, however, exceedingly doubtful whether these champions ever have at all existed. We are told that the evidence for their actual existence is "at least as strong as the suspicion of their mythical character."<sup>2</sup> But it is urged, on the other hand, that the names of "Horse and Mare"<sup>3</sup> are on the face of them symbolical, and should be taken as referring to some banner of the host, some crest or emblem of the tribe, or perhaps to some reverence for the sacred white horses, which the Germans supposed to be "aware of the designs of heaven."<sup>4</sup> There seems, however, to be no valid reason why a popular captain should not be called "the horse," since we read of others who were nicknamed after the crow, the wolf, and the boar;<sup>5</sup> such names, moreover, being by no means uncommon among our North American Indians. But there is a stronger objection to the chronicler's statements in the fact that Hengist is the hero of such numerous and such divergent traditions. This crafty and valiant prince has left a legend on every coast between Jutland and the Cornish Promontory. All the old stories are fastened on his name. Thus Geoffry of

<sup>1</sup> *Duces fuisse perhibentur eorum primi duo fratres Hengist et Horsa; e quibus Horsa, postea occisus in bello a Brittonibus, hactenus in orientalibus Cantizæ partibus monumentum habet suo nomine insigne.*—Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Freeman, *Norm. Conquest*, i, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Hengist* in Dutch means "stallion"; in Anglo-Saxon, *henges*. In the latter language, *hors* means "a horse, a nag, a steed."

<sup>4</sup> Tacitus, *Germ.*, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Kemble's *Essay on the Anglo-Saxon Nicknames*.

Monmouth, who is a Welsh authority, and flourished in the reign of Henry II, relates how "Hengist obtained from the Britons as much land as could be inclosed by an ox-hide; then, cutting the hide into thongs, inclosed a much larger space than the granters intended, on which he erected *Thong Castle*, and thereby gained a kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere we read of three hundred British chieftains in Kent slain with knives concealed at a banquet,<sup>2</sup> and of a princess, as in the legends of Nennius, exchanged for three provinces by the king and his fur-clad councilors. Hengist seems to be ubiquitous, and fills all kinds of characters. In one story he serves as a legionary in the army of Valentinian the Third; in another he comes as "the wickedest of pagans," to ravage the coasts of Gaul.<sup>3</sup> In the fragmentary poem which is known as "The Fight at Finnesburg," Hengist leads a band of pirates to burn the palace of the Friesian king; but in the legends of the Frieslanders themselves he is claimed as the father of their kings, and as the builder of their strongholds on the Rhine.<sup>4</sup>

But while all accounts of the early invasions of Britain, by a people coming from Jutland, rest on tradition only, and are all the more open to doubt as they are coupled with legends closely allied to fable, quite different it is as regards the Saxons and the Angles; for, though in their case also, we have no contemporary evidence concerning the details of their several invasions of the country, the best of historical evidence of their coming and staying there is in the name and the language of the country itself. Thus, while it will ever be doubtful whether there was a people *calling themselves Jutes* among the first invaders of Britain, it is certain that at

<sup>1</sup> Among the old Saxons, the tradition is in reality the same, though recorded with a slight variety of detail. In their story, a lapfull of earth is purchased at a dear rate from a Thuringian; the companions of the Saxon jeer at him for his imprudent bargain; but he sows the purchased earth upon a large space of ground, which he claims, and, by the aid of his comrades, ultimately wrests it from the Thuringians.—Kemble, *Saxons in England*. The legend is found also among the Russians.—Grimm., *Deut. Rechtsalt.*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> The same story is told of the old Saxons in Thuringia, and again in as many words by Widukind, a monk of Corvey in Flanders, who wrote the ecclesiastical history of his monastery.

<sup>3</sup> John of Wallingford calls Hengist "omnium paganorum sceleratissimus," and mentions his attacks on the Gaulish coast.—Gale, xv, *Script.*, 533.

<sup>4</sup> The Friesian legends treat Hengist as the founder of Leyden and the builder of a temple of "Warns," or Woden at Doccum. Hamcon., *Frisia*, 33; Suffrid. *Antiqu., Fris.*, ii, 11; Kemp., *Hist. Fris.*, ii, 21, 22.

one time Saxons and Angles were quite numerous. Whether these, however, formed two distinct nations, speaking different languages, or only two branches of the same nationality, with possibly different dialects; or else, whether "Saxon" and "Angle" were merely the names of separate leagues, composed of different tribes, of which there were many such in ancient Germany, either for the better defense of all from the Romans, or in order the more advantageously to assume the offensive against the latter, are questions for whose solution we must look on the Continent itself, before the time the great invasions commenced.

As we have seen already, the first landing of Julius Cæsar in Britain was caused or justified by the assurance that his Gallic enemies recruited their armies, and repaired their losses, by the aid of their British kinsmen and allies,<sup>1</sup> which seems to imply a long and considerable intercourse between the southern and eastern shores of Britain and the western districts of Gaul. When the fortune of the arms of Rome had prevailed over her ill-disciplined antagonists, and both continent and island were subject to the all-embracing rule, it is highly probable that the most familiar intercourse was resumed and continued to prevail. In the time of Strabo, the products of the island—wheat, cattle, gold, silver, tin, iron, skins, slaves, etc.—were exported by the natives, no doubt principally to the neighboring coasts;<sup>2</sup> and as there was such an active intercourse between the Celtic nations on the different sides of the channel, we may well suppose that the piratical tribes on the German ocean were not slow in seizing their opportunities for plunder, both on sea and on the shores. Thus they found their way into the British isles from time immemorial, sometimes in small parties merely for plunder, then again in numbers large enough to get a permanent foothold. As early as the second century, *Chauci* and *Menapii* are mentioned among the inhabitants of the southeast coast of Ireland.<sup>3</sup> Long before them, a number of emigrants from Flanders, driven from their continental homes by some great inundation, had come over, first imploring hospitality, and

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.*, iii, 8, 9; iv, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, iii, 177. Much tin is carried across from Britain to the opposite shore of Gaul, and is thence carried on horseback through the midst of the Celtic country to the people of Marseilles, and also to the city of Narbonne.—Diod. Sic., v, 38.

<sup>3</sup> Ptolemy, ii, 2.

then claiming the right to stay.<sup>1</sup> More numerous were the *Corantians*, who occupied the present counties of Lincoln, Leicester, Rutland, Northampton, Nottingham, and Derby, and who, according to the Welsh tradition itself, were Germans.

Under Roman rule, the very exigencies of military service had rendered Britain familiar to the nations of the Continent. The Batavi, under their own chieftains, had earned a share of Roman glory there.<sup>2</sup> The policy of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, at the successful close of the Marcomanic war, had transplanted to Britain multitudes of Germans, to serve at once as instruments of Roman power and as hostages for their countrymen on the frontier of the empire.<sup>3</sup> At a later period, Probus settled *Vandals* and *Burgundians* in the island. All these settlements can not but have left long and lasting traces of their presence in various parts of the country; and when Carausius raised the standard of revolt in Britain, A. D. 287, he probably calculated upon the assistance of the Germans in Britain, as well as on that of their allies and brethren on the continent.<sup>4</sup> Nineteen years later, at the death of Constantius, his son Constantine was solemnly elected Cæsar in Britain, and among his supporters was Crocus, or Hrocius,<sup>5</sup> an Alamannic king, who had accompanied his father from Germany. Still later, under Valentinian, we find an auxiliary prince of *Alamanni* serving with the Roman legions in Britain.<sup>6</sup>

With so many Germans living in a country whose fertile fields had long before merited the praises of the first Roman victor, and with the exalted reports of its wealth and prosperity witnessed by occasional German traders, the predatory spirit of their kinsfolk was readily aroused, and marked out the island as the great aim of their piratical enterprises. As they were familiar with

<sup>1</sup> See page 5.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, *Germ.*, iv. See notes, pages 36, 43, and 75.

<sup>3</sup> Dio. Cass., lxxi, lxxii; Gibbon, *Dec.*, ix. See page 46, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Carausius was a Menapian; but in the third century the inhabitants of the Menapian territory were Teutonic. Aurelius Victor calls him a Batavian.—See Gibbon, *Dec.*, xiii.

<sup>5</sup> This permutation of *c* and *h* is still heard in Florence, where the people pronounce *cocomero*, *hohomero*, with a peculiar aspiration. See page 48.

<sup>6</sup> Valentinian . . . in Macriani locum, Bucinobantibus, quæ contra Moguntiacum gens est Alamanna, regem Fraomarium ordinavit; quem paullo postea, quoniam recens excursus eundem penitus vastaverat pagum, in Britannos translatum potestate tribuni Alamannorum præfecerat numero, multitudine, viribusque ea tempestate florenti.—Ammianus, *Hist.*, xxix, c. 4.

the sea and all its dangers, the way across the intervening ocean was to them far less perilous and tedious than a march through the territories of jealous or hostile neighbors, or even than a coasting voyage along barbarous shores, defended by a yet more barbarous population. A northeast wind would, almost without effort of their own, have carried their ships from one shore to the other. There seems, then, every probability that bodies, more or less numerous, of coast-Germans, perhaps actually Saxons and Angles, had colonized the eastern shores of Britain long before the time generally assumed for their advent. This will explain the appointment of a Roman officer of state with the title of "Count of the Saxon frontier,"<sup>1</sup> whose government extended from what is now called Portsmouth to Wells, in Norfolk, and was supported by various civil and military establishments, dispersed along the whole seaboard. His business was, not only to watch the coast already occupied by these foreigners, but also to guard it against the enterprises of the continental pirates which, during the fourth century, had become more and more frequent and appalling.<sup>2</sup> All these robbers, whether Franks, Dutch, Friesian, or Saxon, indeed all nations or tribes that lived on the opposite coast, were called indiscriminately *Saxons*<sup>3</sup> by the Britons and the Romans; but as they are more particularly referred to as coming from the "Land of Marshes," we must look for them especially in these lands, of which the central part is Holland.

Following its shores from the Scheldt northward, along the Zeeland islands, the coasts of Holland proper and of Friesland, what strikes one first is the general want of slope; the rivers hardly drag themselves along, swollen and sluggish, with long, black-looking waves. Originally its soil was but a sediment of mud, the mere alluvium of the river, which the water was ever ready to wash away again.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Comes Litoris Saxonici per Britannias."—*Notitia utriusque Imperii*.

<sup>2</sup> Hoc tempore (A. D. 364) Picti, *Saxonesque* et Scotti et Attacotti Britannos ærumnis vexavere continuis.—Amianus, *Hist.*, xxvi, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Illius effectum curis, ne tela timerem

Scotica, ne Pictum tremere, ne litore toto  
Prospicerem dubiis venturum *Saxona* ventis.

Claudian, *de IV, Cons. Hon.*, xxiv.

Quin et aremoricus piratam *Saxona* tractus  
Sperabat, cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum  
Ludus, et assuto glaucum mare findere lembo.

Sidonii Apoll., *Carmina*, vii, 88.

<sup>4</sup> The very name of *Holland* describes this condition; *hol* in Dutch, *hohl* in Anglo-Saxon, meaning "hollow, empty."



The ancient maps of Holland represent the country as a mass of ponds and lakes, now all drained, and converted into the most fertile lands found on the world's surface; while dykes of the most wonderful strength and structure confine the river's course within allowed limits. Its great enemy is the sea, but this its men have learned to fight. The Friesians, already in their ancient laws, speak of the league they have made against "the ferocious ocean." From Holland to Friesland, a string of small islands bears witness to its ravages. In ancient times they were all connected, and at low tides their wide and extensive beach afforded easy communication. In 1282 a terrible storm broke through into Lake Flevo or Almare, now the Zuyder Zee, destroying seventy-two towns and villages and drowning over one hundred thousand persons. The first Roman fleet, a thousand vessels strong, perished there. To this day, ships wait a month or more in sight of port, tossed upon the great white waves, not daring to risk themselves in the shifting, winding channel, notorious for its wrecks. In winter a heavy crust of ice covers the streams; the sea drives back the frozen masses as they descend; they pile themselves with fearful crash upon the sand-banks, swaying to and fro, and now and then one may see a vessel, seized as in a vice, split in two within their violent grasp. In spite of all these dangers, or rather thanks to their immensity, which has brought out corresponding energies to combat them, Holland has become one of the richest and most densely populated countries on the globe. With scarcely a square rod between, village touches village for miles and miles along, and many of the inhabitants have lived and grown old without ever seeing an acre of uncultivated ground. Its cities are numerous, and models of neatness and good order, and few there are that do not show evidence of early culture and high civilization. Its educational establishments are many, all richly endowed and of the highest order; and nowhere is useful knowledge more widespread among all ranks of people. Nowhere have liberty and independence struck earlier or deeper roots, nor has oppression or foreign aggressions met with stouter or more strenuous resistance. Small as is the nation, compared with its powerful neighbors, it has successfully withstood the victorious armies of Spain and France, and at one time even contended with England for the supremacy of the seas. Yet these people, now so prosperous, so

cultivated, and so free, are the lineal descendants of those half-naked savages who, centuries ago, lived on the same soil, then covered with dense forests, bogs and marshes, whence, in their osier, hide-covered barks, they ventured out upon the stormy seas, bent on piracy and plunder.

In Cæsar's time, the whole district between the Rhine and the Scheldt was occupied by these people, who formed a portion of the Teutonic tribe of the *Chatti*. While they occupied the Betuwe, which the Romans called "Insula Batavorum,"<sup>1</sup> they went by the name of *Batavi*, while farther north, through Holland and Friesland, they were known as *Friesians*. After their alliance with the Romans, no foreign tribe was more faithful to its treaty. Their tribute was only one of men for the Roman army,<sup>2</sup> and their bravery was such as to draw the admiration and esteem of the Roman people, who called them brothers and friends.<sup>3</sup> The Batavian cavalry especially enjoyed high renown, and was even extolled by so good a judge as Plutarch.<sup>4</sup> In addition to the Batavians and Friesians, and to the south and southeast of these, were the *Usipetes*, *Bructeri*, *Sicambri*, *Chamavi*, *Attuarii*, *Chattuarii*, *Suevi*, *Eburones* and others, of whom we know, in these days at least, little more than their names. Many and varied must have been the dialects current among these tribes, since some of them are still found on the lips of the people, especially along the coasts and on the islands, where, in addition to the present national language, they continue to be the home-speech of the fishermen and farmers. All these dialects, however, varied and numerous as

<sup>1</sup> Mora parte quadam eu Rheno recepta, quæ appellatur Vahalis, insulam efficit *Batavorum*.—Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.*, iv, 10.

<sup>2</sup> The Batavians from the island formed by the Rhine and Maas took a prominent part in the conquest of Britain.—Tac., *Hist.*, i, 59; iv, 12; *Ann.*, xiv, 38; *Agric.*, 18, 36. They were originally an offshoot from the Chatti of the Black Forest, and were celebrated like their parent-tribe for their courage and endurance in war, "counting fortune but a chance and valor the only certainty."—Tac., *Germ.*, 29, 30, 31; *Hist.*, iv, 61, 64. In A. D. 98 Tacitus wrote of them as follows: "Through some domestic quarrel they crossed over to their present home, where they were to become a portion of the empire. They still enjoy that honor and the privileges of their old alliance, for they are not debased by tribute nor ground down by the tax-gatherer; they are exempt from subsidies and benevolences, and are kept for the wars—put on one side to be used only in a fight, like weapons stored in an armory."—Tac., *Germ.*, c. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Fratres et amici.—Grut., 75, *Scriptor. Antiq.*, infer. *Germ.*, p. 175.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπήγαγεν Ὀβάρως Ἰλλυθῆρος τοὺς καλουμένους βατάβους ἑλισὶ δὲ τερμανῶν ἰππεῖς ἄριστοι.—Plut., *Otho*, xii.

ἔνοι τε ἰππεῖς ἐπίλεκτοι, οἷς τὸ τῶν βαταβῶν . . . ὄνομα, ὅτι δὴ κρατιστοὶ ἰππεῶν εἰσὶ, κείται.—Dio Cassius, iv, 24.

they were, came within one or other of three well-defined groups—the *Frankish*, *Friesian*, or *Saxon*, which, though differing in parts, were nevertheless mutually understood.

Cæsar, Tacitus, Ptolemy, are alike silent as to the name of *Franks*, although they often speak of other tribes which occupied the districts in which we afterward find them. So it must have originated at a later date, and was probably first an epithet rather than a proper name, and possibly came into being during the third century, as the name of a league, composed of several tribes, against the ceaseless attempts of Rome. The first we hear of them is in the year 241, when the soldiers of Aurelian, who just before had been to the North-German frontier, marched out of Rome on their way to the Persian war, singing a rough barrack song that had reference to their late encounters with the Franks.<sup>1</sup> When their history begins, they are found in three groups, mostly on the left bank of the Rhine, from Mainz to the sea. One of these dwelt in Holland, north of the Betuwe, having the river Saal,<sup>2</sup> now the Yssel, as their eastern limit, and filling the parts, now called the Veluwe, south of Lake Flevo, and the territory of the Sicambri. Southeast of these was a second group, which took in the Chamavi, Bructeri, and Attuarii; and beyond these was a third, composed of the Chattuari and Suevi. By degrees all these filled the whole district from the Moselle to the Betuwe, up to the territory occupied by the Friesians, and in 280 A. D. they had spread down to the sea, inhabiting the marshy delta of the Rhine, which in those days was slow and shallow in its lower course, the main waters having been diverted by the Maas.<sup>3</sup> From there they commenced, as early as 287 A. D., their naval expeditions to Britain and down the coast of Gaul, and gradually crowded in upon its northern frontier, until finally under Hlodowig, the Salian Franks became masters of Northern Gaul, while their brethren, the Ripuarians, drifting toward the east, soon followed them, and occupied the northeastern part of that country. It is not till the days of Hlodowig that any light is thrown on the Frankish institutions, the *Lex Salica* and the *Lex*

<sup>1</sup> Mille Sarmatas, mille *Francos* semel et semel occidimus,

Mille mille mille, mille mille Persas quærimus.—Vopiscus, in *Aurelian*, vii.

<sup>2</sup> Hence the name of Salian Franks. The country northeast of Deventer is still called *Saalland*.

<sup>3</sup> "Paludicolæ Sigambri," or "Franci inviis strati paludibus."—Vopiscus, *Prob.* 12.

*Ripuaria* belonging to the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century. At that time, as it had probably been ever since their first organization, each tribe had its chief or king, elected by the whole body of freemen from one family as Hlodowig or Clovis,<sup>1</sup> for instance, from among the Merowings; there were also sundry officers of justice and administration, *grafs*,<sup>2</sup> as they were called, but no more noble than the rest of the free Franks, who formed a republic of fighting men, each man's voice being as potent in the *mall* or tribal council as his arm was in battle. "King," "free Frank," and "slave of war"—these are the only grades known among them. In this respect, their organization was that of all other Teutonic confederations. Their physical features, too, were those of the race in general; the fierceness of their looks, the wrinkled scowl about their brows, their wild blue eyes, their light complexion, their long fair hair, and especially their large limbs, contrasted strangely with the little stature of the Romans.<sup>3</sup> Their weapons, too, were quite characteristic, being their own, and closely connected with their name. They fought either with the *framea*—a word which is almost certainly a copyist's error for *franca*—which was a light javelin tipped with iron on either side; a weapon fit for casting and smiting, and sometimes spoken of as a little axe, while the *francisca* was their battle-axe. Many of these weapons have been found in English grave-yards, especially in Kent,<sup>4</sup> showing the Franks to have been among the early invaders of Britain.<sup>5</sup>

When first we hear of the *Friesians*, we find them in possession of the same district which they still occupy, but spreading farther west and south, between Lake

<sup>1</sup> Hlodowig, in Dutch, *Lodewyk*; in German, *Ludwig*; in French, *Louis*; in English, *Lewis*.

<sup>2</sup> In Dutch, *graaf*; in Anglo-Saxon, *gerefa* and *gerefa*, "a reeve or sheriff;" the fiscal officer of the shire, or county, or city, under an ealdorman.

<sup>3</sup> "*Francus* habet nomen a ferita sua," says Ermoldus, i, 344; and the word carries the sense of "boldness, defiance, freedom." As it did not lend itself well to Latin verse-endings, we find the poets of the time delighting to call the Franks by their old name of *Sicambri*, as in the famous address of St. Remi to Hlodowig: "Mitis deponere colla, *Sicamber*; adora quod incendisti, incende quod adorasti." Greg. Turr., ii, 31; and in the speech of Venantius Fortunatus to King Charibert: "Cum suis progenitus clara de gente Sygamber," vi, 4.

<sup>4</sup> For early English arms, see Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Latham thinks that Kent was largely colonized by Franks.—*English Language*, i, page 178. Lappenberg believes that the Saxons were accompanied by large numbers of Friesians and Franks. The Welshman, Llywarc Hen, uses *Frank* as an equivalent for *Saxon*.

Flevo and the North Sea, through what is now called Holland proper, including the Zealand islands, down to the Scheldt, which country they held in common with the Batavi and *Cannenefati*, with whom they were allied. Cæsar makes no mention of them,<sup>1</sup> but Pliny, referring to the people that lived along the lower Rhine, distinguishes even between *Frisii* and *Frisiavoni*,<sup>2</sup> the latter dwelling more eastward, between the Yssel and the Weser. They never spread far inland, but always coasting northward, they had their colonies even as far as Lymfjord in Denmark, and the islands of Funen and Seeland, which district is frequently called *Frisia minor* by the older historians of Denmark.<sup>3</sup> Like the Franks, they were of Teutonic stock, and the name of *Frisa* or *Fresa*, as they called themselves, means, at the same time, "daring, independent, and free." The present Friesians still pride themselves upon their ancestors never having been conquered by the Romans, but only nominally made tributary by Drusus, to the extent of paying a tax of ox-hides,<sup>4</sup> until the exactions of Olennius, who, demanding that all the hides should be of a superior quality, drove them to revolt in 28 A. D., which resulted in the defeat of Lucius Apronius. About the year 57 a body of Friesians took possession of lands reserved for the Roman soldiers, and instead of removing, at the threat of the Roman governor, they sent their chiefs to Rome to obtain imperial sanction for their occupancy. Tacitus tells us<sup>5</sup> how these chiefs, whom he calls Verritus<sup>6</sup> and Malotrix, excited the amusement and admiration of the people by taking, unasked, their seats among the senators in Pompey's theatre, when they heard that strangers from nations distinguished for their bravery and friendship to the Romans were admit-

<sup>1</sup> In speaking of the tribes that dwelt near the waters of the Rhine, Cæsar gives no names, but only refers to them in general. "Rhenus, ubi Oceano appropinquat, in plures diffluit partes, multis ingentibusque insulis effectis, quarum pars magna a feris barbarisque nationibus incolitur, eu quibus sunt, qui piscibus atque ovis avium vivere existimantur, multisque capitibus in Oceanum influit.—Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.*, iv, 10.

<sup>2</sup> In Rheno ipso . . . nobilissima Batavorum insula et Cannenefatium et aliæ *Frisiorum*, Chaucorum, *Frisiavonum* . . . quæ sternuntur inter Helinium ac Flevum.—Plinius, iv, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Hos a *Frisorum* gente conditos, nominis et linguæ societas testimonio est.—Saxo. Gramm., p. 260.

<sup>4</sup> Tributum . . . *Frisiis*, transrhenano populi. . . Drusus jusserat modicum, pro angustia rerum, ut in usus militares coria boum penderent.—Tacitus, *Annal.*, iv, 72.

<sup>5</sup> Tacitus, *Annal.*, xiii.

<sup>6</sup> *Gerrit* is still a Dutch and Friesian name. G=W=V.

ted to that privilege. In the third century they made alliance with the Chauci, a kindred race living east of them, between the Ems and the Weser, and with these formed a strong confederacy in all the territory north of that occupied by the Salian Franks, to whom they yielded the southern part of Holland, comprised between the Rhine and the Scheldt, as an outlet for the latter to the sea.

Neither Cæsar, nor Strabo, nor Pliny, nor Tacitus mention the name of *Saxon*. Ptolemy is the first who uses it, as that of a small tribe which, in his time (the second century), dwelt in Northern Germany, between the Eider, the Trave, and the Elbe, and upon some of the adjacent islands.<sup>1</sup> The name seems to be derived from the words *sax*, *saex*, *seax*, *sæx*, *sex*, or *sahs*, in all of which forms it appears in Anglo-Saxon, and means "a knife, a flint knife, a long knife, a short sword"; *handsax*, "a dagger;" *Seaxa*, *Seacsa*, "a Saxon."<sup>2</sup> It was therefore at first probably an epithet, before it became the name of a powerful confederation. The long knife is still a terrible national weapon among the Friesians. Even in late wars, Friesian regiments have been known to trust to it rather than to the bayonet. Among bullies and ruffians, the knife still holds the place that the fist does among boxers; and, as among the latter, bloody encounters occasionally take place with no other motive than to see who is "the better man," aiming only at the face, just as in certain North German universities, where the barbarous practice, with rapier instead of knife, is still kept up among the students in spite of the most earnest endeavors of the authorities to suppress it. The etymology of the name appears, therefore, well established. The small tribe mentioned by Ptolemy gradually extended, and already at an early date comprised many others, among them the *Chauci*, the *Angrivarii*, the *Chamavi*, and also the *Cherusci*, who, in the year 9, under their chief Arminius,

<sup>1</sup> ἐφεξῆς δὲ (μετὰ τοὺς Καρχόνες) ἐπὶ τὸν ἀρχαῖον τῆς κίμβρικῆς χερσονήσου Σάξονες . . . μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Σάξονας ἀπὸ τοῦ χαλοῦσου ποταμοῦ, . . . φεραδευνῆ.—Ptolem., *Geographia*, lib. iii.

The geographer of Ravenna says, "confinalis Daniæ est patria quæ nominatur *Saxonia*." Orosius speaks of the Saxons, "gentem Oceani in litoribus et paludibus inviis sitam."

<sup>2</sup> Erat autem illis diebus Saxonibus magnorum cultellorum usus, quitus, usque hodie Angli (id est Anglo-Saxones) utuntur, morem gentis antiquæ sectantes . . . . cultella nostra *sahs* dicuntur.—Witech. Corbej., p. 3. Nimes eure *saxes* (id est, cultellos vestros de siconibus vestris deducite).—Nennius, c. 48.

defeated the army of Quintilius Varus, consisting of more than three legions. Eutropius, who wrote in the fourth century, mentions that, united with the Franks, the Saxons had become formidable against the Roman frontier.<sup>1</sup> They then already spread from the Ems to the Elbe, through what is now Westphalia, Brunswick, and Hanover, along the territory occupied by the Friesians and the Salian Franks, with whom they often acted in concert. Still their exploits were mainly at sea, and in these the Chauci, who dwelt along the coast, and were of the same race and language as the Friesians, took the greater part. A special Roman fleet was appointed against them, in spite of which their raids and depredations on the British coast were so constant and effective as to require its being placed, as we have seen, under the special surveillance of a Roman officer of state. Toward the end of the fourth century, Frank and Saxon expeditions, some large, some small, greatly disturbed both Britain and Gaul, and became the dread of the peaceful inhabitants of these countries. More than any other, the Saxons were feared.<sup>2</sup> Quite a large expedition of the latter was driven back by Valentianus across the Frankish frontier.<sup>3</sup> In the early part of the fifth century, some Saxon tribes, coming by sea, took possession of the coast of what is now Normandy, and founded a permanent settlement near Bayeux,<sup>4</sup> while some others settled as far south as the mouth of the Loire, which latter, however, were soon absorbed in the subsequent Frankish empire. In the fifth and sixth centuries, while the Franks accomplished the conquest of Gaul, the Saxons accomplished the conquest of Britain. Roman power disappeared forever from both countries, and Frank and Saxon interests, henceforth divided, became vested, the one in France and the other in England. Those Saxon tribes that lived too far inland to take part in maritime expeditions, fought with the Thuringians and the Langobardians in Italy, attacked the Upper Rhine,

<sup>1</sup> Carausius apud Bononiam per tractum Belgicæ et Armoricæ pacandum mare accepisset, quod *Franci* et *Saxones* infestabant.—Eutrop., ix, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Præ ceteris hostibus *Saxones* timentur ut repentini.—Ammian. Marcellin. xxviii, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Valentianus *Saxones*, gentem en Oceani litoribus et paludibus inviisitam, virtute et agililate terribilem, periculosam Romanis finibus, eruptionem magna mole meditantes, en ipsis Francorum finibus oppressit.—Orosius, vii, 52.

<sup>4</sup> We there find, afterward, the *Saxones Bajocassini*, mentioned by Gregory of Tours, v, 27 and x. See pages 207, 208.

and extended the scene of their action even into France,<sup>1</sup> until at last Charlemagne, after one of the most sanguinary wars recorded in history, and which the Saxons kept up for over thirty years (772-804 A. D.), under their leader, Wittekind, destroyed their aggressive power, and forced them to accept Christianity.

Although the *Angles* were those whose invasion of Britain was by far the largest and most formidable, the notices we find of them as a people on the continent are extremely limited. Tacitus mentions them only incidentally, with some other tribes, in referring to certain religious rites that were common to them.<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy places them to the northeast of the Suevi and Langobardi in the middle Elbe,<sup>3</sup> that is, among the *Hermunduri*, who themselves were a branch of the Chatti or Friesians that dwelt on the right bank of the Saal, whence they spread eastward, through what is now Brunswick and Hanover, to the Elbe, into modern Mecklenburg, near the *Varini*, and from there to the northwest, into Holstein, where they met again with the colonies of their original stock, the Friesians. It is evidently from these parts and the lower Elbe that the famous expedition sailed forth which carried the Angles, under Ida, to Britain, leaving, like the Saxons, those that dwelt too far inland behind on the continent, where the latter formed a new league with the *Varini*, on the territory which these occupied with the *Hermunduri*, unless they were the very *Hermunduri* themselves, or a branch thereof, as is by some believed,

<sup>1</sup> Post hæc *Saxones*, qui cum Langobardis in Italiam venerant, iterum rumpunt in Gallias.—Greg. Turr., iv, 43.

<sup>2</sup> Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti, non per obsequium sed præliis et periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde, et Aviones, et *Angli*, et *Varini*, et Eudoses, et Suardones, et Nuithones, fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur: nec quidquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Herthum, id est, Terram matrem colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, inveni populis, arbitrantur. Est in insula Oceani Castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contactum, attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali deam intelligit, vectamque bobus feminis multâ cum veneratione prosequitur. Læti tunc dies, festa loca, quæcumque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt, clausum omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat; mox vehiculum et vestes, et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror, sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit id, quod tantum perituri vident.—Tacitus, *De Mor. Germ.*, 40.

<sup>3</sup> Τῶν δὲ Ἑσθῶν καὶ μεσογείων ἰθὺν μέγιστα μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ τε τῶν Σουήβων τῶν Ἀγγέλων, οἱ εἰσιν ἀνατολικώτεροι τῶν Λαγγοβάρδων, ἀνατείνοντες πρὸς τὰς ἑρκτους μέγχι τῶν μέσων τοῦ Ἄλβιος ποταμοῦ.—Ptolem., *Geographia*, lib. iii.



since, after the fifth century, the name of Hermunduri disappears, and that in their place we find only the *Toringi*, *Thoringi*, or *Thuringi*, which included both Angli and Varini, as appears from the "heading" of a set of laws dating from the eighth century.<sup>1</sup>

As to the origin of the name, which Bede and others who have copied him derives from *Angulus*, which he places on the Danish peninsula, it must be observed that, at the time he wrote, there was, and that even now there is, a portion of the Duchy of Sleswick called *Anglen*, or *the Corner*. It is really what its name denotes, a triangle of irregular shape, formed by the Slie, the firth of Flensborg, and a line drawn from the latter place to Sleswick; but its area is less than that of an American county, and therefore can not possibly have supplied a population as large as that of the Angles who went to England. That there were Angles in these parts when Ida was getting up his expedition on the lower Elbe is quite likely; but the bulk of the nation lived farther inland, where they were noticed by Tacitus, and where, as early as in the second century, Ptolemy speaks of them as *Angli*, dwelling on the middle Elbe, near the Langobardi and Suevi,<sup>2</sup> in that part of the country where Magdeburg is now situated; and therefore, whatever may be the origin of the name, it is not derived from the *Angulus* of Sleswick. The peninsula was at all times Danish, and so of course were its names. In old Danish chronicles the name occurs as *Angr*,<sup>3</sup> *Avngull*, *Öngull*. Saxo-Grammaticus writes *Angul*,<sup>4</sup> and Nennius calls it *Ochgul*.<sup>5</sup> Alfred, in translating Bede, writes both *Angel* and *Engel*. In Thuringen there is an *Engelin* and an *Englide*,<sup>6</sup> besides which there is

<sup>1</sup> Incipit lex *Angliorum* et *Werinorum* hoc est *Thuringorum*.

<sup>2</sup> The "Traveler's Song," which is of no historical authority, but may be regarded as a collection of ancient traditions, contains a legend of Offa, the mythical ancestor of the Mercian kings, which implies a belief that the Angles had gained a western outlet for their fleets before they undertook their migration. The glee-man is enumerating the tribes about the mouth of the Eider, which he calls "the monsters' gate," from some forgotten story of the sea. "Offa in boyhood won the greatest of kingdoms, and none of such age ever gained in battle a greater dominion with his single sword: his marches he widened toward the Myrgings by Fifel-dor: and there in the land, as Offa had won it, thenceforth continued the *Angles* and *Sueves*."—*Traveler's Song*, 84, 98. *Fifel-dor* means "the gate of monsters." The word *Eider*, itself, is said to be contracted from *Egi-dor*, "the gate of dread."

<sup>3</sup> *Angr* Sinus v. *lingula* tam *terræ* quam *maris*, locus scilicet *angustus*.—Bjorn.

<sup>4</sup> Saxo-Grammaticus, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Nennius, xxxvi.

<sup>6</sup> It is a very significant fact that in mediæval times the district south of Heidelberg was called the *Angla-Degau*.

an Island of *Anglen*, and a district of that name on the mainland, now inhabited by a Friesian population. The similarity between *Angulus* and *Angli* is therefore entirely fortuitous, and we can easily see how the resemblance, combined with the contiguity of the Anglen with the Saxon frontier, might mislead even so good a writer as Bede into the notion that he had found the country of the Angles in what he called the *Angulus* of Sleswick.

As the invasion of Britain took place by sea, we must look for the invaders among the maritime populations; that is, among those that dwelt along the coasts, from the Scheldt up to the Weser and the Elbe, and on the main rivers at some distance inland. An old historian has told us that "many and frequent were the expeditions from the continent, and many were the lords that strove against each other in the regions of East Anglia and Mercia; and thereby arose unnumbered wars, but the names of the chieftains remain unknown, by reason of their very multitude."<sup>1</sup> It has been thought that some of these invading bands may have belonged to races unconnected with the three great kindreds—Angles, Saxons, and Friesians—to whom the conquest is in the main assigned. A share in the enterprise is claimed for every nation between the Rhine and the Vistula—for the Franks and Lombards, the Jutes and Danes, the Wends from Rügen, and the Heruli of the eastern forests. To this cause it has even been proposed to ascribe the weakness of the later Angles, "when, fleeing before the invading Northmen, the sons yielded the dominion of the land which their valiant forefathers had conquered."<sup>2</sup> There is nothing unreasonable in supposing that isolated bands of adventurers from many countries may have occupied portions of the British coast, and may have even founded communities independent for a time of the Anglian or Saxon states in their neighborhood. But if so, the traces of such occupancy are lost, while those of the Angles, the Saxons, the Friesians, and their kindred the Dutch or Franks, are found everywhere throughout the British Isles.

The character of all these people displayed the qualities of fearless, active, and successful pirates. Orosius calls them dreadful for their courage and agility,<sup>3</sup> and the Emperor Julian, who had lived among barbarians, and

<sup>1</sup> Henr. Huntingd., *Hist.*, ii, 17.      <sup>2</sup> Lappenberg, *Hist. Eng.*, i, c. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Orosius, vii, c. 32.

who had fought with some of these tribes, speaks of them as distinguished for their vehemence and valor.<sup>1</sup> Zosimus, their contemporary, expresses the general feeling of his age when he ranks them as superior to others in energy, strength, and warlike fortitude.<sup>2</sup> Their ferocious qualities were cultivated by the habit of indiscriminate depredation. It was from the cruelty and destructiveness, as well as from the suddenness of their incursions, that they were dreaded more than any other people. Regardless of danger, they launched their predatory vessels and suffered the wind to blow them to any foreign coast, indifferent whether the result was unresisted depredations or mortal conflict. Such was their cupidity, or their brutal hardihood, that they often preferred embarking in the tempest, which might shipwreck them, because at such a season their victims would be more unguarded.<sup>3</sup> Inland provinces were not protected from their invasions. From ignorance, necessity, or policy, they traversed the ocean in boats framed of osier, and covered with skins sewed together;<sup>4</sup> and such was their skill, or their prodigality of life, that in these they sported in the tempests of the German Ocean. For vessels of this kind no coast was too shallow, no river too small; they dared to ascend the streams for eighty or a hundred miles, and if other plunder invited, or danger pressed, they carried their boats from one river to another, and thus escaped with facility from the most superior foe.<sup>5</sup>

But of all these people, those that went by the name of Saxons were the most dreaded. A letter which a Roman provincial, Sidonius Apollinaris, wrote in warning to a friend who had embarked as an officer in the Channel fleet, which was "looking out for the pirate-boats of the Saxons," gives us a glimpse of these freebooters as they appeared to the civilized world of the fifth century. "When you see their rowers," says Sidonius, "you may make up your mind that every one of them is an arch-pirate, with such wonderful unanimity do all of them at once command, obey, teach, and learn their business of brigandage. This is why I have to warn you to be more

<sup>1</sup> Julian, *Imp. Orat. de laud. Const.*, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Zosimus, iii, p. 147, ed. Ox.

<sup>3</sup> Amm. Marcell., xxviii, c. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Est parva scapha ex vimine facta, quæ contexta crudo corio genus navigii præbet.—Isidorus, *Orig.*, xix, c. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Du Bos., 149; Gibbon, 524.

than ever on your guard in this warfare. Your foe is of all foes the fiercest. He attacks unexpectedly; if you expect him, he makes his escape; he despises those who seek to block his path; he overthrows those who are off their guard; he cuts off any enemy whom he follows; while for himself, he never fails to escape when he is forced to fly. And, more than this, to these men a shipwreck is a school of seamanship rather than a matter of dread. They know the dangers of the deep like men who are every day in contact with them. For, since a storm throws those whom they wish to attack off their guard, while it hinders their own coming onset from being seen from afar, they gladly risk themselves in the midst of wrecks and sea-beaten rocks, in the hope of making profit out of every tempest."<sup>1</sup>

The picture is one of men who were not merely greedy freebooters, but finished seamen, and who had learned, barbarians as they were, how to command and how to obey in their school of war. But it was not the daring or the pillage of the Saxons that spread terror along the Channel so much as their cruelty. It was by this that the Roman provincials distinguished them from the rest of the German races who were attacking the empire; for, while men noted in the Frank his want of faith, in the Alan his greed, in the Hun his shamelessness, in the Gepid an utter absence of any trace of civilization, what they noted in the Saxon was his savage cruelty.<sup>2</sup> It was this ruthlessness that made their descents on the coasts of the Channel so terrible to the provincials. The main aim of these pirate raids, as of the pirate raids from the north hundreds of years later, was man-hunting—the carrying off of men, women, and children into slavery. But the slave-hunting of the Saxons had features of peculiar horror. "Before they raise their anchor, and set sail from the hostile continent for their own homeland, their wont, when they are on the eve of returning, is to slay, by long and painful tortures, one man in every ten of those they have taken, in compliance with a religious use, which is even more lamentable than superstitious; and for this purpose to gather the whole crowd of doomed men together, and temper the injustice of their fate by the mock justice of casting lots for the victims. Though such a rite

<sup>1</sup> Sidonius Apollinaris, viii, c. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Gens Saxonum fera est, Francorum infidelis, Gepidarum inhumana, Chonorum impudica, etc.*—Salvian, *De Gubernatione Dei*, iv, 14.

is not so much a sacrifice that cleanses as a sacrilege that defiles them, the doers of this deed of blood deem it a part of their religion rather to torture their captives than to take ransom for them."<sup>1</sup>

Such is the portrait which historians give of these people—Frank, Friesians, and Saxons, all alike—and little pleasing, it must be confessed, for those who like to revere them as their ancestors. The ferocity of their character would seem to suit better the dark and melancholy physiognomies of the most savage of our Indians than the fair, pleasing, and blue-eyed countenances by which they are described.<sup>2</sup> But, though nature had gifted them with the germs of these amiable qualities, which have become the national character of their descendants, their savage customs, their violent passions and barbarous training, smothered for the time being all the good qualities of which they were naturally possessed.

These, however, must not be overlooked. Under the shocking barbarism of all these northern tribes, which contrasted so fearfully with Roman culture and civilization, there were noble dispositions, unknown to the Roman world, and destined to produce, in time, high-minded nations out of the ruins of these. In the first place, a certain earnestness in all their undertakings leads them out of idle sentiments into grave and serious ones. They live solitary, each family by itself, near the spring or the wood which has taken their fancy; they must have independence and free air. They have no taste for luxury or voluptuousness; all the recreation they indulge in is hunting and fishing, and a dance among naked swords. Brutal intoxication and perilous wagers are their weakest points; they seek their pleasures in all that is adventure—luck and strong excitement. In everything else, in rude and masculine instincts, they are men. Each in his own home, on his own land, and in his own hut, is master of himself, without any form of shackle or restraint. In all great meetings of his tribe he gives his vote in arms; he makes

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Green, *The Making of England*. Mos est remeaturis decimum quemque captorum per æquales et cruciarias poenas, plus ob hoc tristi quam superstitioso ritu, necare; superque collectam turbam periturorum, mortis iniquitatem sortis æquitate dispergere. Talibus eligunt votis, victimis solvunt; et per hujusmodi non tam sacrificia purgati quam sacrilegia polluti, religiosum putant cædis infaustæ perpetratores de capite captivo magis exigere tormenta quam pretia. The "cruciarias poenas," here referred to, which have been translated by "crucifixion," were more probably something like the "spread eagle" of the later Northmen.

<sup>2</sup> Truces et cœrulei oculi.—Tacitus.

his own alliance, and, having chosen his chief, he forgets himself in him, assigns to him his own glory, and serves him to the death. He who returns from battle without his chief is infamous as long as he lives.<sup>1</sup> In Homer the warrior often gives way, and is not blamed if he flies; in Germany the coward is drowned in the mud, under a burdle. Through all outbreaks of primitive brutality, gleams obscurely the grand idea of duty, which, misconceived as it often was, was not the less a sense of self-restraint, in view of some great end. The same sense of honor which binds him to his chief he keeps up toward women. He marries but one, and keeps faith with her. Among all these rude tribes the adulterer was punished by death. The wife, on entering her husband's home, becomes the companion of his labors and his perils, and will dare and suffer as much as he; but while his companion in war, she is but his slave in peace. She attends to all the indoor and outdoor work, and toils and labors day and night, while to him she is but a trusty servant and the mother of the young heroes who are to perpetuate the name and prowess of their father. Yet this kind of half-naked brute, who lies all day by his fireside when not engaged in war, in plunder, or in sports, sluggish and dirty, always eating and drinking,<sup>2</sup> whose rusty faculties can not shape his thoughts to anything but matter, catches occasional glimpses of the sublime in his troubled dreams. He can not see it, but he simply feels it; the germ of religion is already there, but has as yet no form. What he designates by divine names, is something terrible and grand which floats throughout all nature, a mysterious infinity which the sense can not touch, but which reverence alone can appreciate; and when, later on, the legends define and alter this vague divination of natural powers, an idea remains at the bottom of this chaos of giant-dreams—that the world is a warfare, and heroism the greatest excellence.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum, superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse.—Tacitus, *De moribus Germanorum*, xiv. They have but one kind of show, and they use it at every gathering. Naked lads, who know the game, leap among swords and in front of spears. Practice gives cleverness, and cleverness, grace: but it is not a trade, or a thing done for hire; however venturesome the sport, their only payment is the delight of the crowd.—*Ibid.*, xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> In omni domo, nudi et sordidi. . . . Diem noctemque continuare potando, nulle proborum. . . . Plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno, ciboque; totos dies juxta focum atque ignem agunt.—Tacitus, *De moribus Germanorum*, passim.

<sup>3</sup> H. A. Taine, *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*.

Having thus outlined the interior structure of the race, we must next consider its surroundings. Man is not alone in the world; nature surrounds him, and his fellow-men surround him. Influences out of his control insensibly shape his ways and destinies, and physical and social circumstances may change and modify, nay, alter entirely, the original tendencies and character of any race, of any nation. Many are the influences which thus may affect the existence of a people, but none more so than that of climate. Though we can follow but obscurely the Aryan peoples from their common fatherland to their final countries, we can yet assert that the profound differences which are manifest between the Teutonic races on the one side, and the Greek and Latin on the other, arise, for the most part, from the difference between the countries in which they settled; some in cold, misty, unproductive lands, struggling for a wretched existence in black, marshy forests, or on the shores of a wild ocean, caged in by melancholy or violent sensations, prone to drunkenness and gluttony, bent on a fighting, blood-spilling life; others, again, within a lovely landscape, where life is easy, on a bright, cheerful sea-coast, enticed to friendly intercourse and commerce, exempt from gross cravings of the stomach, inclined from the beginning to social ways, to a settled organization of the state, to feelings and dispositions such as develop the art of oratory, the talent for enjoyment, the inventions of science, letters, and arts. Thus considered, we will be better able to account for the difference of races, their mode of existence, their thoughts, their acts, and consequently their language. A language, in itself, is never more than an abstract thing; the complete thing is the man who acts, the man, corporeal and visible, who eats, drinks, walks, fights, and works. If we wish to know and well understand a nation, we must see its men in their workshops, in their offices, in their fields; with their sky and earth, their homes, their dress, their meals; their luxuries, their wants; their toils, their recreations; as we do when, arriving in foreign lands, we remark faces and motions, roads and inns, dress and occupations—a gentleman taking his walk, a lady in her carriage, laborers at work, soldiers training, a procession in the streets, and many other details, all expressive of the national life and customs of those whom we are visiting and studying. Even so with nations that lived in times that have gone by. In studying them, our great care should be to sup-

ply as much as possible the want of present, personal, and direct observation, by sound imagination, based on what remains of authentic information. Thus we may succeed in bringing, to some extent at least, the past within the present, and enable ourselves, on matters of the past, to bear a proper judgment. To judge anything we must have it before us, if not in reality, at least in imagination; there is no experience in respect to what is absent. Doubtless this reconstruction is always incomplete, and therefore it can produce only incomplete judgments; but to that we must be reconciled. It is better to have an imperfect knowledge than a futile or false one; and there is no other means of acquainting ourselves approximately with the events of other days than to see approximately the men of those days. Thus we may get an idea of what can have been their wants, their acts, their thoughts, and therefore their language. It will reveal to us the nature and extent of their vocabulary, and the degree of attention bestowed on the art of putting words together. For men will speak and must speak, whatever their condition, however low may be the state of their civilization; and as they know the names of things from imitation only, so they construct the sentence in the way they have heard it done by others. Thus even the most barbarous tribes have a special and habitual mode of speaking, which exhibits the nature and grammar of each particular dialect; and it is by this means especially that philologists search and trace the history of languages, and of the people that speak or have spoken them, to their very origin.

The language spoken by all the tribes that, in the fifth and sixth centuries, took part in the conquest of Britain, was virtually the same, but broken up into a great variety of dialects, and belonged to what is known as the Gothic stock of languages. In the reign of Valens, the Goths, when pressed by intestine wars, and by the movements of the Huns, were assisted by that emperor, from whom they obtained land in the Roman province of *Moesia*. Hence the term *Moeso-Gothic*, which is the name given to the only Gothic dialect of which a specimen has been preserved. It was the language spoken by the conquerors of ancient Rome; by the subjects of Hermanric, Alaric, Theodoric, Euric, Athanaric, and Totila; and the Bible, translated into their language about the year 365, by their bishop, Vulfila or Wulfila, now generally written



Ulphilas, is the earliest sample yet discovered of any Gothic tongue.<sup>1</sup> Although the dialect in which the translation is made is vastly different from that of later Teutonic nations, it serves for a standard by which subsequent changes may be detected and estimated, and throw, as such, much light on the kindred languages of Germany. As a specimen of this dialect we give the following passage from St. Luke, which we have already seen in the current Celtic dialects:

## MÆSO-GOTHIC.

*Aivaggeljo Þairh Lukan, Kapitel 7, v. 11-17.*

11. Jah varþ in þamma afardaga, iddja in baurg namnida Naen; jah mid iddjedun imma sipoņjos is ganohai jah manageins filu.

12. Biþeh þan nehva vas daura þizos baurgs, þaruh sai, ut baurans vas naus, sunus ainaha aiþein seinai, jah si silbo vidovo, jah managei þizos baurgs ganoha miþ izai.

13. Jah gasaihvands þo frauja Iesus infeinoda du izai jah qaþ du izai: ni gret!

14. Jah duatgaggands attaitok hvilfrjom; iþ þai bairandans gastoþun; jah qaþ: juggalaud, du þus qiþa: urreis!

15. Jah ussat sa naus jah dugann rodjan. Jah atgaf ina aiþein is.

16. Dissat þan allans agis, jah mikilidedun guþ, qiþandans þatei praufetus mikils urrais in unsis, jah þatei gaveisoda guþ manageins seinaiþos.

17. Jah usiddja þata vaurd and alla Iudaia bi ina jah and allans bisitands.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of his translation an imperfect manuscript, containing fragments of the four gospels, was found in 1597, in the monastery of Werden, in Germany. Some passages of the same version have been recovered at a later period. Of these relics a magnificent copy has been made, which is preserved in the Royal Library of Upsal. It is of a quarto size, and written on vellum, the leaves of which are stained with a violet color, and on this ground the letters, which are all uncial or capitals, are painted in silver, except the initials, which are gold. The name of *Codex Argenteus*, by which this document is generally known, is derived from its being bound in silver, and not from its silver lettering.

<sup>2</sup> To facilitate comparison, we place here the authorized English version of the same passage:

11. And it came to pass the day after, that he went into a city called Nain; and many of his disciples went with him, and much people.

12. Now when he came nigh to the gate of the city, behold, there was a dead man carried out, the only son of his mother, and she was a widow: and much people of the city was with her.

13. And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not.

14. And he came and touched the bier; and they that bare him stood still. And he said, Young man, I say unto thee, Arise.

As the Gothic population was very numerous, and divided into many tribes, we may well suppose that their language was spoken in many various dialects, though the Moeso-Gothic alone has thus far been discovered. Connected with this great stock of dialects there probably already existed a vast number of sister dialects which now may be viewed in two distinct groups—the Teutonic and the Scandinavian—each of which has a character of its own, in addition to the common character by which they are allied, and distinguished from tongues belonging to other stocks. The Teutonic group again appears in two subdivisions—the High Dutch and the Low Dutch, and though these differ less from each other than from the Scandinavian, each has nevertheless its own peculiar features. The High Dutch, as represented in the language of the Scripture paraphrasts, Otfried and Notker, was spoken from the eighth to the twelfth century in Suabia, Bavaria, and Franconia, and is known by the name of Old High Dutch (Alt-Hoch-Deutsch, called also Francic), to distinguish it from the Middle High Dutch (Mittel-Hoch-Deutsch), which was current in southern and eastern Germany from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, and was the language in which was written the Epic of the Nibelungen. The Modern or New High Dutch originated in the latter part of the fifteenth century, in the imperial chancery of Saxony, and was first used as a literary language by Luther; and mainly through his writings and those of the Reformation, it became and remains the leading dialect in Germany. As an artificial language, it bears the same relation to the many popular dialects from which it is derived as the Latin does to the many Latian dialects out of which arose the imperial language of Rome. Some of the old Teutonic dialects, still spoken in various parts of Germany, have even now their literature, and, both spoken and written, they are in many instances so different from each other as to be unintelligible, not only to people of different districts, but even to those whose speech is modern German, which, in its present form, is the national language of all German countries.

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15. And he that was dead sat up, and began to speak. And he delivered him to his mother.

16. And there came a fear on all: and they glorified God, saying, That a great prophet is risen up among us; and, that God hath visited his people.

17. And this rumor of him went forth throughout all Judea, and throughout all the region round about.

As the High Dutch forms of language prevailed in the south and southeast of Germany, so the Low Dutch found its way, at a very early period, and much less altered, north and west along the Baltic and the German Ocean, and was spoken by all the Teutonic tribes dwelling within this seaboard boundary and a line drawn east from Flanders to the middle Elbe, a tract of country frequently referred to by old writers as *Saxland*, where the same language was current in various dialects, more or less differing from each other, but not so much as not to be generally understood. In course of time all these dialects settled into four groups—the Platt-Deutsch, Friesic, Dutch, and Flemish—which all resemble each other very closely, and may be compared to different hues of the same color, with Platt-Deutsch at one end, Flemish at the other, and Dutch and Friesic in the center. Of these, the Dutch has retained the oldest forms, and become the national language of the Netherlands, while the others live alongside in the condition of secondary dialects—the Platt-Deutsch, spoken from the Ems to the Elbe, being much crowded by the literary and national language of Germany; the Friesic, still current in the country districts of the present province of Friesland, and, in strongly differentiated dialects, along the sea-coast and the islands, gradually yielding before the literary and official Dutch of Holland; while the Flemish, confined to a limited territory, exists under even greater disadvantages in the provinces of Flanders and South Brabant, in Belgium. Still, each of these dialects has its literature, and while the national language is current among all ranks of the community in Holland and west Friesland, yet the old popular dialects remain the home-speech of a vast number of people, especially in the country and in the more remote districts.

Among the earliest monuments of these dialects we find *The Traveler's Song* and the *The Fight at Finnesburg*, which, referring as they do to Friesian matters, are probably of Friesian origin, while the epic poem of *Beowulf*, whose scenes are laid among the Danes, is supposed to have been wrought among the Angles of Holstein;<sup>1</sup> but

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<sup>1</sup> While this is the general opinion, it is but just to say that some believe it to be the most important surviving monument of Anglo-Saxon poetry, and to date not later than the eighth century. Thorpe considers it merely the translation of a Swedish poem, made in the eleventh century. One thing remarkable about this poem is that, though existing in Anglo-Saxon only, it makes no allusion to England whatsoever, from which it is inferred that the author lived before the Saxon invasions, and that in its present form it is only a translation.

as of all these works we possess only Anglo-Saxon copies, much altered in form by Anglo-Saxon copyists, and partially or entirely rewritten perhaps at a later period, we can not judge correctly of the original form of language in which they were composed; but in comparing them, as they now appear, with a translation of the Psalms, made in Holland in the time of Charlemagne, whence they take the name of *Carolinian Psalms*,<sup>1</sup> they seem to be only two dialects of the same language. Later on, in the tenth century, appears the *Heiland* (*Heiland* in Dutch, meaning "the Savior"), a sort of Gospel Harmony or Life of Christ, written in a dialect supposed to have belonged to parts about Essen, Cleves, and Münster, in Westphalia. Its forms bear also a close resemblance to the old Friesian, Dutch, and Anglo-Saxon.

The Scandinavian branch of the Gothic stock comprehends the dialect of Scandinavia proper, that is: Sweden and Norway, the Danish Isles, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands. Each of these has its *Sagas* (Norse *Sögur*), some dating as far back as the ninth and tenth centuries. The *Elder Edda*, or Poetic *Edda*, as it is sometimes called, is among the earliest specimens of Scandinavian literature; it was discovered about the year 1643, and is believed to belong to the ninth century. The *Prose Edda*, or *Snorra Sturlusonar*, is probably of the twelfth century.

These three branches—High Dutch, Low Dutch, and Scandinavian—in all their dialectic divisions and subdivisions, have certain features in common, owing to their common origin; and correspond to three distinct groups of people, belonging to the same race, but differing in manners, customs, interests, and language, as they differ in geographical position. Where separated by the seas, the contrast is clear and well defined; where no water-courses or mountain-ranges intervene, the difference is less marked, and the change more gradual along the line of national and political boundaries. Thus the High Dutch and the Low Dutch differ from each other less than either does from the Scandinavian; while the Low Dutch, lying in the middle, forms, as it were, a sort of link between the two extremes. Viewing all these dialects in their leading forms, that is, in the national form of language, the following versions from St. Luke's narra-

<sup>1</sup> The best text of this translation is to be found in a Dutch literary periodical called *Taalkundig Magazyn*.

tive, Chapter VII, will exhibit the degree of resemblance and of difference that exists at present between the German, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish idioms:

## GERMAN.

11. Und es begab sich darnach, daß er in eine Stadt mit Namen Nain ging; und seiner Jünger gingen viele mit ihm, und viel Volks.

12. Als er aber nahe an das Stadthor kam, siehe, da trug man einen Todten heraus, der ein einziger Sohn war seiner Mutter; und sie war eine Wittwe, und viel Volks aus der Stadt ging mit ihr.

13. Und da sie der Herr sahe, jammerte ihn derselbigen, und sprach zu ihr: Weine nicht!

14. Und trat hinzu, und rührte den Sarg an; und die Träger standen. Und er sprach: Jüngling, ich sage dir, stehe auf!

15. Und der Todte richtete sich auf, und fing an zu reden. Und er gab ihn seiner Mutter.

16. Und es kam sie alle eine Furcht an, und riefen Gott, und sprachen: Es ist ein großer Prophet unter uns aufgestanden, und Gott hat sein Volk heimgesucht.

17. Und diese Rede von ihm erscholl in das ganze jüdische Land, und in alle umliegende Länder.

## DANISH.

11. Og det begar sig Dagen derefter, at han gik til en Stad, som hedte Nain, og der gik mange af hans Disciple med ham og meget Folk.

12. Men der han kom neer til Stadens Port, see, da blev en Død

## DUTCH.

11. En het geschiedde op den volgenden dag, dat hij ging naar eene stad, genaamd Nain, en met hem gingen vele van zijne discipelen, en eene groote schare.

12. En als hij de poort der stad genaakte, ziet daar, een doode werd uitgedragen, die een eeniggeboren zoon zijner moeder was, en zij was weduwe, en eene groote schare van de stad was met haar.

13. En de Heere, haar ziende, werd innerlijk met ontferming over haar bewogen, en zeide tot haar: Ween niet.

14. En hij ging toe, en raakte de baar aan; (de dragers nu stonden stil) en hij zeide: Jongeling, ik zeg u, sta op!

15. En de doode zat over einde, en begon te spreken. En hij gaf hem aan zijne moeder.

16. En vreeze beving hen allen, en zij verheerlijkten God, zeggende: Een groot profeet is onder ons opgestaan, en God heeft zijn volk bezocht.

17. En dit gerucht van hem ging uit in geheel Judéa, en in al het omliggende land.

## SWEDISH.

11. Så begaf det sig sedan, att han gick uti den staden, som kallades Nain; och med honom gingo mange hans lärjungar, och mycket folk.

12. Då han nu kom intill stadsportén, så så bars der ut en döder,

ubbaaren, som var sin Moders eenbaarne Son, og hun var en Enke; og meget Folk af Staden gif med hende.

13. Og der Herren saae hende, ynkedes han inderligen over hende og sagde til hende: grad iffe.

14. Og han traadte til og rorte ved Baaren, (men de, som bare, flode stille), og han sogde; du unge Karl, jeg siger dig, staa op!

15. Og den Døde reisste sig op, og begynte at tale; og han gav hans Moder ham.

16. Men en Frogt betog Alle, og de prisfede Gud og sagde; der er en stor Prophet opreist iblandt os, og Gud haver besøgt sit Folk.

17. Og denne Tale om ham kom ud i det ganske Judea og i alt det omkringliggende Land.

sinne moders ende son, och hon war enka; och en stor hopy folk af staden gif med henne.

13. Da Herren sag henne, war-kunnade han sig öfwer henne, och sade till henne: Grat idt.

14. Och han gif till, och tog pa barena; och de, som baro, stadnade. Da sade han: Jag säger dig, unger man, stätt upp.

15. Och den döde satte sig upp, och begynte tala; och han sid honom hans moder.

16. Och en räddhage kom öfwer alla, och de prisfede Gud, sägande: En stor Prophet är uppfommen ihland os, och Gud hafwer sökt sitt folk.

17. Och detta ryktet om honom gif ut öfwer allt Judiska landet, och all de land deromkring.

It was from among the Low Dutch speaking tribes, from those that dwelt in "Saxland," and especially along the sea-coast and the rivers, there issued forth the piratical hordes which, after gaining for centuries, slowly but effectively, a foothold in Britain, invaded the island in overwhelming numbers during the fifth and sixth centuries, and possessed themselves of the best and most fertile lands in the country. How and when these invasions commenced is not exactly clear. Bede says it was in the reign of Marcianus and Valentinianus, A. D. 450 to 457, but he does not give the year.<sup>1</sup> Prosper Tyro says that about the year 441 Britian was finally subjected to the Saxon power;<sup>2</sup> while Nennius specifies the year 447, as being during the consulate of Gratianus.<sup>3</sup> From these data, differing as they do in point of time, it is to be inferred that by the middle of the fifth century commenced, on a larger scale, the invasions of various Teutonic tribes, who, possessing themselves of different tracts of land, drove back the British population north and west, until, after a century of incessant struggle, they had achieved the conquest of the best parts of the island. Taking the

<sup>1</sup> Bede, c. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicon ad Ann. Theodosii*, xviii (441).

<sup>3</sup> Nennius, p. 62, 80.

year 449, therefore, as the correct time recorded by history for the commencement of actual hostilities leading to the *conquest*, we must observe, from what we have seen already, that this date, ordinarily assigned also for the commencement of the Saxon *colonization* of Britain, is too late by at least a couple of centuries. Even in the time of Agricola, if not before, the Saxon piracy had begun. In the southeast of England a Saxon immigration seems to have been going on in silence during the entire period of Roman rule. The Roman legions stationed in Britain were composed mainly of Germans, which must have introduced a considerable German element into the population. Even before the time of Constantine there was a *Litus Saxonicum*, which extended from Bruncaster, in Norfolk, as far as Shoreham, in Sussex. Descents in large numbers were constantly made, and we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus that nearly a century before the date assigned by Bede for the supposed landing of Hengist and Horsa, London was taken by Saxon and Frankish invaders, who slew the Duke of Britain and the Count of the Saxon Shore.<sup>1</sup>

Leaving aside, therefore, the doubtful legend of Hengist and Horsa, the probability is that, during the late troubles of the Britons with the Scots and Picts, there was, in the absence of the Roman legions, a greater influx

<sup>1</sup> There are several concurrent indications that the district of Holderness was occupied by Teutonic settlers before the close of the Roman rule. Holderness is a fertile tract of some two hundred and fifty square miles, bounded on the north, east, and south by the sea, and the Humber, and on the west by the Wolds, which were probably a frontier of wooded and impenetrable hills. In this district Ptolemy places a people whom he calls the Παρίσιοι. Grimm has shown that the old German *þ* is interchangeable in Latin with *f*, the aspirated form of the same letter. This would lead us to identify the Παρίσιοι with the Frisii, or Friesians. In the same district Ptolemy places *Petuaria*, a name which can not be explained from Celtic sources, but which points undoubtedly to the Teutonic root *ware*, "inhabitants," which appears in *Cantware*, *Wiltware* and so many other names. Nor is this all, for Ptolemy gives us a third name in the district of Holderness, *Gabrantovicorum Sinus*, which word contains the root *vic*, which was the appellation for "a bay" in the language of the people who, at a later period, descended in such numbers from the Friesian region. Moreover, the Friesian form of *ham* is *um*; and Holderness is the only part of England where this form occurs. Wright, "*On the remains of a primitive people in the southeast of Yorkshire.*"—*Essays*, vol. i, p. 1. Poulson, *History of Holderness*, vol. i, pp. 4-9. Procopius also speaks of Friesians in Britain. Βριττανίαν δὲ τὴν νῆσον ἔθνη τρία πολυανθρωπήτατα ἔχουσι, βασιλεὺς τε εἰς αὐτῶν ἑκάστου ἐφίστηκεν, ἀνόματα δὲ καί ταις ἔθνεσι τοῖτοισι Ἀγγέλοι τε καὶ Φρίσσωνες καὶ οἱ τῆ νῆσου ὀνόματι Βρίττωνες. Τσαυτῆ δὲ ἡ τῆδε τῶν ἔθνων πολυανθρωπία φαίνεται οὕσα ὥστε ἀπὸ πᾶν ἔτος κατὰ πολλοὺς ἐνόηδε μεταναστᾶμενοι ξὺν γυναῖξί καὶ παισὶν εἰς Φράγγους χάρουσι.—Procop. B. G., iv, 20.

of Germans than at any time before, and that the British government under Guorteyrn, being hard pressed, resolved, according to Roman practice, to enlist some as auxiliaries, to help them fight their battles. This, at least, agrees with Widukind's statement, that at various times the Britons applied to the Saxons for aid, which may be understood to refer to the Germans that lived in Britain as well as to the new-comers. That engagements of the kind were actually made seems to be well proved, and that at first the foreign troops did good service is shown from the British annals and traditions. Soon after, however, seeing the weakness of the nation, and instigated most likely by the resident foreign population, especially those of Kent and the Isle of Wight, who, under the name of Dutch, Gots, Jots, Juts, or Jutes, seem to have been at the bottom of all Britain's misfortunes, they turned upon the natives, and, joining hands with the Scots and Picts, as other Saxons had done only a few years previous,<sup>1</sup> they succeeded, under cover of renewed inroads of the Scots and Picts into the northern provinces, in gaining a permanent foothold in some parts of the island, whence, constantly reinforced by new arrivals from "Saxland," and joined by many of the old settlers and all kind of adventurers, they overran the whole southeastern part of Britain, and forced the natives into submission.

It is no doubt probable that the whole land was not subdued without difficulty in some parts, and that here and there a courageous leader, or a favorable position, may even have enabled the aborigines to obtain temporary victories over the invaders. The new immigrants, though not likely to find land vacant for their occupation among their kinsmen, who had long been settled in the island, were well assured of their co-operation in any attempt to wrest new settlements from the British. But no authentic record remains of the slow and gradual progress that would have attended the conquest of a brave and united people, nor is any such consistent with the accounts the British authors have left of the disorganized and disarmed condition of the population. A skirmish, carried on by very small numbers on either side, seems generally to have decided the fate of a campaign. Steadily from east to west, from south to north,

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<sup>1</sup> Interea Saxones Pictique bellum adversus Britones junctis viribus susceperunt, quos eadem necessitas in castra contraxerat.—*Vita S. Germani*, Boll. Bishop Germanus came to Britain about the year 429, and died in 448.



the sharp axes and long swords of the Teutons hewed their way; wherever opposition was offered, it ended in the retreat of the natives to the mountains—natural fortresses from which it was impossible to dislodge them, and from which they sometimes descended to attempt a hopeless effort for the liberty of their country, or revenge upon their oppressors. The ruder and more generous of their number may have preferred exile and the chances of emigration to subjection at home; but the mass of the people, accustomed to Roman rule, or the oppression of native princes,<sup>1</sup> probably suffered little by the change of masters, and did little to avoid it. We learn, even, that at first the condition of the British under the Saxon rule was fair and easy, and only rendered harsher in punishment of their unsuccessful attempts at rebellion.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the laws of Ini, a West Saxon king, show that in territories subject to his rule, and bordering upon the yet British lands, the Welshman occupied the place of an independent day-laborer rather than a slave.<sup>3</sup> Nothing in fact is more common, or less true, than the exaggerated account of total exterminations and miserable oppressions in the traditional literature of conquered nations; and we may safely appeal even to the personal appearance of the peasantry in many parts of England, for evidence as to how much Celtic blood was permitted to subsist and even to mingle with that of the ruling Germans; while the signatures to very early charters supply us with names assuredly not Teutonic, and therefore probably borne by persons of Celtic race, occupying positions of dignity at the courts of Anglo-Saxon kings, similar to those held by Gallic and Roman ministers at the courts of Frankish and Gothic monarchs.<sup>4</sup>

It would be extremely interesting if we could follow the progress of the conquest in reference to the relations

<sup>1</sup> Gildas, *Epist. querul.* passim.

<sup>2</sup> Quorum illi qui Northwallos, id est Aquilonales Britones dicebantur, parti Westsaxonum regum obvenerant. Illi quondam consuetis servitiis seduli, diu nil asperum retulere, sed tunc rebellionem meditantes, Kentuninus rex tam anxia cæde perdomuit, ut nihil ulterius sperarent. Quare et ultima malorum accessit captivis tributaria functio; ut qui antea nec solam umbram palpabant libertatis, nunc iugum subjectionis palam ingemiscerent.—Wm. Malmsb., *Vita Aldelmi*, ii, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Leges Ini, §§ 32, 33. Great numbers of Britons seem to have been roving at all times among the Saxons, to judge from their many complaints of robberies by Welsh thieves.—*Vita Guthlac. Acta Sanct.*

<sup>4</sup> See J. M. Kemble's *Tract in the Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute*, 1845, on Anglo-Saxon names.

that sprang up, in course of time, between the conquerors and their new subjects, so as to see to what extent this mixture of races may have affected the language of the former. But this is an epoch in the history of the human mind which in those times seldom interested any one, and has not been faithfully detailed. Hence, on this subject curiosity must submit to be disappointed. The converted Saxon remembered the practices of his idolatrous ancestors with too much abhorrence to record them for the notice of future ages; consequently we can only see them in those imperfect sketches which patient industry may collect from the passages scattered in the works which time has spared. These, unfortunately, have been thus far very slender, and little beyond what Bede could collect at the beginning of the eighth century has furnished materials for Saxon history previous to the introduction of Christianity. All subsequent reports rest, therefore, mainly on the authority of this author. Though not entirely free from the prejudices of his time, and yielding ready faith to tales which his frame of mind disposed him willingly to credit, he nevertheless seems to have bestowed great pains upon the investigation and critical appreciation of the materials he collected. But the limits of the object he had proposed to himself, that is, the ecclesiastical history of the island, not only imposed upon him the necessity of commencing his detailed narrative at a comparatively late period, but led him to record much of England's secular history, on which he could find no sufficient information, or which he did not think worthy of belief. The deeds of pagan and barbarous chieftains, moreover, offered little to attract his attention or command his sympathies, indeed, were little likely to be objects of interest to those from whom his information was generally derived. There may have been annals referring to these matters; there may have been songs, such as Tacitus informs us the Germans had in his time, to record events in their history;<sup>1</sup> but, leaving aside the inaccuracy and exaggeration of such kind of annals, even if records of that nature did exist among the Saxons in England, they have perished, and left no trace behind, unless we are to attribute to them such scanty notices as the Saxon chronicle adds to Bede's account. From such

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<sup>1</sup> *Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriæ et annalium genus est.*—Tacitus, *De Mor. Germ.*, cap. ii.

sources, however, little could have been gained of accurate information, either as to the real internal state, the domestic progress, or development of the various Saxon settlements. In this respect the chronicle itself is especially defective. Not only are its notices concerning the early settlements in Kent, Sussex, and Wessex extremely vague and uncertain, but those of Northumberland are even still more meager and imperfect, while of Mercia, Essex, Eastanglia, and the innumerable kingdoms that must have been comprised under these general appellations, not a single word is said. We shall, therefore, not linger over the monotonous tale of the conquest, as taken from this source, but rather try to picture to ourselves the immediate effect of the conquest, and to know how people lived before their conversion from paganism, by consulting the records of ancient customs and manners, from which, for our present purpose, far more may be learned than from any bead-roll of the chiefs and kings whose wars are entered in the chronicles. The annalist summed up the bare results of the struggle, and was content to note that "so and so" slew "so many" thousand Britons, and that such other chief, when his wars were ended, was buried in such or such place. Even in this the Saxon and British accounts often differed vastly, according to their sympathies, their records, or traditions, as well might be expected. The only point on which they in the main agree, was the terrible sufferings inflicted by the early conquerors upon the native population; witness the sack of Anderida,<sup>1</sup> which shows the blind ferocity which distinguished the first invasions. A few ruins near Pevensey were long shown to travelers as all that remained of the "noble city."<sup>2</sup> Many of the towns and castles were doubtless burned and uprooted by the rough tribes who made their homes in the forest, for the new-comers hated the life of cities, and dwelt, like their forefathers, in hamlets scattered along the banks of a stream or in the glades of a

<sup>1</sup> "In the year 477 came Ælle with his three sons to Cymen's-Ore, and there they slew many Welsh, and some they drove into the forest called Andred's-Lea: and when eight years had passed they fought again at a place called Markrede's-Burn." After six years more they encamped against Anderida, a fortress which had been erected for the defense of the "Saxon Shore," and destroyed it so utterly that "not one single Briton there was left alive."—*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Ann., 477, 485, 491.

<sup>2</sup> Ita urbem destruxerunt quod nunquam postea reedificata est; locus tantum quasi nobilissimæ urbis transeuntibus ostenditur desolatus.—Henr. Hunt., ii, 10.

favorite wood.<sup>1</sup> Some of the towns, which were spared at first, fell afterwards in the civil wars, and many more were left, in contemptuous neglect, to crumble in the wind and rain. But the Saxon kings, as time went on, learned to hold their courts in the fortresses, to choose an ancient city for a metropolis, to grant a Roman town to a favorite retainer, or to set up their own farmsteads on the ruins of desolated palaces.

The people, as they became more civilized, began to regard these remnants of the past with feelings of wonder and regret. Their poets lamented the destruction of "the joyous halls," of the ruined towers and bare walls coated with frost. "The old time has fled and is lost under night's dark veil." The elegy called "The Ruin" tells how such a castle fell, as the towers of Anderida had fallen, and how the earth was shaken as the furnaces of the baths exploded in flame and steam. "Wondrous the wall-stone that Weird hath broken . . . the roof-tree riven, the gray gates despoiled. Often that wall withstood Rhægar and Readfáh, chieftain after chieftain rising in storm. Bright was the burgh-place and many the princely halls, and high was the roof of gold. . . . And the court is dreary, and the crowned roof lies low in the shadow of the purple arch. Princes of old time, joyous and gold-bright and splendidly decked, proud and with wine elate, in war-gear shone. They looked on their treasures, on silver and gems and on stones of price, and on this bright burgh of their broad realm. The stone court stands, the hot stream hath whelmed it, there where the bath was hot on the breast."<sup>2</sup>

As regards the social and political relations of the various tribes that took part in the conquest, and of their descendants for several generations, we know in fact but little. More settled and wealthier than in their continental homes, they had probably changed little, or, if at all, only for the worse, like the Franks, like all barbarians who pass from action to enjoyment. Still, from subsequent details of their history, as far as ascertained, it appears that in the main they kept up the same mode

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Germ.*, c. 16; Ammian Marcell., xvi, 2, 12.

<sup>2</sup> The extracts are translated from the poems in the Exeter Book, ascribed to Cynewulf.—Thorpe, *Cod-Exon.*, 292, 476, 478. The characteristic alliteration has been preserved as far as was practicable. For the personification of "Weird," or Destiny, see Kemble, *Saxons in England*, i, 400. The "Fates" are the "Weird Sisters."—Grimm, *Deutsch Mythol.*, 377.

of life in Britain as that which they were used to in their former homes. The possession of land being their great object, they improved the opportunity, and their agriculture seems to have been in a more advanced state than among their continental kinsmen. A three-course system of husbandry was adopted; wheat and flax are the crops which seem to have been the most cultivated. We meet with indications of the existence of extensive estates, on which stood large houses, occasionally of stone, but more frequently of wood, for the residence of the proprietor, surrounded by the *tun*, or inclosure for cattle, and the *bartun*, or inclosure for the gathered crops. Round the homestead were inclosed fields, with barns, mills, and weirs. There were detached outlying sheepfolds and sheepcotes, with residences for the serfs, and special pasturages were allotted to swine and goats. The estates were separated from one another by a *mark*, or broad boundary of woodland. There were open forest-pastures fed by swine, which must have presented an appearance resembling that of our American clearings at the present day. In these woodlands the prevalent vegetation consisted of the thorn, hazel, oak, ash, elm, lime, and fern. The maple, beech, birch, aspen, and willow grew less abundantly. There were plantations of osiers, and the names of the rush and sedge occur so frequently as to indicate a very defective state of drainage. One fact, however, which we gather from ancient names, indicates a marked peculiarity in the aspect of Anglo-Saxon England. In no single instance throughout the charters do we meet with a name implying the existence of any kind of pine or fir, a circumstance which curiously corroborates the assertion of Cæsar, that there was no fir found in Britain. The names of fruit-trees are also very unfrequent, with the exception of that of the apple-tree, and even this appears very rarely in conjunction with Anglo-Saxon roots, being found chiefly in Celtic names, such as *Appledore*, *Appledurcombe*, and *Avalon*; or in Norse names, such as *Appleby*, *Applegarth*, and *Applethwaite*.<sup>1</sup>

The social and political organizations of the Saxons in England seem to have differed but little from those existing among all Teutonic nations. The continental Saxons, in Bede's time, were still governed by a great number of

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<sup>1</sup> The root *apple* or *apul*, runs through the whole of Celtic, Scandinavian, Teutonic, and Slavonian languages. On Celtic names, see page 118 and following; on Norse names, page 174 and following.

chieftains, each managing the affairs of a province or district, and having authority over the *reeves*, or head men of the villages; when war broke out, one of the number was chosen by lot to lead the national forces, but on the return of peace they all became equal again.<sup>1</sup> The system resembled in many respects the institutions described by Tacitus; for even in the states which were ruled by kings the chieftains arranged the smaller matters of government, and had the task of carrying out what the people decided in their national assemblies; and we are told that some of the chieftains were elected at the same assemblies to administer justice in the country districts and villages, each having with him a hundred assessors or companions to give advice and to add authority to his decisions.<sup>2</sup>

Tacitus, from whom we derive our earliest information concerning the Germans of his time, supplies us with many details, which not only show the existence of a system, but tend also to prove its long prevalence. He tells us not only of nobles, but also of kings, princes, and inherited authority, and gives us some detailed accounts concerning the status of the freemen and the condition of the serfs, which distinctions and institutions were kept up, undoubtedly, among the Saxons in England as they were among their kinsfolk in Germany and the Franks in Gaul. Various were the grounds and the degrees of serfdom among these nations. In one case it was poverty, arising from over-population, which, in times of scarcity, allowed a man to sell even his wife and children.<sup>3</sup> In another it was voluntary surrender to escape starvation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, v, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Tac., *Germ.*, 11, 13. The district or *pagus* administered by the chieftain may be regarded as the original *shire*, which, as the kingdoms increased in size, became the subdivision of a larger shire, and in course of time acquired the Frankish name of *Centena* or *Hundred*. The "county-court" on this view represents the national assembly of an extinct Kingdom, and the "hundred-court" the assembly of one of its original districts.

<sup>3</sup> Ac primo boves ipsos, mox agros, postremo corpora coniugum aut liberorum servitio tradebant.—Tacit., *Annal.*, iv, 72. Even as late as the end of the seventh century, and after Christianity had been established for nearly one hundred years, we find the following distinct and clear recognition of this right in books of discipline compiled for the guidance of the clergy: "Pater filium septem annorum, necessitate compulsus, potestatem habet tradere in servitium; deinde, sine voluntate filii, licentiam tradendi non habet."—Theodori Arch. Cant., *Liber Poenitentialis*, xxviii.

<sup>4</sup> Si liber homo spontanea voluntate vel forte necessitate coactus, nobili, seu libero, seu etiam lito in personam et in servitium liti se subdidit.—*Lex Sres.*, xi, 1. The Anglo-Saxon law gave this power of voluntary surrender to a boy

Another cause was debt, especially gambling debt, in which case the unsuccessful gambler, who had staked and lost his liberty and the free disposal of his own body, upon one fatal cast of the dice, would voluntarily submit to be bound and sold.<sup>1</sup> Another, and important cause, was forfeiture of liberty for crime. But by far the larger number of serfs were the slaves by fortune of war. It was held among the ancients that, if the victor has a right to the life of the vanquished, which by the law of nature is unquestionably the case, he possesses, even on stronger grounds, a perfect claim to the person, the property, and the services of his prisoner, if his self-interest or the dictates of humanity induce him to waive that right. Though these views apply, no doubt, in their fullest force to the Saxons in their victories over the Britons, it does not follow, however, that the total defeat of a hostile tribe resulted invariably in the immediate and direct enslaving of all the survivors—men, women, and children; for, though the unlucky fate of war must have almost always led to the murder of the captive chiefs and nobles, and even though many of the common freemen may have been sold or retained as slaves at the caprice of the captors, yet we can not suppose this to have been the lot of any but those who had actually taken part in combat; no natural or national law could extend these harsh provisions to the freemen who remained quiet at home. Nevertheless, even these were liable to be indirectly affected by the hostile triumph, inasmuch as the conquerors appear to have invariably taken a portion, if not all, of the territory occupied by the conquered, thereby depriving the cultivator of means sufficient for his support, and leaving him no other resource but to place himself in dependence upon some wealthier man—in other words, to become a serf by voluntary surrender. Men so situated formed the large body of artisans and mechanics in various branches of industry, the domestic and menial servants of the free landowner, while on the estate in general they discharged the functions of plowman, barnman, oxherd, shepherd, swineherd, dairymaid, etc., which will give an idea of

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of thirteen.—Theodori, *Poenit.*, xxix. Gildas tells of such cases of voluntary surrender among the Britons. "Interea fames dira ac famosissima vagis ac mutabundis hæret, quæ multos eorum cruentis compellit prædonibus sine dilatione victas dare manus, ut paucillum ad refocillandam animam cibi caperent.—*Hist. Brit.*, xvii.

<sup>1</sup> Servos conditionis huius per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriæ exsolvant.—Tacit., *Germ.*, xxiv.

the class of Celtic words that gradually found their way into the Saxon, and have remained current in the English language.

It is now generally admitted that such was the condition of the British population in general, who thus became dependent upon their Saxon lords; but grievous and inglorious as this condition was, it did not bring the conquered into that peculiar relation to their masters which the word *serf* strictly implies toward an owner. They were probably well enough provided for, and formed a sort of middle class among the *unfree*; comprising the great majority of those who, without being absolutely their own masters, were yet placed somewhat above the lowest and most abject condition of man, which we call slavery. The real *slave* was the absolute property of his lord, a chattel to be disposed of at the lord's pleasure. The taint of blood descended to his offspring, and the innocent progeny, to the remotest generations, were born to the same miserable fate as bowed down the guilty or unfortunate parent. Nor was this low degree of slavery confined to the Briton population exclusively; Saxons were equally liable to the same degradation, either through crime or through the fate of war, owing to the unsettled state of their respective boundaries, which led to constant conflict. So numerous was at one time this class of captives, that they were disposed of abroad; and it was even the exhibition for sale of some fine blue-eyed, fair-haired Anglo-Saxon boys in the slave-mart in Rome that indirectly led to the mission of Augustin to England.

Pope Gregory the Great, noticing the bright appearance of some of these youths, and having ascertained the place of their nativity, conceived the idea of educating a certain number, to be returned in time as missionaries to England. With this object in view he ordered, in the slave-markets of various places, young men of Anglo-Saxon race to be sought of seventeen or eighteen years of age.<sup>1</sup> These his agents bought and placed in monasteries, imposing upon them the task of making themselves acquainted with the doctrines of the Catholic faith, so as to be able to teach them in their native language. It would seem, however, that these intended missionaries

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<sup>1</sup> Volumus ut dilectio tua . . . pueros anglos, qui sunt ab annis decem et septem, vel decem et octo, ut in monasteriis dati Deo proficiant comparet.—Gregorii papæ *epistola ad Candidum presbyterum*.



did not come up to the expectation of their teachers, for Pope Gregory, soon laying aside his original plan, resolved to intrust the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Romans of tried faith and solid learning. The chief of this mission was named Augustin, and he was, ere his departure, consecrated Bishop of England. Thus far the British Christians, though deficient neither in faith nor in zeal, had never attempted the conversion of their Saxon masters, and Bede counts it among their greatest sins "that they never preached the faith to the Saxons or English that dwelt among them."<sup>1</sup> But resentment at foreign usurpation, and an immovable conviction of better days to come, absorbed all their thoughts, while the contempt of the haughty conqueror for an enslaved people extended also to their faith and their religious rites. Conversion therefore, if possible at all, had to come from outside, and under more auspicious influences.

On their way to England, the Roman mission, under the leadership of Augustin, repaired first to Chalons, where dwelt Theodoric, son of Hildebert, king of half the eastern portion of the country conquered by the Franks. They next went to Metz where, over the other half, reigned Theodebert, another son of Hildebert. For both these kings they brought letters from Pope Gregory,<sup>2</sup> calculated to excite their good will in lending aid and protection to the members of the mission, and such assistance as was in their power to promote the success of the pious enterprise. How little was known at that time about the real state of things in England, and the prospect of stability of the Saxon conquest, appears from these very letters of Pope Gregory, who, knowing that the Franks were at war with the Saxons of Germany, refers to the Anglo-Saxons beyond the seas, whom these monks were on their way to convert, as subjects of the Franks. "I have felt," he wrote to the two sons of Hildebert, "that you would ardently desire the happy conversion of *your subjects* to the faith which you yourselves profess—*you, their lords and kings*; this conviction has induced me to send Augustin, the bearer of these presents, with other servants of God, to labor there under your auspices."<sup>3</sup> Upon this the Frank kings welcomed the mission, and defrayed its expenses on its way toward

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *Eccles. Hist.*, xxii.

<sup>2</sup> *Epist. Greg.*, passim.

<sup>3</sup> *Opera Gregorii, papa iv.*

the sea. The king of the western Franks, although at war with his relations of the east, received the Romans as graciously as they had done, and assisted them with men of the Frank nation to act as interpreters with the English people, who spoke the same language.<sup>1</sup> As these interpreters, selected to communicate with the people of Kent, belonged to the Salian Franks, whose ancestors originally dwelt in the Rhenish Netherlands, the fact of their being chosen from among these tribes goes far to prove, as already inferred, that some of the first invaders of Britain came from Holland.

In the year 597, Augustin and the members of his mission landed in England, on the very spot where Hengist was said to have landed a century and a half before, in the isle of Thanet; and the interpreters whom he had chosen among the Franks were at once sent to Ethelbert, then king of Kent, with news of their arrival, as well as with promises of things strange to his ears—of joy without end, and a kingdom forever in heaven. Ethelbert undoubtedly was aware of their coming. He had married Bertha, a daughter of the Frankish king Charibert, on the condition that she should be allowed to remain a Christian; her chaplain, Bishop Lindhard, formed a part of the Kentish court; and a ruined church, now known as that of St. Martin outside the new Canterbury, had been given him for his worship. Negotiations with Bertha and with the king himself had probably preceded the landing of Augustin; and, after a few days' delay, Ethelbert crossed into Thanet to confer with the new-comers. They found him sitting in the open air on a chalk down, "for fear of magic," says Bede; and the king listened patiently to the sermon of Augustin as the interpreters rendered it in his native tongue. "Your words are fair," he answered, "but they are new and of doubtful meaning." For himself, he said, he refused to forsake the gods of his fathers; but, with the usual religious tolerance of the Teutonic race, he promised shelter and protection to the strangers within his own dominions. After a short time, however, the king listened to the missionaries, and thousands of Kentish men crowded to baptism in the train of their chief.<sup>2</sup> Thus far success surpassed the most san-

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<sup>1</sup> *Naturalis ergo lingua Francorum communicat cum Anglis eo quod de Germania gentes ambæ germinaverint.*—Willelm Malmsh., *De Gest reg. angl.*, lib. i; Bede, *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, lib. ii, cap. xxiii, xxiv, xxv.

<sup>2</sup> Pope Gregory, writing in 598, rejoices that at the past Christmas "plus

guine expectations of Augustin and his mission; but more trying and less fruitful were the efforts of Paulinus in Northumbria, where, after a first apparent success, he was compelled to leave, on account of its hopeless relapse into idolatry. Through the influence of Æthelbert, Rædwald, the king of the East Anglians, had been induced to become a Christian; but finding no disposition among his people to adopt the new faith, and being vehemently opposed by his wife and some of his pagan priests,<sup>1</sup> he strove to satisfy the voice of his conscience and the will of his people by a characteristic compromise, in no wise uncommon in those days. He retained the older gods, but he placed the new Christ among them, and set a Christian altar in the temples beside the altar of the deities of his race.<sup>2</sup> During the greater part of the century which followed the coming of Augustin, the people of each kingdom relapsed into paganism as often as their careless rulers allowed them a greater liberty, or a pestilence, or a defeat in battle recalled the power of the ancient gods. Even in Kent the heathen temples were not formally abolished until the year 640, and it is recorded that five years before that time not a single church or outward sign of Christianity had been set up in the whole kingdom of Bernicia.<sup>3</sup> It was only at a later period, through the efforts of the Irish missionaries, that the Christian religion prevailed among the Angles, whose conversion, being supported by numerous schools and religious establishments, spread among the people a certain degree of culture which exerted a permanent influence on the future of the national language.

The greatest difficulties which the Christian missionaries had to contend with, in England as well as elsewhere, were not only the pagan rites and ceremonies connected with the idolatrous religion of the forefathers of their converts, the practice of which it took long to eradi-

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quam decem millia Angli ab eodem nunciati sunt fratre (Augustino) et coepiscopo nostro baptizari."—Stubbs and Haddam, *Councils*, iii, 12. Notice that here the men of Kent are called Angles and not Saxons.

<sup>1</sup> Rediens domum, ab uxore sua et quibusdam perversis doctoribus seductus est.—Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Ita ut, in morem antiquorum Samaritanorum, et Christo servire videretur et diis quibus antea serviebat; atque in eodem fano et altare haberet ad sacrificium Christi, et arulam ad victimas dæmoniorum.—Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 15. This temple, with its two altars, lasted almost to Bede's day. Quod fanum rex ejusdem provinciæ Aldwulf, qui nostra ætate fuit, usque ad suum tempus perdurasse, et se in pueritia vidisse testabatur.

<sup>3</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 30; ii, 5, 15; *Epist. ad Ecgbert*, 5.

cate;<sup>1</sup> it was especially the kind of heathen poetry still current among them, as for generations it was among all Teutonic nations, and by means of which the memory and practice of their ancient rites and ceremonies was kept alive in their heathen songs at wakes and festivals, and which in general were of a low and demoralizing character. It was to counteract this influence that the clergy composed Christian hymns and songs in the national language, which, to be effective, had to conform to the taste of the age, and to be made equal to the best poems then extant and admired by the most intelligent of those who had embraced the new religion. These considerations must not be overlooked if we would understand the peculiar character of the first great Christian Anglo-Saxon poem, which bears the name of Cædmon. If something of the legendary hangs over his personal history, it only shows how strongly his poetry had stirred the imagination of his people. "The author," says Longfellow, "is a pious, prayerful monk—an awful, reverend, and religious man. He has all the simplicity of a child. He

<sup>1</sup> Ita christiani sunt isti barbari, ut multos prisæ superstitionis ritus observent, humanas hostias aliaque impia sacrificia divinationibus adhibentes.—Procopius sub anno 539, *apud Script. rer. gallic, et francic.* Pope Gregory says of the Lombards: More suo immolaverunt caput capræ diabolo, hoc ei per circuitum currentes et carmine nefando dedicantes.—Greg. Magn., *Dialog.* iii, cap. 28. The sources of information as to the character of the English paganism are of extremely various kinds, comprising such matters as the ancient forms of laws and canons against heathen practices, traditionary spells and incantations, and legends connected with Runic letters, and the plants used in medicine. They furnish the most conclusive evidence that the mythology current among the old Saxons was also current among the Saxons in England. Kemble cites the chapter in the "Penitential of Theodore" devoted to the description of the heathen practices. "Qui grana arserit ubi mortuus est homo, etc. Siquis pro sanitate filioli per foramen terræ exierit, illudque spinis post se concludit, etc. Siquis in Kal. Januar. in cervulo vel vitulâ vadit, id est in ferarum habitus se communicant, et vestiuntur pellibus pecudum et assumunt capita bestiarum: qui vero taliter in ferinas species se transformant . . . quia hoc dæmoniacum est."—*Saxons in England*, i, 525, 528; and he adds, "It is not going too far to assert that the boar's head, which yet forms the ornament of our festive tables, especially at Christmas, may have been inherited from heathen days, and that the vows made upon it in the Middle Ages may have had their sanction in ancient paganism." Other survivals from heathen times occur in the names of the days of the week, which probably date from a time long preceding the conquest of England, and even the very name of "Easter" is connected with the worship of the Anglian goddess "Eostre," whose festivals are mentioned by Bede; "antiqui Anglorum populi, gens mea . . . apud eos Aprilis Esturmonath, quondam a deâ illorum quæ Eostra vocabatur et cui in illo festa celebrantur, nomen habuit."—*De Temp. Rat.*, c. 13. For more ample information on this subject, see *Statistique Judiciaire des Francs, des Anglo-Saxons et autres Peuples du Moyen-Age*, par M. Moreau de Jonnés, in the *Stances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Comptes Rendus*, 1852.

calls his creator the Blythe Heart King; the patriarchs, earls; and their children, noblemen. Abraham is a wise-heedy, a guardian of bracelets, a mighty earl; and his wife Sarah, a woman of elfin beauty. The sons of Reuben are called sea-pirates; the Ethiopians, a people brown with the hot coals of heaven. Striking poetic epithets and passages are not wanting, sprinkling here and there through the narrative. The sky is called the roof of nations, the roof adorned with stars. Whenever the author has a battle to describe, and hosts of arm-bearing and wayfaring men draw from their sheaths the ring-hilted swords of doughty edges, he enters into the matter with so much spirit that one can almost see, looking from under his monkish cowl, the visage of no parish priest, but of a grim war-wolf, as the brave were called when Cædmon wrote."

This, however, shows how well he understood the spirit of the age, and the likings of the people whom he was addressing. If his poetry was at all to be successful in arresting and overwhelming the pagan flow of ideas, kept up by such lay-poetry as was then current among his countrymen, a people of brutal habits, used to daily scenes of war and bloodshed, it had to excel in all that was calculated to stir their feelings, and to produce deeper emotions than those they were in the habit of receiving from their national songs and the weird conceits of their ancestral poets. The latter recorded the mystic deeds of Thor, and Odin, and other pagan gods, the fights and victories of legendary heroes, the wild recital of which usually concluded the festive repasts and entertainments among all Teutonic nations after the beer had flowed freely. On such occasions pretty sentimentalities would have been out of question. So they do not speak; they sing, or rather shout. Each little verse is an acclamation, which breaks forth with a growl; their strong breasts heave with a groan of anger or enthusiasm, and a vehement phrase or indistinct expression rises suddenly, almost in spite of them, to their lips. There is no art, no natural talent for describing singly and in order the different parts of an object or an event. The fifty rays of light which every phenomenon emits in succession to a regular and well-directed intellect, come to them at once in a glowing and confused beam, disabling them by their force and convergence. Listen to their genuine war-chants, unchecked and violent, as became their terrible

voices. To this day, at this distance in time, separated as they are from us by manners and speech for over ten centuries, it seems we hear them still.<sup>1</sup>

"The army goes forth; the birds sing, the cricket chirps, the war-weapons sound, the lance clangs against the shield. Now shineth the moon, wandering under the sky. Now arise the deeds of woe, which the enmity of this people prepares to do. . . . Then in the court came the tumult of war-carnage. They seized with their hands the hollow wood of the shield. They smote through the bones of the head. The roofs of the castle resounded, until Garulf fell in battle, the first of earth-dwelling men, son of Guthlaf. Around him lay many brave men dying. The raven whirled about, dark and somber, like a willow leaf. There was a sparkling of blades, as if all Finsburg were on fire. Never have I heard of a more worthy battle in war."<sup>2</sup>

There is another song on Athelstan's victory at Brunanburh. His army having overpassed the northern limit agreed upon between the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes, the latter formed an offensive league, under the leadership of their king Olaf with the Picts and Scots and the tribe of ancient Britons who inhabited the valley of the Clyde. This confederation was a formidable one, and comprised within its ranks the men of the Baltic, the Danes of the Orcades, the Gaels of the Hebrides, armed with their long two-handed swords, which they called *glay-more*, the Gaels of the Grampians, and the Cambrians of Dumbar-ton and Galloway, bearing long, slight pikes. The two armies met north of the Humber, at a place called in Saxon *Brunanburgh*, or "the town of fountains," now Bam-borough. Victory declared for the English, who compelled the wreck of the confederates to make a painful retreat to their ships, their islands, and their mountains. The conquerors named this day "the day of the great fight," and celebrated it in their national songs, of which the following is a fragment, and though of a much later date than the former (A. D. 937), its language is still more wild and disconnected:

"This year Athelstan king, of earls the lord, the giver of the bracelets of the nobles, and his brother also, Edward the ætheling, the elder a lasting glory, won by

<sup>1</sup> H. A. Taine, *Histoire de la littérature Anglaise*.

<sup>2</sup> Conybeare's *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, Battle of Finsborough*.

slaughter in battle, with the edges of swords, at Brunanburh. The wall of shields they cleared, they hewed the noble banners: with the rest of the family, the children of Edward. . . . Pursuing; they destroyed the Scottish people and the ship-fleet. . . . The field was colored with the warriors' blood! After that the sun on high . . . the greatest star! glided over the earth, God's candle bright! till the noble creature hastened to her setting. There lay soldiers, many with darts struck down. Northern men over their shields shot. So were the Scotch, weary of ruddy battle. . . . The screamers of war they left behind; the raven to enjoy, the dismal kite, and the black raven with horned beak, and the hoarse toad; the eagle afterward to feed on the white flesh; the greedy battle-hawk, and the gray beast, the wolf in the wood."<sup>1</sup>

Here, all is imagery. In their impassioned minds, events are not bald with the dry propriety of an exact description; each fits in with its pomp of sound, shape, and coloring; it is almost a vision, with its accompanying emotions—joy, fury, excitement. In their speech, arrows are "the serpents of Hel,"<sup>2</sup> shot from bows of horn"; ships are "great sea-steeds"; the sea is "a chalice of waves"; the helmet "the castle of the head"; they need an extraordinary language to express their vehement sensations, and, inspiration failing, their poets are reduced to a distorted and obscure jargon, which, in spite of all its imagery, is generally feeble. They can not express their inner emotion by a single word, and so, time after time, they return to and repeat the same idea. The sun on high! the great star! God's brilliant candle! the noble creature! Four times in short succession the poet here repeats his thoughts, and each time under a new aspect. All these different aspects rise simultaneously before the barbarian's eyes, and each word acts like a shock on his excited nerves. Under such conditions the regularity of ideas is disturbed at every turn, and the succession of thought is at variance with the roaming mind. One color slurs another, each succeeding image crowds out the one preceding the moment it is traced, and the confusion thus produced acts on the imagination like a diorama of unexplained pictures.

<sup>1</sup> Sharon Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons; Angl. Sax. Chron.*, ann., 937.

<sup>2</sup> *Hel*, the goddess of death, born of Loki and Angrboda, ruled in a future world destined for cowards and traitors.

His phrases recur and change seemingly at random; he emits the word that comes to his lips without apparent thought and without hesitation; from sound he passes to sound, and leaps over wide intervals from idea to idea. The more he is transported, the quicker and wider are the intervals traversed. In one bound he visits the most distant parts of his horizon, and there he touches objects which seem to have the whole world between them. Then abruptly, and without giving notice, he will return to the idea he has quitted, and insert in it the thought to which he is giving expression—all this in short abrupt lines, whose sole ornament is alliteration, the awkward search for which tends to render the already confused ideas still more entangled, often to such an extent as to leave them utterly unintelligible, and to baffle all attempts at translation.

Such are the characteristics of early Anglo-Saxon poetry in general, including that of Cædmon. Hear him; he also sings when he speaks. When he mentions the ark, he uses no less than thirty consecutive phrases; it is "the sea-house, the wooden fortress, the greatest of floating chambers, the ocean palace, the cavern, the sea-chest, the building of the waves," etc., etc. Every time he thinks of it, he sees it in his mind with a quick luminous vision, and each time under a new aspect, and casting over the water its enormous shadow, black and high like a huge castle, now undulating on the muddy waves, inclosing in its sides all kinds of caged beasts. In relating the death of Pharaoh, his words and phrases are incoherent and wild, like the torrent of the dashing waves: "The folk were affrighted, the flood-dread seized on their sad souls; ocean wailed with death; the mountain-heights with blood besteamed, the sea-foamed gore; crying was in the waves, the water full of weapons; a death-mist rose; the Egyptians were turned back; trembling they fled, they felt fear; gladly would that host find their homes; their vaunt grew sadder; against them, as a cloud, rose the fell rolling of the waves; there came not any of that host to home, but from behind inclosed them fate with the wave. Where ways ere lay sea now raged. Their might was merged, the streams stood, the storm rose high to heaven, the loudest army-cry the hostile uttered; the air above was thickened with dying voices; blood pervaded the flood, the shield-walls were riven; shook the firmament that greatest of sea-depths. . . . The



bursting ocean whooped a bloody storm the seaman's way; till that the true God through Moses's hand enlarged its force, widely drove it, it swept death in its embrace. . . . Ocean raged, drew itself up on high, the storms rose, the corpses rolled. . . . The Guardian of the flood struck the unsheltering wave of the foamy gulfs with an ancient falchion, that in the swoon of death these armies slept."<sup>1</sup>

Another, whose poem is mutilated, has related the history of Judith with the same excess of feeling and of language. "Then'was Holofernes exhilarated with wine; in the halls of his guests he laughed and shouted, he roared and dinned. Then might the children of men afar off hear how the stern one stormed and clamored, animated and elated with wine. He admonished amply that they should bear it well to those sitting on the bench.<sup>2</sup> So was the wicked one all the day, the lord and his men drunk with wine, the stern dispenser of wealth, till that they lay over-drunk, all his nobility, as they were death-slain." He falls dead drunk on his bed; then the moment has come for "the illustrious virgin," "the maid of the Creator," "the holy woman." "She took the heathen man fast by his hair; she drew him by his limbs toward her disgracefully; and the mischief-full, odious man, at her pleasure laid, so as the wretch she might the easiest well command. She with the twisted locks struck the hateful enemy, meditating hate, with the red sword, till she had half cut off his neck; so that he lay in a swoon, drunk and mortally wounded. He was not then dead—not entirely lifeless; earnest then she struck another time the heathen hound—she the woman illustrious in strength—till that his head rolled forth upon the floor. Cofferless lay the foul one; downward turned his spirit under the abyss, and there was plunged below with sulphur fastened;

<sup>1</sup> Thorpe's *Cædmon*, xlvi, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> *Bench*, in Anglo-Saxon *benic*; in Dutch and Frankish, *bank*; whence the forms *banket* and *banquet*, meaning "a rich entertainment; a feast." In Anglo-Saxon, *benicswug* meant "a convivial noise." In olden times, among the Teutonic nations, the tables were made of loose boards, so fitted as to come easily apart and allow their removal after festive repasts, when carousing was continued on the *benches*. *In vitatis ad epulum multis, hos tres fecit sedere subsellio, cumque in eo prandium elongatum fuisset spatium, ut nox mundum obrueret, ablata mensa, ut mos Francorum est, illi in subsellia sua sicut locati fuerant, residebant; potatoque vino multo, in tantum crapulati sunt ut pueri eorum mactati, per angulos domus, ubi quisque corruerat, obdormirent.*—Greg. Turr., x, c. xxvii. The old English fashion of removing the cloth after dinner seems to be a remnant of this practice.

forever wounded by worms. In torments bound—hard imprisoned—he burns in hell. After his course he need not hope that he may escape from that mansion of worms, with darkness overwhelmed; but there he shall remain ever and ever—without end—henceforth void of the joys of hope, in that cavern home.”<sup>1</sup>

The final destruction of all things by fire is thus described by Cynewulf: “So the greedy guest shall earth pervade; the destroying flame shall fill with fire’s horror the high structures on the earth’s plain; the wide-spreading blast, the whole world together, hot, all-devouring. Down shall fall the city walls, in pieces broken. The hills shall melt; shall melt the high cliffs that erst against ocean, firm against floods, the earth had shielded, stern and steadfast, bulwarks against the waves, the encircling water. Then shall the death-flame seize each creature, beasts and fowls; along the earth shall pass the fire-swart flame, a burning warrior; as of old the rivers, the floods he drove, so then in a fire-bath the sea-fishes shall be burned; cut off from ocean each animal of the wave weary shall die; water shall burn as wax. There shall be more wonders than any may conceive; how the stun, and the storm, and the strong blast shall break broad creation; men shall wail, shall weep, moaning with voices, abject, humble, sad in mind, with repentance afflicted.”<sup>2</sup>

In tracing the history of a language, we can not well avoid referring to its literature where it is necessary to show its gradual changes in the way of improvement, which were great and rapid in England at this period, and are noticeable even when viewed by means of translation. This will especially appear in a poem by Bishop Aldhelm, who died in 709, that is, twenty-five years before Bede, and who was a friend and relation of King Ina. He was a native of Wessex, which up to his time had been distinguished for its military more than for its literary successes, and was the first great name in southern literature. He translated the Psalms of David into his native tongue; like his northern predecessors he composed popular hymns to drive out the old pagan songs. He was a true poet, and was often heard singing, on the bridge of the town where he lived, profane and sacred hymns alternately, for the instruction of his people. In one of his

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<sup>1</sup> Sharon Turner, *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, iii, 9, ch. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Exeter Book, p. 58. Arnold, *Manual of English Literature*.

poems, a funeral song, Death speaks. The brief meter sounds abruptly, with measure stroke, like the sound of the tolling bell. It is as if one could hear the dull, gloomy responses of the assistants through the church, while the winter rain beats on the dim glass, and the dark clouds sail mournfully in the sky; and our eyes, fixed on the pale face of the dead man, will fill with furtive tears at the words of horror describing the damp, loathsome grave, into which the living are about to cast him. The poem is called *The Grave*; it has been often translated, and is rendered by Longfellow as follows:

For thee was a house built Ere thou wert born ; For thee was a mold meant Ere thou of mother camest. But it is not made ready, Nor its depth measured, Nor is it seen How long it shall be. Now I bring thee Where thou shalt be, How I shall measure thee And the mold afterward.	And Death hath the key. Loathsome is that earth-house, And grim within to dwell, And worms shall divide thee.
Doorless is that house, And dark it is within ; There thou art fast detained,	Thus thou art laid, And leavest thy friends ; Thou hast no friend Who will come to thee, Who will ever see How that house pleaseth thee, Who will ever open The door for thee, And descend after thee ; For soon thou art loathsome And hateful to see.

It was thus that Christianity in England, as well as elsewhere, became the cradle of its national literature. Beyond some heathen songs there certainly was but little of it in England before the arrival of Augustin and his mission. But these missionaries could not fail to have brought with them from Rome the intellectual culture of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, so far at least as it had survived the fall of the Western Empire and the irruption of the barbarians. The Roman and Irish alphabets, parchment, pen and ink, drove out the northern Runes, the beechen tablet, and the scratching implement. The necessity for the preservation, and at least partial translation of the Scriptures, the varied exigencies of the Catholic ritual, the demand for so much knowledge of astronomy as would enable the clergy to fix beforehand the date of Easter, all favored, or rather compelled, the promotion of learning and education up to a certain point in those who took the lead in religious af-

fairs, and led to a continual discussion and interchange of ideas.

During the first century and a half after the arrival of Augustin, there were two centers where learning prospered and literature flourished. These centers were Wessex and Northumbria; for although Christianity was first preached in Kent, and the great monastery of Canterbury was long a valuable school of theology and history, yet the limited size of the kingdom, and the ill-fortune that befel it in its wars with Mercia and Wessex, seem to have checked its intellectual growth. But in Wessex and Northumbria alike, the size of the territory, the presence of numerous monasteries, and not less the proximity of Celtic peoples and Celtic societies endowed with many literary gifts—the Welsh in the case of Wessex, the Culdees<sup>1</sup> of Iona in the case of Northumbria—co-operated to produce a long period of literary activity. It was thus that Celtic masters became the earliest teachers of the Anglo-Saxons, and that the Celtic spirit became largely infused into early English literature. "If I were asked," says Matthew Arnold, "where English poetry got these three things, its turn for style, its turn for melancholy, and its turn for natural magic, for catching and rendering the charm of nature in a wonderfully near and vivid way, I should answer, with some doubt, that it got much of its turn of style from a Celtic source; with less doubt, that it got much of its melancholy from a Celtic source; with no doubt at all, that from a Celtic source it got nearly all of its natural magic."<sup>2</sup>

But if the bright coloring and romantic note, found in English poetry, may be ascribed to an abiding Celtic influence, this influence, it must be observed, is more literary than lexical, and extends but little to the vocabulary of the language. That in the course of fourteen centuries, during which the two languages have been spoken simultaneously in the same country, many words were borrowed from each other, there can be no doubt. That few Celtic words have been retained in the English language is still more certain, and nearly all these, as may be expected from the nature of the circumstances already explained, refer to domestic matters and objects of

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<sup>1</sup> An order of ecclesiastics possessing numerous establishments in Scotland and Ireland, and a few also in England and Wales. Iona was an Irish foundation. See Dean Reeves's *Culdees of the British Islands*.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew Arnold, *Celtic Literature*, p. 135.

slight importance. Excepting the words "bard," from the Welsh *bardd*, "a poet"; "druid," from the Gaelic *druidh*; and "park," from the Welsh *parwg*, "an inclosed field"—which are found in all European languages—the only common names whose Celtic origin can be affirmed with any degree of certainty are the following: "Basket," from the Welsh *basged*, "a netting or plaiting made of twigs, split wood, or rushes"; "barley," from the Welsh *barrlys*, composed of *bara*, "bread," and *llys*, "a plant"; "clan," from the Gaelic *clann*, derived from *cluinn*, "children"; "crag," from the Welsh *craig*, and the Gaelic *creag*, "a rock, a stone"; "crock, crockery," from the Welsh *crochan*, "an earthen vessel, a pitcher"; "hog," from the Welsh *hwch*, "a swine"; "griddle," from the Welsh *greidyll*, from *greidio*, "to scorch," in Gaelic, *gread*, "to burn"; "mattock," from the Gaelic *madog*, "a pick-axe"; "glen," from the Cornish *glyn*, or the Gaelic *gleann*, "a valley"; "mop," from the Gaelic *moibeal*, "a broom"; and "welt," from the Welsh *gwald*, "a hem." The Gaelic *plaid*, "a blanket," has given the word "plaid." *Llanelly*, a great place for the Welsh flannel manufacture, is believed to have given the name to this kind of soft woolen cloth; in the same way as "drugget" or "droget," as it was formerly written, is said to have been first made at *Drogheda*, in Ireland. The Gaelic *claidheamh*, "a sword," and *mor*, "great," have made the English "claymore," the Highland broadsword; and from the Gaelic and Erse *uisge*, "water," we have the word "whisky."<sup>1</sup>

But few and unimportant as are the Celtic common names that have survived in the English language, many are the remains of Celtic speech that still live upon the map of England, though they have vanished from the glossary. As an eloquent writer has observed, "Mountains and rivers still murmur the voices of nations long denationalized or extirpated."<sup>2</sup> Language adheres to the soil when the race by which it was spoken has been swept from off the earth, or when its remnants have been driven from the plains, which they once peopled, into the fastnesses of the surrounding mountains.

<sup>1</sup> *Uisge beatha*, from which the English word "usquebaugh" is derived, is Irish, and literally means "water of life"; in Latin, *agua vite*; in French, *eau de vie*. Dropping the latter element, and retaining only *uisge*, the word has remained in English in the form of "whisky." Compare the Dutch *brandewyn*, from *branden*, "to burn," and *wyn*, "wine," with the term "fire-water."

<sup>2</sup> Palgrave, *Normandy and England*, vol. i, p. 701.

All *local names* were once *words*, generally picturesque, or descriptive of that natural phenomenon which would be most certain to impress the imagination of a rude people. In many instances the original import of such names has faded away, or has become disguised in the lapse of ages. Nevertheless, the primeval meaning may be recoverable, and whenever it is recovered, the name of a district, a river, or a town may speak to us of events which written history has failed to commemorate, and often furnishes evidence determinative of controversies that otherwise could never be brought to a conclusion.

The names of places, moreover, have the linguistic value of being conservative of the more archaic forms of languages still living, and of embalming for us the guise and fashion of speech in eras the most remote. These topographic words, which float down upon the parlance of successive generations of men, are subject in their course to less phonetic abrasion than the other elements of speech. Such words, it is true, are subject to special perils, arising from attempts at accommodating their forms to the requirements of popular etymological speculation; but, on the other hand, they are more secure than other words from the modifying influences of grammatical inflection.

One class of names is of especial value in investigations relating to primeval history. The river-names, more particularly the names of important rivers, are everywhere the memorials of the very earliest races. These river-names survive where all other names have changed; they seem to possess an almost indestructible vitality. Forms may be destroyed, the sites of human habitations may be removed, but the ancient river-names are handed down from race to race; even the names of the eternal hills are less permanent than those of rivers. Over the greater part of Europe—in Germany, France, Italy, Spain—we find villages which bear Teutonic or Romance names, standing on the banks of streams which still retain their Celtic appellations. Throughout the whole of England there is hardly a single river-name which is not Celtic.

The Celtic words which appear in the names of rivers may be divided into two classes—one meaning simply *water* or *river*, the other describing it by some additional word, meaning *rough*, *gentle*, *smooth*, *white*, *black*, *red*, *yellow*, *crooked*, *broad*, *swift*, *muddy*, *clear*, and the like, com-

bined with which they form the names of almost all rivers in England.

At a time when no great intercommunications existed, and when books and maps were unknown, geographical knowledge must have been very slender. Hence whole tribes were acquainted with only one considerable river, and it sufficed, therefore, to call it "The Water," or "The River." Such terms were not *proper* names in the first instance; they only became so on the advent of foreign conquerors who, unacquainted with the language, mistook for a geographical name a *common* appellation, mispronouncing it in various ways, in various quarters, for many generations, until at last the original import of such names faded away, or became disguised in the lapse of ages. Take the word *afon* for instance. This is the usual Welsh term for a river. On the map of Wales we find the *Afon Llugwy*, which tourists call the "River Llugwy." So also we find the *Afon Lledr*, the *Afon Dulas*, the *Afon Dyfi*. In England, however, the word *afon* or *avon*, as it is usually written, is no longer a common name as it is in Wales, but has become a *proper* name, of which there are many in the island. There is a *Stratford Avon*, a *Bristol Avon*, a *Little Avon*, and many other rivers of that name in more or less corrupted forms, as the *Evan*, the *Ive*, the *Aune*, the *Auney*, which is the Celtic diminutive for *Little Avon*, and which we find also in the *Ewenny*, the *Inney*, and the *Aney*. In the Manx language *afon* is written *aon*; and in Gaelic, *abhainn* (pronounced *avain*). In Ireland we find it in the compound forms of *Aven-gorm*, *Aven-banna*, *Aven-bui*, *Aven-more*, etc.

Another word, diffused nearly as widely as *afon*, is the Welsh *dwr*, "water," which, variously pronounced, we find in the *Dour*, the *Dore*, the *Duir*, the *Durra*, the *Durbeck*, the *Glasdur*, or "gray water," the *Calder*, or "winding water," the *Rother* (*Rhuddwr*), or "red water," and the *Derwent*, from *dwr-gwyn*, "the clear water," of which name there are four rivers in England, and of which the *Darwen*, the *Derwen*, the *Darent*, and the *Dart* are only contractions.<sup>1</sup>

The Gaelic and Erse word for "water" is, as we have seen, *uisge*. This root, subject to various phonetic muta-

<sup>1</sup> That the *Darent* was anciently the *Derwent* is shown by the name *Derwentio*, the Roman station on the Darent. The further contraction into the form *Dart* is exhibited in the name of *Dartford*, the modern town on the same river.

tions, is found in the names of a vast number of rivers. In nine it takes the form of *esk*; then there is an *Eskey*, an *Esker*, and an *Eskle*; an *Iee* and an *Isebourne*; an *Ease* and an *Easebourne*; an *Ash* and an *Ashbourne*. The same word is represented in Welsh by *gwy* or *wy*, "water," and by *wysg*, "a current." In Wales there is a river which the Welsh call the *Wysg*, and the English call the *Usk*. This form *usk* is found as *ux* in *Uxbridge*; as *ex* in *Exmoor*, *Exmouth*, *Exeter*; and as *ax* in *Axmouthe*, *Axbridge*, *Axminster*. The *Use*, the *Ouse*, the *Ousel*, and the *Ouseburn* come from the Gaelic *uisge*, whereas the *Wish*, the *Wash*, and the *Guash* seem to be derived from the Welsh *Wysg*, with the same meaning. From the closely related Welsh word *gwy* or *wy*, "water," we may derive the names of *Wye*, of which there are half a dozen in England. The *Llugwy*, "clear water," the *Mynwy*, "small water," the *Garway*, "rough water," the *Dowrddwy*, "noisy water," the *Elwy*, "gliding water," the *Conway*, "chief water," the *Sowey*, the *Edwy*, the *Onwy*, the *Olway*, the *Vrynwy* are all in Wales; the *Medway* is in Kent, and the *Solway* on the Scottish border. The *Solent* was anciently called *yr wyth*, "the channel"; and the Isle of Wight was *ynys yr wyth*, "the Isle of the Channel," from which the present name may possibly be derived.

It probably has been noticed in the word *Durbeck*, which is the name of a river in Nottinghamshire, that only the first syllable is Celtic, whereas the second is decidedly Teutonic, being the Danish *bec* or the Dutch *beek*, "a stream, a rivulet." Such combinations are by no means rare in English geographical names, and the reason may be easily explained. When the same territory is occupied successively by nations speaking different languages, the original word for "water" or "river," used as a common name by the earliest settlers, is apt, as we have seen, to be mistaken for a proper name, to which, in course of time, another word for "river," or for "water," is likely to be superadded. This process of superimposition may have been repeated again and again by successive tribes of immigrants, and thus ultimately may have been formed the strange aggregations of synonymous syllables which we find in so many river-names in England. In the case of *Durbeck*, the first syllable is the Celtic *dwr*, "water." The Teutonic colonists, on hearing the word, which conveyed to their mind no meaning whatsoever, added the term *beek* to it, which, variously written *beck*, *bec*,



*bæc*, or *becker*, according as in later times it was supposed to be derived from the Dutch, Friesic, Norse, or Danish, has given the forms *Durbeck*, *Cambeck*, *Foulbeck*, *Fulbeck*, *Hollenbeck*, *Welbeck*, *Whitbeck*, and others. In the names of the *Eskwater* and the *Dourwater* we have the Dutch addition *water* to the Celtic roots *esk* and *dwr*; while the *Isbourne*, the *Easeburn*, the *Ashbourn*, the *Washburn*, and the *Ouseburn*, present the Anglian *burne*, added to various modifications of the Celtic *uisge*. In the name of *Wans-beck-water* we first find *wan*, which is a corrupted form of the Welsh *avon*. The *s* is, perhaps, a vestige of the Gadhelic *uisge*. As in the case of the *Durbeck*, the Teutonic *beck* was added by the Anglian colonists, and the Dutch or English word *water* was suffixed when the meaning of *Wansbeck* had become obscure, and *Wansbeck-water*, or *Riverwater**riverwater*, is the curious agglomeration which has resulted.

As to the descriptive class of word-roots, we have the Gaelic *rea* or *rhe*, meaning "swift," in the rivers *Rey*, *Ray*, *Rhee*, and the *Wrey*. From the Welsh *garw*, "rough," we obtain the names of the *Gara*, the *Garry*, the *Garway*, the *Garnar*, the *Yarrow*, and the *Yair*. From the Gaelic *all*, "white," we obtain *al-aon*, "white afon," the *Allan*, the *Allen*, the *Allwen*, the *Ellen*, and the *Aln* or *Auln*. The Gaelic and Erse *ban*, also meaning "white," has given the *Bann*, the *Ben*, the *Bane*, the *Bain*, the *Bana*, and the *Avenbanna*. The word *dhu*, "black," appears in five rivers in Wales, three in Scotland, and one in Dorset, which are called *Dulas*. Three more are called the *Douglas*, and another the *Doulas*. From *llewn*, "smooth," we have the name of *Loch Leven*, and of eight or ten rivers called the *Leven*. Deep pools, or *lynns*, have given names to *Lincoln*, King's *Lynn*, *Dublin*, *Glaslin*, *Linton*, *Killin*, and *Roslin*. The word *tam*, "spreading, quiet, still," related to the Welsh *tan* and the Gaelic *tar*, appears in the *Thames*, the *Tamar*, the *Tema*, the *Tay*, the *Tavy*, and the *Tave*. The word *cam*, "crooked," we find in the *Cam* in Cambridgeshire, the *Camil*, the *Camlad*, the *Cambeck*, and the *Camlin*. *Morcambe Bay* is "the crooked-sea bay," and *Camden* is the "crooked vale." To the Gaelic *clith*, "strong," we may refer the *Clyde* and the *Cludan* in Scotland, the *Clwyd* and the *Cloyd* in Wales, the *Glyde* and several other streams in Ireland.

There are many other clusters of river-names which invite investigation, but of which a mere enumeration

must here suffice. Such are the groups of names of which the *Neath*, the *Soar*, the *Nay*, the *Dee*, the *Tees*, the *Colne*, the *Frome*, and the *Humber* may be taken as types. It is indeed a curious fact that a unique river-name is hardly to be found. Any given name may immediately be associated with some dozen or half-dozen names nearly identical in form and meaning, not only in England, but in all parts of Europe. This might suffice to show the great value of these river-names in ethnological investigations. Reaching back to a period anterior to all history, they enable us to prove the wide diffusion of the Celtic race, and the once universal Celtic occupation of the British Isles.

For antiquity and immutability, the names of mountains and hills come next in value to the names of rivers. The names of these conspicuous landmarks have been transmitted from race to race very much in the same way, and from the same causes, as the names of rivers.

The modern Welsh names for the "head" and the "back" are *pen* and *cefn*. We find these words in a large number of mountain-names. *Cefn* (pronounced *Keven*), "a back" or "ridge," is very common in local names in Wales, as in the case of *Cefn Coed* or *Cefn Bryn*. In England it is found in *Chevin Hill*, *Chevening*, *Chevington*, and the *Cheviot Hills*. The Welsh *pen*, meaning a "head," and by metonymy the usual name for a mountain, is widely diffused throughout the island. The highest hill in Buckinghamshire is called *Pen*. We find this root in *Penard*, *Penhill*, *Penshurst*, *Penrith*, *Pencoid*, *Penrhyn*, *Penrhos*, *Pembroke*, etc. In the northern parts of Scotland, the Cymric *pen* is ordinarily replaced by *ben* or *cenn*, which enables us to detect by local names the ancient line of demarcation between the Cymric and Gadhelic branches of the Celtic race. Thus, while in one part the Welsh root *pen* is found in *Pen Craig*, *Penpont*, the *Grampians*, the *Pentland Hills*, the Gaelic *ben*, which is conspicuously absent from England, Wales, and southeastern Scotland, is used to designate almost all the higher summits of the north and west, as for instance, *Bennevis*, *Benledi*, *Benmore*, *Benlomond*, and many more, too numerous to specify. *Cenn*, "a head," which is the other Gaelic form of the same word is found in *Kennard*, *Kenmore*, *Kinross*, in Scotland; *Kinsale*, and *Kenmare* in Ireland.

*Penrhos*, a name which occurs in Wales and Cornwall, contains the root *rhos*, "a moor," which is liable to be confused with the Gaelic *ros*, which signifies "a prominent

rock or headland." We find this root in the names *Roslin*, *Kinross*, *Cardross*, *Montrose*, *Melrose*, *Ardrossan*, and *Roscommon*.

The position of ancient Celtic strongholds is frequently indicated by the root *dun*, "a hill fortress," a word which is closely related to the modern Welsh word *dinas*. *Pen Dinas* in Cornwall is now *Pendennis*. The Romans made it *dunum*. *Londunum*, the fortified hill on which St. Paul's Cathedral now stands, is now written *London*. *Lexdon* was the *Legionis dunum*; *Brannodunum*, now *Brancaster*; *Moridunum*, now *Carmarthen*, and *Taodunum*, now *Dundee*, were all British forts occupied by the Romans. The same root *dun* is found also in *Dunstable*, *Dunkeld*, *Dumfries*, and *Dumbarton*, "the fort of the Britons." In Ireland we find *Dunkalk*, *Dungannon*, *Dungarvan*, *Dunlavin*, and a score of other names which exhibit this word. The Saxons took it from the Celts, but, in accordance with the genius of their language, they used it as a suffix instead of as a prefix, as is usually the case in genuine Celtic names. We have instances in the names of *Huntingdon*, *Farringdon*, *Clarendon*, etc.

The Celtic languages can place the substantive first and the adjective last, while in the Teutonic idioms this is not allowable. Thus the Celtic *Strathclyde* and *Abertay* correspond to the Teutonic *Clydesdale* and *Taymouth*. This usage often enables us to discriminate between Celtic and Saxon roots when they happen to be nearly identical in sound. Thus *Dalry*, *Dalgain*, *Dalkeith*, *Daleaglis*, and *Dolberry* show their Celtic origin in the word *dol*, "a plain," while *Rydal*, *Kendal*, and *Mardal* contain the Dutch or Friesian word *dal*, *dael*, *daal*, "a valley."

The word *ard*, "high, great," occurs in a vast number of Irish names, as *Ardagh*, *Ardglass*, *Ardfert*. In Scotland we have *Ardrossan*, *Ardnamurchar*, and *Ards*. The *Lizard Point* is "the high cape." In combination with the word *den*, "a wooded valley," it gives the name of the Forest of *Arden*.

The Cymric *tre*, "a place or dwelling," is a useful test-word, since it does not occur in names derived from the Gaelic or Erse languages. On the other hand, it enters into almost every village-name in Cornwall, and a vast number of Cornish territorial surnames. There is an old English ditty which says: "By *tre*, *rhos*, *pol*, *lan*, *caer*, and *pen*, you know the most of Cornish men." *Rhos*, as we have seen, is "a moor"; *pull*, "a pool"; *llan*, "an in-

closure"; *caer*, "a heap, a cairn"; and *pen*, "a mountain."

*Man* is a Celtic word for "district," and is found in *Manchester*, which the Romans called *Mancunium*, the *Menai* straits, the Isle of *Man*, and several Cornish names. *Nant*, "a valley," is a common root in the Cymric districts of the island, as *Nantwich*, *Nantglyn*, *Nancemellin*, "the valley of the mill," and *Pennant*, "the head of the valley." From *mawr* or *mor*, "great," we have the names of *Penmean-Mawr* or *Benmore*, *Avenmore*, *Glenmore*, *Kilmore*, *Dinasmore*, *Dinsmore*, *Baltimore*, etc. The word *magh*, "a plain or field," is found in more than a hundred Irish names, such as *Armagh*, *Maghera*, *Maynooth*, etc. This root is decidedly Gadhelic, and useful, therefore, as a test-word in discriminating between the districts peopled by the two great branches of the Celtic stock.

The prefix *llan*, which originally meant "an inclosure," and in later times "the sacred inclosure" or "church," and which occurs so frequently in Cornwall, Wales, and the border counties, often enables us to detect the spots which were the first to be dedicated to purposes of Christian worship. The Cymric *llan* is replaced in Scotland and Ireland by the analogous Gadhelic word *kil*. Originally this denoted only a hermit's "cell," though it was afterward used to mean the "church," of which the hermit's cell was so often the germ. It is thus that the numerous village-names which have this prefix *kil* possess a peculiar interest. They often point out to us the earliest local centers from which proceeded the evangelization of the half-savage Celts; they direct us to the hallowed spots where the first hermit missionaries established each his lonely cell, and thence spread around him the blessings of Christianity and of civilization. In Ireland alone there are no less than 1,400 local names which contain this root, and there are very many in Scotland also, as *Kilmore*, *Kilkenny*, *Killin*, *Kilcwn*, *Kilgwiri*, *Kildare*, *Kilstock*, etc. In Wales, and the neighboring counties, a few names occur with the prefix *kil* instead of *llan*. These names may probably be regarded as local memorials of those Irish missionaries who, about the fifth century, resorted in considerable numbers to the shores of Wales.

In connection with this geographical nomenclature, it must be remembered that the Gaelic, the Erse, the Manx, and the Welsh are still living languages in the British isles. But just as in Brittany the Celtic idiom is now

gradually receding before the French language,<sup>1</sup> so a similar process has been going on in England for more than fourteen centuries. We have documentary evidence of this process. The ancient documents relating to the parishes north of the Forth exhibit a gradually increasing proportion of Teutonic names. In the taxation of the twelfth century, only two and a half per cent are Teutonic; in the Chartularies, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, the proportion rises to four per cent; and in the tax-rolls of 1554 to nearly twenty-five per cent. In the south of England a similar retrocession of the Celtic speech may be traced. Thus, in the will of Alfred, Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, and Devon are enumerated as "Wealhcyne," a term which proves that these countries were then thoroughly Celtic in blood and language, although politically they belonged to the Anglo-Saxon commonwealth.<sup>2</sup> For a long time after, the valleys of the Frome and the Bristol Avon formed an intrusive Welsh wedge, protruding into the Saxon district.<sup>3</sup> Athelstan found Britons and Saxons in joint occupation of the city of Exeter. He expelled the former, on account of their troublesome disposition, and drove them beyond the Tamar. Their constant turbulence in places where Celts and Saxons lived together often drew upon them more severe measures still, and on one occasion Harold, son of Godwin, ordered that every Celt found east of Offa's Dyke (a vast earthen rampart which served to guard the frontiers of Mercia against the Welsh) should have his right hand struck off.<sup>4</sup> But even so late as the time of Henry II, Herefordshire was not entirely Anglicised, and it was only in the reign of Henry VIII that Monmouthshire was first numbered among the English counties. In remote parts of Devon the ancient Cymric speech feebly lingered on till the reign of Elizabeth, while in Cornwall it was the general medium of intercourse in the time of Henry VIII. In the time of Queen Anne it was confined to five or six villages in the western portion of the county, and it has only become extinct within the memory of men now living,<sup>5</sup> while the Celtic race has survived the extinction of their language with little intermixture of Teutonic

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<sup>1</sup> See page 541.

<sup>2</sup> Palgrave, *English Commonwealth*, vol. i, p. 410.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæolog. Journal*, vol. xvi.

<sup>4</sup> Lappenberg, *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. i, p. 231.

<sup>5</sup> Halliwell, *Cornwall*, pp. 167-174.

blood. In the west of Glamorgan and part of Montgomery one may hear now English spoken almost as much as Welsh, and in other border counties the English idiom is rapidly encroaching. In fact, we may now in those parts see in actual operation the same gradual process which for centuries has taken place throughout the rest of Britain. In Wales, the change of language now in progress is accompanied by very little infusion of Saxon blood. The same must also have been the case at an earlier period, within Mercia and Wessex, where, in spite of all Saxon measures of exclusion, the bulk of the people is admitted to be of Celtic blood. The Saxon keels can not have transported any very numerous population, and, no doubt, the ceorls, or churls, long continued to be the nearly pure-blooded descendants of the aboriginal Celts of Britain.

These theoretical conclusions are thoroughly borne out by the evidence of the local names. Throughout the whole of England, as we have seen, almost every town-name is Celtic; most of the shire-names contain Celtic roots, and a fair sprinkling of names of hills, valleys, and fortresses bear witness that the Celt was the aboriginal possessor of the soil, and was but slow to leave it. A large number of the chief ancient centres of population, such as *London, Winchester, Gloucester, Exeter, Lincoln, York, Manchester, Lancaster, and Carlisle*, still bear Celtic names, while the Teutonic town-names usually indicate, by their suffixes, that they originated in isolated family settlements in the uncleared forest, or arose from the necessities of traffic in the neighborhood of some unfrequented ford. These facts, taken together, prove that the Saxon immigrants, for the most part, left the Celts in possession of the towns, and were satisfied with subduing, each for himself, a portion of the unappropriated waste. Some of the greater British chiefs may have purchased security for their people, especially in districts appropriated by the smaller bands of adventurers; and multitudes of Celtic women must have been retained by the Saxons in marriage or servitude. It is obvious, therefore, that a very considerable Celtic element of population must, for a long time, have subsisted side by side with the Teutonic invaders, without much mutual interference. Occasionally even the native Celts became involved in the petty wars which different Saxon tribes waged against each other, and thus may have obtained some advantageous concessions. In course of time we find Welsh and Irish eccle-

siastics in positions of trust and power among the Saxon princes. Asser, the friend and biographer of King Alfred, was a Welshman. What happens now in western England took place in those days throughout the whole of Britain by the same process of slow assimilation. In time the Celts acquired the language of the more energetic race, and the two peoples, whenever they lived together, ceased at last to be distinguishable.

There is a striking contrast between the characteristics of Celtic and Roman local names in England. While the appellations of its chief centers of population, and of its great natural landmarks—its rivers and its mountains—constantly remind us of the original owners of the soil, the traces of Roman rule which remain upon the English map are surprisingly few in number. Throughout the whole island we scarcely find a single place of human habitation denoted by a name which is purely Roman. The Roman officials, caring but little for foreign geographical etymologies, or mistrusting, perhaps, their ability of pronouncing Celtic words correctly, wrote down the local names as best they could, invariably Latinizing their form so as to make them pronounceable in their own language, or else replacing them by other names, as would best suit their purpose of administration. But such is the persistency with which popular and descriptive names adhere to the soil, that almost all sites named by the Britons are still called by the same names which they bore at the first dawn of Celtic occupation with but little variation. The name of *London*, for instance, is now, in all probability, pronounced exactly as it was at the time when Cæsar landed on the coast of Kent. The Romans attempted to change the name, but in vain. It mattered little what the city on the Thames was called in the edicts of prefects and proconsuls, the old Celtic name continued in common usage, and has been transmitted in turn to Saxons, Normans, and Englishmen. It is curious to listen to Ammianus Marcellinus, speaking of the name of London as a thing of the past—an old name which had gone quite out of use, and given place to the grand Roman name of *Augusta*.<sup>1</sup>

The character of Roman names, or what remains of them, is generally of a military or administrative nature.

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<sup>1</sup> Ab Augustâ profectus, quam veteres appellavêre Lundinium.—Amm. Marc., lib. xxiii, cap. 3, § 1. Lundinium, vetus oppidum, quod Augustam posteritas appellavit.—*Ibid.*, lib. xxvii, cap. 8, § 7.

Rome, with her eagle eye, could cast a comprehensive glance over a province or an empire, and could plan and execute the vast physical enterprises necessary for its subjugation, for its material progress, or for its defense. The Romans were essentially a constructive race. We still gaze with wonder on the massive fragments of their aqueducts, their bridges, their amphitheatres, their fortresses, and their walls; we still find their altars, their inscriptions, and their coins. The whole of England is intersected by a network of Roman roads, admirably planned, and executed with a constructive skill which excites the admiration of even modern engineers. These are the true monuments of Roman greatness.

The Saxons were not roadmakers. Vast works undertaken with a comprehensive imperial purpose were beyond the range of Saxon civilization. The Saxons even borrowed their name for a road from the Roman language. The Roman *strata*, or paved roads, became the Saxon *streets*; and this word "street" often enables us to recognize the lines of Roman road which, straight as an arrow-course, connect the chief strategic positions in England. Thus we have *Stone Street*, *Ermin Street*, *Watling Street*, *Icknield Street*, *Ryknield Street*, and a number of other streets. The Westmoreland Mountain, called *High Street*, derives its name from the Roman road which crosses it at a height of 2,700 feet. Even where the Roman roads have become obliterated by the plow, we may often trace their direction by means of the names of towns, which proclaim the position they occupied in the great lines of communication. Such are the names of *Stratton*, *Stretton*, *Stratford*, *Stretford*, *Streatham*, *Streatley*, *Ardwick le Street*, *Chester le Street*, etc., all of which inform us that they are situated on what at one time was a line of Roman road.

The difficulty of traveling in Saxon times must have interposed great obstacles in the way of commercial intercourse. Local names afford various intimations that the art of bridge-building, in which the Romans had excelled,<sup>1</sup> was not retained by the Anglo-Saxons. Nothing, indeed, shows more the unbridged state of the streams than the fact that, where the great lines of Roman road are intersected by rivers, we so frequently find important towns

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<sup>1</sup> The importance attached by the Romans to the art of bridge-building is indicated by the fact that the chief ecclesiastical functionary bore the name of the bridge-builder—*Pontifex*. See Donaldson, Varronianus, p. 270.



bearing the Saxon suffix *ford*. Thus we have *Oxford*, *Bedford*, *Stratford*, *Stafford*, *Guilford*, *Stanford*, *Woodford*, *Chelmsford*, *Dartford*, *Stapelford*, *Wallingford*, and many other *fords*, too numerous to mention. *Bridgeford* sounds odd enough, but the name was evidently given to some important ford where formerly there was a bridge. This great deficiency of bridges in Anglo-Saxon time is still more forcibly impressed upon us when we notice that, while the names of so many large towns present the suffix *ford*, there are only a very few which terminate in *bridge*, such as *Cambridge*, *Stockbridge*, *Tunbridge*, *Uxbridge*, *Weybridge*, and a few more, all of which stand on small and easily-bridged streams.

The Roman stations throughout England may very frequently be recognized by the fact that the modern names contain a modification of the Latin word *castra*. These modifications are very curious, as exhibiting the dialectic tendencies in different portions of the island. Throughout the kingdoms of *Essex*, *Sussex*, *Wessex*, and other purely Saxon districts, the form *chester* is universal, as *Chesterford*, *Colchester*, *Chichester*, *Dorchester*, *Porchester*, *Rochester*, *Winchester*, etc. But as we pass from the Saxon to the Anglian kingdoms, we find *chester* replaced by *caster*, as *Alcaster*, *Ancaster*, *Doncaster*, *Lancaster*, *Brancaster*, *Tadcaster*, etc. As we pass from East Anglia to Mercia, which, though mainly Anglian, was subject to a certain amount of Saxon influence, we find *cester*, which is intermediate in form between the Anglian *caster* and the Saxon *chester*. The *e* is retained, but the *h* is omitted; and there is a strong tendency to further elision, as in the case of *Leicester*, pronounced *Lester*; *Gloucester*, pronounced *Gloster*; *Worcester*, pronounced *Wooster*, etc. Toward the Welsh frontier the *c* or *ch* becomes an *x*, and the tendency to elision is very strong, as in *Uttoxeter*, pronounced *Uxter*; *Wroxeter*, and *Exeter*, which in Camden's time was written *Excester*. These names on the Welsh frontier exhibit a gradual approximation to the form which we find in the parts where the Celtic speech survives. Here the *t* also disappears, and we find the prefix *caer* in the names of *Caerleon*, *Caernarvon*, *Caerwis*, *Caerwent*, and the still more abbreviated forms of *Carhayes*, *Cardiff*, *Cardigan*, *Carlisle*, *Carmarthen*, *Carlow*, *Cardross*, etc.

The Latin word *colonia* is found in the name of *Lincoln*, and perhaps also in that of *Colchester*. In the immediate

vicinity of this town a Roman legion was stationed for the protection of the colony. The precise spot which was occupied by the camps of this legion is indicated by the remains of extensive Roman earthworks at *Lexdon*, a name which is a corruption of *Legionis Dunum*. The process by which the modern name of *Caerleon* has been evolved is indicated in the work which bears the name of Nennius.<sup>1</sup>

The word *port*, "a haven, a harbor," which we find in *Newport*, *Portsmouth*, *Portesham*, and the like, might leave some doubt as to its Latin origin; but as *Portsmouth* was called *Portus Magnus* by the Romans, and as the form *port* also appears in *Porchester* or *Portchester*, as it was formerly written, in which it evidently refers to the name of the place where the *castrum* was located, we may safely derive the root *port* in all such names from the Latin *portus*, "a harbor."

So the English word "wall," which has a Teutonic appearance, is nevertheless derived from the Latin *vallum*, "a rampart," naturalized among the Britons, and still existing in Welsh in the form *gwal*, with the same meaning. The wall of Hadrian ran from Newcastle to Carlisle, and, as we have said elsewhere, is still in wonderful preservation.<sup>2</sup> But even if this wall had perished, it would be easy to trace its direction by means of the continuous series of memorial names which are furnished by the villages and farm-houses along its course. It began at *Wallsend*, now famous as the place where the best Newcastle coals are shipped. We then come to *Benwell*, *Heddon-on-the-Wall*, *Welton*, *Wallshiels*, *Walltown*, *Thirlwall*, *Oldwall*, *Wallby*, with *Wallend* and *Wallhead* at the western end. If to all these forms of *strat*, *streat*, *street*, *chester*, *cester*, *caster*, *caer*, *car*, *coln*, *port*, *wall*, which are not of very frequent occurrence, we add the word "mile," which is derived from the Latin *mille passus* or *mille passuum*, "a thousand paces," the Roman measure of distance, we have about all that remains of five hundred years of Roman rule on the map of England.

In some parts of this work we have had occasion to speak of *Runes* and of *Ogham* inscriptions; it may here be convenient to explain in detail the nature of this kind of writing.

<sup>1</sup> *Bellum gestum est in urbe Leogis, quæ Brittanice Cair Lion dicitur.—Nennius, c. 56.*

<sup>2</sup> See page 45.

At the time when the Roman alphabet was introduced by the Christian missionaries into England, some of the Teutonic nations had been for several centuries in possession of a peculiar alphabet of their own. This ancient alphabet was chiefly used by the Scandinavians, the Northumbrians, and the Goths. The characters are called *Runes*, and the alphabet bears the name of *Futhorc*, from the first six runes,

ƿ, ƿ, ƿ, ƿ, ƿ, ƿ, *f, u, th, o, r, c.*

The one unsolved problem in the history of the alphabet is the origin of these runes. That they should have been independently invented by the Teutons is a solution which must be regarded as quite out of the question. The history of the invention of alphabetic writing shows the enormous difficulty of such an undertaking. It was only through the slow developments of many centuries that the united genius of the Phœnicians and the Greeks, the two most cultured races of the South, succeeded at last in elaborating a pure alphabet out of the cumbrous picture writing of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics. That an equivalent result should have been attained off-hand by any semi-barbarous Teutonic tribe is quite incredible. There are, moreover, such striking resemblances between several of the runes and the corresponding letters of various Mediterranean alphabets, that the mathematical chances against such a series of accidental coincidences are absolutely overwhelming. On these grounds it has been universally admitted that the runes must, in some unknown manner, have been derived from that one great parent alphabet to which modern research has affiliated almost every other alphabet of the world.

Runic inscriptions have been found scattered over a vast region, extending from the Danube to the Orkneys. The most ancient of these inscriptions are earlier in date by at least a thousand years than the most modern. During this long period a constant development was going on, and hence we find that the runes of different countries and of different periods present very considerable variations. They may all, however, be classified into three main divisions—the Gothic, the Anglian, and the Scandinavian. The characteristic runes of these three classes are shown in the following table:

TABLE OF RUNES.

NAMES.	VALUES.	RUNES.			IV.	
		I. GOTHIC.	II. ANGLIAN.	III. SCANDI- NAVIAN.	ALPHABET OF ULPHILAS.	
fech, feh, fe	f	ƿ ƿ	ƿ ƿ	ƿ	ƿ	φ
ur, hur	u	ʌ ʌ	ʌ ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ou
thorn	th	ᚢ ᚢ ᚢ	ᚢ	ᚢ	ᚢ	δ
asc, æsc, os	a, æ, o	ᚦ ᚦ	ᚦ ᚦ	ᚦ	ᚦ	a
rad, rat	r	ᚱ ᚱ	ᚱ	ᚱ ᚱ	ᚱ	ρ
cen, kaun	c, k	ᚨ ᚨ	ᚨ	ᚨ	ᚱ	κ
gebo, gifu	g	ᚨ	ᚨ		ᚦ	γ
wen	v, w	ᚱ	ᚱ		ᚱ ᚱ	v, hv
hegl, hagal	h	ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ	ᚱ	*	ᚱ	h
nyd, nod	n	ᚠ ᚠ	ᚠ	ᚠ ᚠ	ᚱ	v
is	i	ᚠ	ᚠ	ᚠ	ᚱ	ι
yr, ger, ar	y, ge, ja	ᚨ ᚨ ᚨ	ᚠ	ᚠ ᚠ	ᚱ	j
hic, ih, eoh	ih, i, eo	ᚨ ᚨ	ᚠ ᚠ		ᚱ	ζ
peorth, perc	p	ᚱ	ᚱ ᚱ	ᚱ	ᚱ	π
ilix, calc	a, i, k, x	ᚨ	ᚨ		ᚱ ᚱ	q
sigil	s	ᚠ	ᚠ	ᚠ	ᚱ	σ
tir	t	ᚠ	ᚠ	ᚠ ᚠ	ᚱ	τ
berc, berith	b	ᚱ	ᚱ	ᚱ	ᚱ	β
hæc, ech, eh	e	ᚱ ᚱ	ᚱ		ᚱ	η
man	m	ᚱ	ᚱ	ᚱ ᚱ	ᚱ	μ
lagu	l	ᚠ	ᚠ	ᚠ	ᚱ	λ
ing	ng	ᚠ ᚠ	ᚠ		ᚱ	χ
dag, dæg	d	ᚠ ᚠ	ᚠ		ᚱ	θ
othil	o, æ	ᚠ ᚠ	ᚠ		ᚱ	ω

In this table the first column, which is styled the *Gothic Futhorc*, contains the twenty-four primitive runes, which are used indifferently in all countries in the earliest inscriptions.

The second column contains the corresponding runes

of the *Anglian Futhorc*, which is used on the Ruthwell Cross and on several Northumbrian monuments of the seventh and following centuries. It is given as a futhorc in sundry manuscripts of the eighth and ninth centuries, the earliest form appearing on a sword of the sixth or seventh century, which was found in the Thames, near London.

In the third column is given the latest, or *Scandinavian Futhorc*. It attained its final form about the tenth century, and contains only sixteen runes. We find it given as a futhorc on a slab in the Picts' House at Maeshowe in Orkney, and on a twelfth century font at Bærse in Denmark. This Scandinavian futhorc was used in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Orkney, Cumberland, and the Isle of Man. On the entrance to the arsenal at Venice may be seen one of the sculptured lions which once adorned the Piræus at Athens. The marble is deeply scored with Norse runes, which by the aid of photography have been deciphered, and prove to be a record of the capture of the Piræus by Harold Hardráda, the Norwegian king, who afterward figures in English history, and fell at Stamford Bridge.

The fourth column contains the *Mæso-Gothic Alphabet*, which was compiled in the fourth century by Ulphilas, Bishop of the Goths. It is evidently based upon the ancient Gothic futhorc, with two or three additions and several modifications derived from the contemporary Byzantine alphabet.

The Scandinavian settlers in Northumbria, Cumbria, and the Isle of Man, having left behind them so many runic records of their presence, it may seem strange that not a single runic stone should have been discovered in the Scandinavian colony of Pembroke, or even in Ireland, where Scandinavian chieftains bore sway for many years in the cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick. But the fact of this remarkable absence of runic monuments, in certain regions where they might have been looked for, must be taken in conjunction with another circumstance, equally remarkable, that it is exactly in those regions where the expected runic stones are wanting that *Ogham* writing abounds. This will be explained by the fact that the mysterious ogham character, in which the most ancient records of Wales and Ireland are written, and respecting which so many wild conjectures have been made, was originally nothing more nor less than a

very simple and obvious adaptation of the futhorc to xylographic necessities, the individual runes being expressed by a convenient notation consisting of notches cut with a knife on the edge of a squared staff, instead of being cut with a chisel on the surface of a stone.<sup>1</sup> The geographical distribution of the ogham inscriptions, moreover, raises a strong presumption in favor of the Scandinavian origin of the ogham writing; for it may safely be affirmed that where the Northmen never came ogham inscriptions are never found.

The ogham characters in their primitive form probably consist of a system of notches on the edge of a squared stick or stone. They were afterward written on a plane surface, on either side of a central line. The name given to this line, *druim*, shows that it represented the "ridge" of the primitive squared staff.

The arrangement of the oghams, according to the mediæval Irish tradition, was in four "groups," *aicme*, each group comprising five ogham characters. Thus we have—

Group I.					
	b	l	f	s	n
Group II.					
	h	d	t	c	q
Group III.					
	m	g	ng	st	r
Group IV.					
	a	o	u	e	i

The ogham inscriptions now remaining in England and in such parts of Wales and Ireland as were once occupied by the Northmen date mostly from the fifth and sixth centuries. They have been interpreted by the help of bilingual specimens in Wales, where they were often supplemented by a Latin version, or intermixed with Latin words.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some such method of notation seems to be implied by the words *bock* and *buck-staben* (beech sticks), and may probably be referred to in the often quoted lines of Venantius Fortunatus, a sixth century poet, who says :

Barbara fraxineis pingatur rhuna tabellis,  
Quodque papyrus agit, virgula plana valet.

<sup>2</sup> For more ample details on the subject see Isaac Taylor, *Greeks and Goths ; a Study on the Runes* ; Brash, *Ogham Inscribed Monuments* ; and an *Essay on the Ogham and Scythian Letters*, by Dr. Graves.

The name *Runic* was so called from the term *Ran*,<sup>1</sup> which was used by the Teutonic nations to designate the mystery of writing. The heathen Teutons believed that the runes possessed magical influence, that they could stop a vessel in her course, divert an arrow in its flight, cause love or hatred, raise the corpse from its grave, or cast the living into death-slumbers. On account of the idolatrous veneration with which paganism invested these runes, the early preachers and missionaries of Christianity endeavored to set them aside, and to introduce the use of Roman characters in their stead. It was doubtless from this cause that Ulphilas refrained from writing his version of the Scriptures in the Runic letters employed by the Gothic nations, and adopted a modification of the Greek and Latin alphabets. After their conversion to Christianity, the Anglo-Saxons adopted the latter, in which they were obliged, however, to retain two of the runes, because there were no Roman characters corresponding to them. One was the old Thorn þ, for which the Latin mode of expression was *th*; the other was the Wen ƿ.

The ƿ was superseded by a double *u* after the Norman Conquest, but the þ had a more prolonged career. This, and a modified Roman letter, namely Ð ð, divided the *th* sound between them, the former representing the hard sound of *th*, as in *thing*, and the latter the soft sound of the same letters, as in *thine*. During the Saxon period these were used either without any distinction at all, or with very ill-observed discrimination, until they were both ultimately banished by the general adoption of the *th*. This change was not completely established until the very close of the fifteenth century. And even then there was one case of the use of the rune þ which was not abolished. The words *the* and *that* continued to be written þe and þat or þ̄. This habit lasted long after its original meaning was forgotten. The þ got confused with the character *γ* at a time when the *γ* was closed a-top, and then people wrote "ye" for *the* and "yat" or "y" for *that*. This has continued almost to our own times: and it may be doubted whether the practice has entirely ceased even now.

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<sup>1</sup> *Rana* meant "a whisper"; and even as late as the thirteenth century we find the word used as such in a Moral Ode, in which it is said of the Omniscient that—

Elche rune he ihurð & he wot alle dede.  
*Each whisper he hears, and he knows all deeds.*

When in the seventh century the Roman alphabet began to obtain the ascendancy over the native runes, the latter did not at once fall into disuse. Runes are found on gravestones, church crosses, bells, fonts, amulets, rings, bracelets, brooches, etc., down at least to the eleventh century. The Isle of Man is famous for its Runic stones, especially the church of Kirk Braddan. These are Scandinavian, and are due to the Norwegian settlements of the tenth century. For lapidary inscriptions, clog almanacs, and other familiar uses, it is difficult to say how long they may have lingered in remote localities. In such lurking-places a new kind of importance and of mystery came to be attached to them. They were held in a sort of traditional regard, which at length grew into a superstition. They were the heathen way of writing, while the Roman alphabet was a symbol of Christianity. Gradually, however, they disappeared; being looked down upon at last as fit only for sorcery and magic.

The Roman alphabet was introduced into England from two opposite quarters; from the northwest by the Irish missionaries, and from the southeast by those sent from Rome. It is to be remembered that while the Anglo-Saxons were pagans and barbarians, Christian life and culture had already taken so deep a hold of Ireland that, in the time of Augustin, she most actively co-operated with him by sending forth missions to instruct and convert her neighbors. Ireland, indeed, was then the chief seat of learning in Christian Europe, and, for a long time after, the most distinguished scholars who appeared in other countries were mostly Irish by birth, or had received their education in Irish schools. We are informed by Bede that in his day—the earlier part of the eighth century—it was customary for his English fellow-countrymen of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, to retire for study and devotion to Ireland, where, he adds, they were all hospitably received and supplied gratuitously with food, with books, and with instruction. "Such in fact," says O'Curry, "were the crowds of stranger-students that flocked to some of our great schools of lay and ecclesiastical learning, that they were generally obliged to erect a village or villages of huts as near as they conveniently could, and to find subsistence in the contributions of the surrounding residents."<sup>1</sup> From these celebrated

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<sup>1</sup> O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, Lect. iv, vol. ii.



schools, which had been founded in the beginning of the sixth century, went forth bearers of learning to all parts of the civilized world, and under their influence education made considerable progress in both England and Scotland in the seventh and eighth centuries. Out of this revival came Albert, the teacher of York school, his pupil Alcuin, and also the venerable Bede, who informs us that in his time there were monks in England who knew Latin and Greek as well as they knew their mother-tongue. Certain it is that the Irish, who were called Scots in that century, cultivated Greek and Latin literature when other parts of the civilized world had ceased to do so, and that they were much given to dialectic disputation. There was a living scholarship among them, and a genuine speculative spirit. It was an Irish scholar, Maeldurf, who taught Aldhelm, at Malmesbury, in the seventh century; and the Greek monk, Theodore of Tarsus, was, on his assuming the primacy of England, surrounded, says Aldhelm, by Irish scholars. In those dark days of almost universal ignorance the Irish distinguished themselves by the culture of the sciences beyond all the other European nations, traveling through the most distant lands, both with the view to improve and communicate their knowledge; and while almost the whole of Europe was desolated by war, peaceful Ireland, free from the invasions of internal foes, opened to the lovers of learning and piety a welcome asylum.<sup>1</sup>

Irish books were written with the Roman alphabet, which they must have possessed from an early date, as even the oldest manuscripts that have been preserved present that kind of lettering with a distinct Hibernian physiognomy. Of the two denominations of missionaries which from opposite quarters came to England—the Roman and the Irish—the former gained the ecclesiastical pre-eminence; but the latter for a long time furnished the teachers. Hence it was that the first Anglo-Saxon writing was formed after the Irish, and not after the Roman,

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<sup>1</sup> The glory of this age of Irish scholarship and genius is the celebrated Joannes Scotus, or Erigena, as he is as frequently designated—either appellative equally proclaiming his true birthplace. He is supposed to have first made his appearance in France about the year 845, and to have remained in that country till his death, which appears to have taken place before 875. Erigena is the author of a translation from the Greek of certain mystical works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, which he executed at the command of his patron, the French king, Charles the Bald, and also of several original treatises on metaphysics and theology. His productions may be taken as furnishing clear and conclusive evidence that the Greek language was taught at this time in the Irish schools.—J. L. Craik, *Manual of English Literature*.

model; and, since the Irish letters had developed forms and acquired values unlike those used by the Romans, it follows that the value of Anglo-Saxon letters and their pronunciation must be chiefly found in the Celtic tongue, from which these letters are taken. The accompanying table will exhibit the Anglo-Saxon alphabet and its Irish models, together with their corresponding Roman characters for reference. Besides the above, the symbol *ȝ* was employed to represent *and*, and the symbol *ð* sometimes occurs as an abbreviation for *æt*; and also *ƿ* for *ƿat*.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest specimens we have of the Anglo-Saxon language date from the end of the seventh century, and belong to the Anglian dialect which, under the political eminence of the early Northumbrian kings, first attained to literary distinction. Of this literature, in its original form, only fragments exist, one of the most interesting of which consists of the verses said to have been uttered by Bede, on his death-bed, to his pupil Cuthbert, and preserved in a nearly contemporaneous manuscript, of which the following is a copy, with its translation in modern English:

IRISH.	SAXON.	ROMAN.
Ɑ Ɑ	Ǽ a	a
Ɱ Ɱ	B b	b
Ɐ Ɐ	E c	c
Ɒ Ɒ	D d	d
ⱱ ⱱ	Ǝ e	e
Ⱳ Ⱳ	F f	f
ⱳ ⱳ	G g	g
ⱴ ⱴ	H h	h
Ⱶ Ⱶ	I i	i
ⱶ ⱶ	L l	l
ⱷ ⱷ	M m	m
ⱸ ⱸ	N n	n
ⱹ ⱹ	O o	o
ⱺ ⱺ	P p	p
ⱻ ⱻ	R r	r
ⱼ ⱼ	S s	s
ⱽ ⱽ	T t	t
Ȿ Ȿ	U u	u
	ƿ ƿ	ƿ
	X x	x
	Y y	y
	ƿ ƿ	
	ð ð	

<sup>1</sup> Five letters of the English alphabet, *j*, *k*, *q*, *v*, and *s*, are not found in genuine Anglo-Saxon; but *c* and *cw* are invariably placed where *k* and *q* would be used at present. In the eleventh century the national alphabet gradually fell into disuse, and the French style of writing, introduced by the Normans, superseded the old Saxon mode of lettering. During the succeeding centuries the new character assumed a variety of forms, especially that known as "black letter," which at one time was used all over the north of Europe. In Holland it was abandoned for the Roman type toward the end of last century; but in Germany and the Scandinavian countries it is maintained up to the present day together with the Roman type, the use of which, however, seems destined ere long to replace the older forms entirely.

Fore the neidfære  
 nenig uuiurthit  
 thonc-snotturra  
 than him tharf sie,  
 to ymbhycgannæ  
 æer his hiniongæ,  
 huat his gastæe  
 godaes æththe yflæs  
 æfter deoth-daege  
 doemid uuieorthæ.

Before the unavoidable journey  
 no one is  
 wiser of thought  
 than he hath need,  
 to consider  
 before his departure,  
 what for his spirit  
 of good or evil  
 after the death-day  
 shall be doomed.

Bede died in 735, after having witnessed the intellectual growth and decline of the Anglian people. Indeed, his own name is the only one recorded as eminent for scholarship in this portion of the English annals. The historian William of Malmesbury affirms that the death of Bede was fatal to learning in England, and especially to history; "insomuch that it may be said," he adds, writing in the early part of the twelfth century, "that almost all knowledge of past events was buried in the same grave with him, and hath continued in that condition even to our times." "There was not so much as one Englishman," Malmesbury declares, "left behind Bede, who emulated the glory which he had acquired by his studies, imitated his example, or pursued the path to knowledge which he had pointed out. A few, indeed, of his successors were good men, and not unlearned, but they generally spent their lives in an inglorious silence; while the far greater number sunk into sloth and ignorance, until by degrees the love of learning was quite extinguished in this island for a long time."

Thus far the country, in its various divisions and subdivisions, as well as its inhabitants, was known under various names; but in the year 827, during the reign of Egbert, who was king of the West Saxons from 802 to 837, the distinction between Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Mercians, Northumbrians, or by what other names the various tribes and fractions of tribes were known throughout the island, was formally abolished, and the name of *England*, for the entire country then occupied by them, and that of *English* for all its inhabitants indiscriminately, as well as for their language, was proclaimed by royal decree.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hoc vel sequenti anno Egbertius in regem totias Britanniae coronatus est. Edixit illa die, ut insula in posterum vocaratur *Anglia*, et qui Juti vel Saxones dicebantur, omnes *communi nomine Angli* vocarentur.—*Annal. Wintonens.*, ad anno 827. Qui prius vocati sunt reges Westsaxonum, abhinc vocandi

Whether the name was adopted in deference to the increasing power and numerical superiority of the Angles does not appear; but more probably was it a political measure to avoid foreign complications such as had already threatened before, and might occur again at any moment in the disorder of political strife which distracted the whole country. Ever since the year 782, when the Northumbrian scholar Alcuin joined the court of Charlemagne, the latter had taken an uncommon interest in English affairs. The costly gifts which he dispatched from time to time to the monasteries of England, as of Ireland, showed his desire of obtaining influence in both countries; through Alcuin he maintained relations with Northumbria; through Archbishop Ethelherd he maintained relations not only with Kent, but with the whole English Church. Above all, he harbored at his court exiles from every English realm. Exiled kings of Northumbria made their way to Achen or Nimeguen, and there, too, Egbert, the claimant of the West Saxon throne, had found a refuge since Offa's league with Brihtric in 787 excluded him from it.

The years which Egbert spent at the court of Charlemagne were years of the highest moment in the history of the world. The greatness of this monarch had reached a height which revived in men's minds the memory of ancient Rome; his repulse of the heathen world, which was pressing on from the east, marked him out for the head and champion of Christendom; and on Christmas-day of the year 800, the shouts of the people and priesthood of Rome hailed him as Roman emperor. Egbert had probably marched in the train of the Frankish king to the Danube and the Tiber; he may have witnessed the great event which changed the face of the world; and it was in the midst of the peace which followed it, while the new emperor was yet nursing hopes of a recognition in the East as in the West, which would have united the whole world again under a Roman rule, that the death of Brihtric opened a way for the exile's return to Wessex.

The years that had passed since his flight had made little change in the state of Britain. With the exception

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*sunt reges Anglorum. Radulfi de Dicelo Abbreuiat. Chronicor.* apud Twysden, p. 449, ad anno 828. Egbertus coronatus est rex totius Britanniae apud Wentoniam faciens edictum, ut omnes Saxones *Angli* dicantur et Britannia *Anglia*. *Chronol. Augustineus.* Cant. apud Twysden, p. 2238, ad anno 827.

of Offa's completing his Mercian realm by the murder of the East Anglian king Ethelbert, and the seizure of his land, English history at this point is little more than a blank. All dreams of ambition at home seem to have been hushed in the sense of a common danger, as men followed step by step the progress of the new ruler of Western Christendom. Charlemagne had remained to the last on terms of peace and friendship with Offa; but the death of the Mercian king, the war of Mercia with Kent, and the murder of King Ethelred by the Northumbrian thegns afforded, in 796, an opening for intervention which seems to have been arrested only by the persuasion of Alcuin.<sup>1</sup> The danger, though staved off for the time, must have preyed upon English minds when, four years later, Charlemagne mounted the Imperial throne. His coronation as emperor had for the English a meaning which must have deeply impressed them. Britain had been lost to the Roman empire in the hour when the rest of the western provinces were lost; and to men of that day it would seem natural enough that the island should return to the empire, now that Rome had risen again to more than its old greatness in the West. Such a return, we can hardly doubt, was in the mind of Charlemagne, and the revolutions which were distracting the English kingdoms told steadily toward it. The utter ruin of the Saxon power on the continent, moreover, rendered it advisable to the Saxons of England to avoid complications such as might possibly arise from an identity of name which in former days, as we have seen, prevented Pope Gregory the Great from distinguishing between cismarine and transmarine Saxons, and it is not unlikely that this consideration, as well as the circumstances that led to it, may have had a great deal to do with the adoption of the names of *English* and *England*, as more suitable to proclaim to the world at large a distinct nationality for all the inhabitants of England, possibly divided on minor questions, but having nothing in common with the Saxons of continental Europe.

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<sup>1</sup> On the news of the murder, Carolus . . . in tantum iratus est contra gentem illam, ut uit, perfidam et perversam, et homicidam dominorum suorum, pejorem eam paganis existimat; ut, nisi ego intercessor essem pro ea, quicquid eis boni abstrahere potuisset et mali machinari, jam fecisset. Alcuin to Offa, between April and July, 796. Stubbs and Haddan, *Councils*, iii, p. 498.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE DANES IN ENGLAND.

FOR more than a century and a half nearly the whole of South Britain had borne the name of England, and the nation was deeply suffering from the effects of a long succession of miserable contests, sometimes between one state and another, sometimes between adverse factions in the same state, having in either case the rancorous character of civil strife, when suddenly they were attacked by a foreign foe whose civilization was as far below their own as theirs had been, four centuries previously, below that of the conquered Britons; and whose successful invasions not only checked their progress as a nation, but nearly replunged them into their original barbarism. These piratical hordes, called Danes or Norsemen by the English,<sup>1</sup> and Normans by the French, were not merely natives of Denmark, properly so called, but belonged also to Norway, Sweden, and other countries spread round the Baltic Sea. They were offshoots of the great Scandinavian branch of Teutons who, under different names, conquered and recomposed most of the states of Europe on the downfall of the Roman empire. Such of the Scandinavian tribes as did not move to the south to establish themselves permanently in fertile provinces, but remained

<sup>1</sup> At first the English called them *Ostmenn*, that is "Eastmen." Then again we find them called *Markemenn*, which seems to convey the idea of their coming from Denmark. Vocantur autem usitato more *Marcomanni* gentes undique collectæ, quæ *Marcam* incolunt. Sunt autem in terra Slavorum *Marcæ* quam plures, quarum non infima nostra *Wagirensis* est provincia, habens viros fortes et exercitatos procliis tam *Danorum*, quam *Slavorum*.—*Helmoldi Chron. Slav.*, i, 65. Tempore quo *Normannorum* gens universas Gallias devastabat, universam Franciam rex *Karolus* gubernabat. Sed non valebat eis resistere, quin longe lateque fines regni sui devastarent *Marchomanni*. *Vita S. Genulphi*, post ann. 900; literas, quibus utuntur *Marcomanni*, quos nos *Nordmannos* vocamus, infra scripta habemus.—*Hraban. Maur., de inv. ling.* apud *Goldast*, 2, 67. *Ascomenus* is another name for these northern pirates. Piratæ, quos illi *Withingos* appellant, nostri *Ascomannos*. *Ad. Brem. de Situ Dan.*, c. 212. The Angles called them *Hædhenas*; the Friesians, *Hedhena*; the Dutch and Franks, *Heidenen*, that is, "Heathens." But the general name under which they remained known in England was *Deniscan*, "Danes."

on the barren soil and bleak regions of the north, devoted themselves to piracy as a profitable and honorable profession. The Saxons themselves had done this in the fourth and fifth centuries, and now in the ninth century they were becoming the victims of their old system, carried into practice by their kindred, the Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, and others. All these people were of the same race as the Saxons, being an after-torrent of the same fountain-head; and though time, and a change of country, religion, and general mode of life on the part of the English had made some difference between them, the common resemblance in physical appearance, and even of language and other essentials was still strong.

The piratical associations of the Northmen, though similar to those of the various Saxon tribes of former times, partook in the ninth century rather of the nature of our privateering companies in time of war, and still more closely resembled the associations of the Corsairs of the Barbary coast, who, up to the early part of this century, crossing the Mediterranean as the Danes and Norwegians did the German Ocean and the British Channel, for many ages plundered every Christian ship and country they could approach. The Scandinavian governments at home, such as they were, licensed the depredations and shared the spoils, having a regularly fixed portion allotted them after every successful expedition. On certain great occasions, when their highest numerical force was required, these governments themselves took active part, and were known to make very extensive leagues. As the Saxons of old, so the Danes, the Norwegians, and all the Scandinavians were familiar with the sea and its dangers, and the art of war was cultivated among them far more extensively than by any other nation at that time. The astonishing success of these people in England and France, and later in Italy and Sicily, not only proves their physical vigor, their valor and perseverance, but also their military skill and a remarkable degree of intellect, which contrasted strangely with their savage instincts and their innate brutality. Their religion and their literature, some of which dates back as far as the eighth century, were subservient to their ruling passions for war and plunder; or, more properly speaking, they were both cast in the mold of those passions, and stamped with the impress of the national character. The blood of their enemies in war, and a rude hospitality, with a bar-

barous excess in drinking, were held to be the incense most acceptable to their god Woden, who himself had been, perhaps, nothing more than a mighty slayer and drinker. War and feastings were the constant themes of their skalds and bards; and what they called their history recorded little else than piracy and bloodshed. Torture and carnage, greed of danger, fury of destruction, the obstinate and frenzied bravery of an overstrung temperament, and the unchaining of butcherly instincts, meet us at every page in the old Sagas. Even their ideal woman is a cold, heartless, bloodthirsty wretch. Thus the daughter of a Danish earl, seeing Egil taking his seat near her, repels him with scorn, reproaching him with "seldom having provided the wolves with hot meat, with never having seen for a whole autumn a raven croaking over the carnage." But Egil seized her, and pacified her by singing, "I have marched with my bloody sword, and the raven has followed me. Furiously we fought, the fire passed over the dwellings of men; we slept in the blood of those who kept the gates."<sup>1</sup> From such table-talk, and such maid's fancies, one may judge of the rest.

Like their brothers the Saxons, the Danes were not at one time very bigoted or very intolerant to other modes of faith; but when they came to England they were embittered by recent persecutions. The remorseless cruelties practised by Charlemagne from the year 772 to 803 upon the pagan Saxons settled on the Rhine and in Westphalia, to whom he left no other alternative but death or a Christian baptism, and whom he massacred by thousands, even after they had laid down their arms, were the cause of the fearful reaction and the confirmed idolatry of that people. Those that could escape had fled to Jutland, Seeland, Funen, and the islets of the Cattegat, where the people, still unconverted, gave a friendly reception to brethren suffering in the cause of Woden. All these joined largely in the expeditions against England, and they treated as renegades the English who had forsaken the faith of their common ancestors, to embrace that of their deadly enemies. A sort of religious and patriotic fanaticism was thus combined in the Scandinavians with the fiery impulsiveness of their character, and an insatiable thirst for gain. They shed with joy the blood of

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<sup>1</sup> H. A. Taine, *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*.



priests and monks,<sup>1</sup> were especially delighted at pillaging the churches, and stabled their horses in the chapels of the palaces.<sup>2</sup> When they had devastated and burned some district of the Christian territory: "We have sung them the mass of lances," said they mockingly; "it commenced in the morning, and lasted until night."<sup>3</sup>

In three days, with an east wind, the fleets of Denmark and Norway, consisting of two-sailed vessels, could reach the south of Britain. The soldiers of each fleet obeyed in general one chief, whose vessel was distinguished from the rest by some particular ornament. The same chief commanded when the pirates, having landed, marched in troops on foot or on such horses as they could capture. His title was that of *king*; but he was king only on the seas and on the battle-field; for in the hour of the banquet the whole troop sat in a circle, and the horns, filled with beer, passed from hand to hand without any distinction of first man or last. The sea-king was everywhere faithfully followed and zealously obeyed, because he was always renowned as the bravest of the brave, as "one who had never slept under a smoke-dried roof, who had never emptied a cup seated in the chimney-corner."<sup>4</sup> He could guide his vessel as the good horseman his steed, and to the prestige of courage and skill were added, for him, the influence created by superstition, for he knew the mystic characters which, engraven upon swords, secured the victory, and those which, inscribed on the poop and on the oars, preserved vessels from shipwreck.<sup>5</sup> Under such a chief the men bore lightly their voluntary submission and the weight of their mailed armor, and they laughed at the wind and waves that failed to do them harm. "The strength of the tempest," they sang, "aids the arm of the rower; the storm is our servant; it throws us where we

<sup>1</sup> Clerici et monachi crudelius damnabantur.—*Hist. S. Vincentii apud Script. rer. Normann.*, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Aquisgrani in capella regis equos suos stabulant.—*Chronicon Hermanni Contracti, apud Script. rer. Gallic et Francic.*, vol. viii.

<sup>3</sup> Attum odda messu.—Olaf Wormii, *Litteratura runica*, p. 208.

<sup>4</sup> Sub idem quoque tempus multi Daniæ Norvegiæque reges Svioniam de-prædabantur, nec non plurimi reges maritimi (*Dæner Nordmenn oc mægir Sækongar*) validis suffulti copiis, ac nullo licet peculiari regnorum dominio gaudentes. Proinde is merito rex maritimus (*Sækongar*) appellabatur, qui sub fuliginoso tigno somnum nunquam capiebat, nec ante focum ex cornu potare solitus erat.—*Yugtinga Saga*, cap. xxxiv. Heimskringla edr Noregs Konunga sögor af Snorra Sturlusyni, i, 43.

<sup>5</sup> *Sig-rúnar*, the runes of victory. *Brim-rúnar*, the runes of the waves. *Edda Semundar hinus fröda*, ii, 195.

want to go."<sup>1</sup> Thus the name of *sea-king* was only a military title, and had nothing in common with that of *kong*, meaning "chief," and borne by the numerous petty kings that ruled in the various Scandinavian kingdoms.

In speaking of kings and kingdoms, we use words of swelling sound and magnificent import. Splendor, extensive dominion, pomp and power are the majestic images which arise in our minds when we hear of thrones. But we must dismiss from our thoughts the fascinating appendages of modern royalty, and rather think of our Indian chiefs, when we contemplate these petty sovereigns of the North. Some of their kingdoms may have equaled an American county in extent, but many would have been rivaled by our towns. Having neither cities nor fortified posts, and only surrounded by a small band of followers, they often became the prey of each other; sometimes even the victims to some *coup de main* of other pirates who assailed them. This early state of things continued until the latter part of the ninth century, when Eric in Sweden, Gormo in Denmark, and Harald Harfager in Norway, subdued all these petty kings in their respective countries and united them into three separate monarchies.

The second class of these high-titled individuals were sovereigns who neither possessed country nor ruled over regular subjects, and yet filled the regions adjacent with misery and terror. They were a race of beings whom all Europe beheld with horror. Without a square yard of territorial property, without any towns or visible people, with no wealth but their ships, no force but their crews, and no hope but from their swords, the sea-kings<sup>2</sup> of the North swarmed on the boisterous ocean, and plundered in every district they could approach, sometimes amassing so much booty and enlisting so many followers as to be able to assault even whole provinces for permanent conquest. They were generally the younger sons of the kings in question, the elder remaining at home to inherit the government. The former were left to seek their fortune on the ocean, and to wield their scepters amid the turbulent

<sup>1</sup> *Marinæ tempestatis procella nostra remigiis, nec removet a proposito directæ intentionis; quibus nec ingens mugitus coeli nec crebri jactus fulminum unquam nocuerunt, favente gratia elementorum.*—*Hist. S. Edmundi auctore Abbate floriac. abbate, apud Surium in Vit. Sanctor. Novemb. 20, vi, 441.*

<sup>2</sup> *Kong, Konung, Koning, Kinig, King*, meaning "a leader, a chief." The first among them sometimes bore the title of *Kongakong*, that is, "Chief of Chiefs." *Sz-kong, her-kong*, has been accordingly translated by "see-king."—*Ihre., Gloss. Suio-Gothic.*

waters.<sup>1</sup> The consent of the northern people entitled all men of royal descent who assumed piracy as a profession to enjoy the name of "kings," though they possessed no property ashore. Hence the sea-kings were the kinsmen of the land-sovereigns, and while the eldest son succeeded to his father, the rest of the family hastened like petty Neptunes to establish their kingdom on the waves; and if any of the former were expelled from their inheritance by others, then they also sought a continuance of their dignity upon the ocean. Their rank, and especially their successes, always secured to them abundant crews, and the mischief they perpetrated was immense.

But while these sea-kings operated under a high-sounding title, there was another set of northern pirates on the ocean, far more ferocious, and much less disciplined, though to the victims it made very little difference. Not only the children of kings, but every man that could afford it equipped ships, and roamed the seas to acquire property by force. At the age of ten or twelve their sons were trained under military tutors in all that could make them distinguished pirates. Piracy, among them, was not only considered the most honorable occupation, but the best field for the harvest of wealth; nor was it confined to the emulation of the illustrious who pursued it; no one was respected who did not engage in it, and did not return from sea with ships laden with booty.<sup>2</sup> It was therefore well said of the Northmen, by one of their contemporaries, that they sought their food by their sails

<sup>1</sup> Exuberantes atque terram, quam incolunt, habitare non sufficientes collecta sorte multitudine pubescentium, veterrimo ritu, in externa regna extruduntur nationum, ut adquirant sibi præliando regna, quibus vivere possint pace perpetua. Dudo de Saint-Quentin, *De morib. et actis Norman. duc.*, p. 62.

Dani tantis adoleverunt incrementis, ut dum repletæ essent hominibus insulæ, quam plures sancita a regibus lege cogentur de propriis sedibus migrare. Quæ gens idcirco sic multiplicabatur, quoniam nimio dedita luxui mulieribus iungebatur multis. Nam pater adultos filios cunctos a se pellebat, præter unum, quem heredem sui iuris relinquebat.—Guillaume de Jumièges, *Histor. Normann.*, lib. i, cap 4.

"Costume fu jadis lonc tens  
En Danemarche, entre paëns,  
Kant hom aveit plusors enfanz,  
E il les aveit norriz granz,  
Un des fils reteneit par sort,  
Ki ert son her emprès sa mort,  
E cil sor ki li sort torneit,  
En altre terre s'en aleit."—*Roman de Rou.*, i, v. 208, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Mos erat magnorum virorum regum vel comitum, æqualium nostrorum, ut piraticæ incumberent, opes ac gloriam sibi acquirentes.—Vatzdæla, ap. Bartholin., p. 438.

and inhabited the seas.<sup>1</sup> The name by which this class of pirates was known was *Vikingr*, which originally meant "kings of the bays," for it was in the bays that they ambushed to dart upon the passing voyager. The recesses of the shores afforded them a station of safety from the perils of the ocean, and of advantage in their pursuit. Our bolder navigation, which selects in preference the open sea, was then unusual. In those days merchant-vessels coasted wherever it was possible, and therefore generally came in sight of those bays, which often were full of this class of pirates, ready to dart upon their prey.

The ferocity and useless cruelty of this race of beings almost transcended belief. The piracy of the *Vikingr* was an exhibition of every species of barbarity. Some of them cultivated paroxysms of brutal insanity. These were the *Berserkir*, whom many authors describe. When a conflict was impending, or a great undertaking was about to be commenced, they abandoned all rationality upon system; they studied to resemble wolves or mad dogs, bit their shields, howled like wild beasts, stirred themselves up to the utmost frenzy, and then rushed to every crime and horror which the most frantic enthusiasm could perpetrate. Their fury was an artifice of battle like the war-whoops of the Indians, and in this, as in their barbarous daring and cruelty, they much resembled the latter; for the rest, their leading characteristics were much the same as those of the Saxons three centuries previous.

It was in the latter part of the eighth century that these people commenced to plague the English coasts. This they kept up at intervals for nearly a century, until at last, seeing that the country was not in condition to resist them, they fitted out large expeditions which, in course of time, overran almost the entire island, carrying with them death and destruction, and leaving nothing but ruin and misery in their trail. Priest, monk, nun, youth, old age, nothing was sacred to them. What they looked for was gold and silver, and they sought it especially in the monasteries and churches. Northumbria became a waste. What could not be removed was set on fire, and, with but rare exceptions, the whole Anglian literature perished in the flames. All that could leave fled before

<sup>1</sup> Nigellus, who wrote about about 826, has left a poem on the baptism of Harald, in which he says:

"Ipse quidem populus late pernotas habetur,  
L'entre dapes quærit, incolitatque mare."

the fury of the Danes, and those who remained reverted almost all to their old heathen customs and practices. Civilization went back three centuries; men forgot every art of peace, and what little learning and culture there was among the people became extinguished, even in those parts which hitherto had been the most enlightened.

This is the way it began. One day in 787, a body of men of unknown race entered, in three vessels, a port on the eastern coast where now is Portland.<sup>1</sup> They probably came in the guise of traders, as they were wont on such occasions. In order to learn whence they came, and what they wanted, the Saxon magistrate of the place proceeded to the shore where they had landed. The strangers let them quietly approach; then, surrounding him and his escort, they fell suddenly upon them, killed them, and, after plundering the town, returned with their booty to their ships, and immediately set sail.<sup>2</sup> Six years after a similar robbery took place on the Northumbrian coast, but on a much larger scale. Then the pirates were not further heard of for many years, until in 832 and the year following, when they were seen hovering along the southern and eastern coasts in large numbers, making descents here and there, and doing considerable mischief. It was, however, only in the year 835 that the first great army of Danish corsairs directed their course toward England, and landed on the coast of Cornwall. The ancient inhabitants of that country, reduced by the English to the hard condition of tributaries, joined the enemies of their conquerors, either in the hope of regaining some small portion of their liberty, or simply to gratify the passion of national revenge. The northern invaders were repulsed, and the Britons of Cornwall remained under the Saxon yoke; but, shortly afterward, other fleets brought the Danes to the eastern coast in such numbers that no force could prevent them from penetrating into the heart of England. They ascended the great rivers until they found a commodious station; then they quitted their barks, and moored them or drew them aground; then, scattering themselves over the neighboring country, they

<sup>1</sup> Cuomon ærest iii scipu *Nordhmanna of Hæredha lande* . . . . Thæt wæron tha ærestan scipu *Daniscra* monna the Angelcynnes lond gesohton.—*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ad ann. 787. Eo etiam tempore primum tres naves *Normannorum*, id est *Danorum*, applicuerunt in insula, quæ dicitur Portland.—Asserius, *de Alfredi Gestis*.

<sup>2</sup> Henrici Huntind., *Hist. lib. IV, apud rer. Anglio. Script.*

carried off all the beasts of burden, and, as the chronicles of that day express it, from mariners they became horsemen. They at first confined themselves to plundering and retired immediately, leaving only some military posts and small intrenched camps on the coasts to cover their speedy return; but soon, changing their policy, they fixed their residence in the country, and became masters of the soil and of the inhabitants, driving the English population of the northeast toward the southwestern part of the island, as the Saxons had formerly driven the British population from the British Channel to the opposite sea, A. D. 838 to 865.

In the year 866, the most numerous fleet that had ever sailed from Denmark on a distant expedition left for England, under the command of eight kings and twenty iarls,<sup>1</sup> who landed their troops on the southern part of the coast appertaining to East Anglia. Unable to repel so formidable an armament, the people of that country received the Danes in a pacific manner. The latter profited thereby in acquiring supplies of provisions, collecting horses, and awaited reinforcements from beyond sea; afterward, when they felt assured of success, they marched upon York, the capital of Northumbria, totally defeating the Saxons, and devastating with fire and sword the country they traversed (867). Having made themselves masters of a district north of the Humber, and being assured by messengers of the submission of the rest of the Northumbrians, they resolved on maintaining their conquest. They garrisoned York and the principal towns, apportioned estates to their companions, without any regard to the rights of the native population, and offered an asylum to men of all ranks who should arrive from the Scandinavian countries to join the new colony. Thus Northumberland ceased to be a Saxon kingdom; it became the rallying point of the Danes, who contemplated the conquest of the southern portion of England. After three years spent in their preparations, the invading army set out. Under the conduct of their eight kings, they descended the Humber as far as Lindesey, where, having disembarked, they marched from north to south, plundered cities, massacred the inhabitants, and, with their national

<sup>1</sup> *Iarls*, or *eorls*, according to the Saxon orthography. This is a word whose original signification is doubtful, but which the Scandinavians applied to every sort of commander, whether military or civil, acting as the lieutenant of the supreme chief, called king.

fanaticism, they destroyed by fire the Christian churches and monasteries, and all books and manuscripts they found in them. East Anglia, being in turn completely subjected, became, like Northumbria, a Danish kingdom, and a point of destination for all emigrant adventurers from the north. The Saxon king was replaced by a sea-king, and the Saxon population, reduced to a state of demi-servitude, lost all property in their territory, and henceforth tilled the land for the Danish conquerors. The country was now overrun by the latter, and of the eight kingdoms first founded by the Saxons and the Angles there remained but one, that of Wessex, which extended from the mouth of the Thames to the British Channel.

In the year 871 Ethelred, king of Wessex, died of wounds received in a combat fought with the Danes who had passed the Thames, and invaded his territory. He left several children; but the choice of the nation fell on his brother Alfred, a young prince twenty-two years old, whose courage and military skill inspired the Saxons with the greatest hopes. Twice already he had succeeded, either by arms or negotiation, in relieving his kingdom from the presence of the Danes; he repulsed several attempts to invade his southern provinces by sea, and for seven years maintained the boundary lines of the Thames. It is probable that no other army of the Danes would ever have overpassed that boundary, had the king of Wessex and his people been thoroughly united; but there existed between them germs of discord of a peculiar nature.

King Alfred was more learned than any of his subjects. While quite young he had visited the southern countries of Europe, and closely observed their manners, customs, and institutions; he was conversant with their languages, and with most of the writings of antiquity. This superiority of knowledge created in the Saxon king a certain degree of contempt for the nation he governed. He had small respect for the information or intelligence of the great national council, which was called "The Assembly of Wise Men." Full of the ideas of absolute power which he had so often read of in Roman writers, he was bent on political reforms, and framed many plans better in themselves, perhaps, than the ancient Anglo-Saxon practices they were intended to replace, but wanting in that essential requisite, the sanction of the people, who neither understood nor desired these changes. Tra-

dition has vaguely preserved some severe features of Alfred's government; and long after his death men used to speak of the excessive rigor he applied to the punishment of prevaricators and dishonest judges.<sup>1</sup> Although this severity had for its object the good of the nation, it was far from agreeable to a people who, at that time, valued freedom of existence more than regularity in the administration of public affairs.

Thus when, seven years after his election, this learned king, unconsciously odious, having to repel a formidable invasion of Danes, summoned his people to defend the land, he was terrified at finding his subjects but little disposed to obey him, and even careless about the common danger. In vain did Alfred send through the towns and hamlets his messengers of war; few men came, and the king was left almost alone with a small number of faithful followers and friends whom he enchanted with his learning. Favored by this indifference of the nation for their chief, the enemy made a rapid progress. Alfred then, feeling that he was deserted by his people, deserted them in his turn, and the Danish army entered the kingdom nearly unopposed. Many of the inhabitants embarked on the western coasts to seek refuge either in Gaul or on the island of Erin, which the Saxons called Ireland;<sup>2</sup> the rest submitted to pay tribute and to labor for the Danes. But it was not long before they found the evils of the conquest a thousand times worse than the severity of Alfred's reign, which alone could have saved them. Thus they regretted their former condition, and even the despotism of a king who ruled them with an iron hand, but who was born among themselves.

Alfred, too, reflected on his misfortunes and meditated on the means of saving his people, if it were possible, and of regaining their favor. Having collected a few friends about him, he intrenched himself on a small island near the confluence of the rivers Thone and Parret. There he led the hard and rugged life reserved, in every conquered country, for such of the vanquished as are too proud for slavery—that of a freebooter in the woods, morasses, and mountain defiles. Such as were tired of the foreign yoke, or had been guilty of high treason, in defending their family and property against the conquerors, came and put themselves under the command of the unknown chief,

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<sup>1</sup> Horne, *Mirror of Magistrates*, p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> *Erin-land, Era-land, Ira-land.*



who disdained to share the general servitude. After six months of a warfare of stratagems, surprises, and of night combats, the partisan leader resolved to declare himself, to call on the people of the whole western country, and to make an open attack, under the Anglo-Saxon standard, on the principal camp of the Danes. Before giving the decided signal, Alfred wished to observe in person the position of the foreigners. He entered their camp in the dress of a harper, and diverted the Danish army with his Saxon songs, the language of which differed but little from their own.<sup>1</sup> He went from tent to tent, and on his return, changing his character and occupation, he sent messengers through all the surrounding country, and assigned as a place of meeting for all Saxons who would arm and fight, a spot a few miles distant from the enemy's camp. During three successive days armed men arrived from every quarter, one by one, or in small bands, at the place appointed. Some rumors of this agitation reached the camp of the Danes, but as there was not a single traitor among the Saxons, their information was uncertain. It was not long, however, before they saw the banner of Wessex bearing down on them. Alfred attacked their redoubts at their weakest sides, drove out all the Danes, and, as the Saxon Chronicle expresses it, "remained master of the field of carnage."

Once dispersed, the Danes did not again rally, and Guthrum, their king, did what those of his nation often did when in peril—he promised that, if the victors would relinquish their pursuit of him, he and his men would be baptized, and would retire to the territory of East Anglia to dwell there in peace. The Saxon king, who was not strong enough to carry on the war to the utmost, accepted these proposals for peace (879). Guthrum and the other pagan captains swore first on a bracelet consecrated to their own gods and then on the cross, that they would in all good faith receive baptism. King Alfred officiated as spiritual father to the Danish chief, who, putting the neophytical white robe over his armor, departed with the wreck of his army for the land whence he had come, and where he engaged for the future to remain. The limits of the two populations were fixed by a definitive treaty sworn to, as the preamble set forth, by Alfred, king; Guthrum, king;

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<sup>1</sup> Danorum Anglicanæ loquelæ vicina est.—*Chronologia rer. septentr. apud Script. rer. Danic.*, v, 26.

all the Anglo-Saxon wise men, and all the Danish people.<sup>1</sup> These limits were, on the south, the course of the Thames as far as the Lea, which discharges its waters into the main stream not far from London; on the northeast, the Ouse and the great high road constructed by the Britons and rebuilt by the Romans, which the Saxons called *Wæthlinga-street*, "the road of the sons of Wæthla."<sup>2</sup> All those portions of England which were not occupied by the Danes thenceforth formed one single state, carrying out practically the original plan of Egbert; and thus disappeared forever the ancient division of the English people into various peoples, corresponding in number to the bands of armed emigrants which had incessantly come from the islands and coasts of Continental Europe, and dispossessed the Britons.

And now in turn the same bad faith was shown them by the Danes, who, at the first appearance of a fleet of pirates on the coast, broke their oath without hesitation, and saluted the new-comers as brothers, with whom they entered at once upon new expeditions against the Southern English, and kept doing so ever after on every chance or pretext. Such were the people who, for well nigh two centuries, made England the object of their incessant depredations, hovering first on the coasts as mere pirates, making descents, now at one point, then at another, throughout the whole circuit, and finally establishing themselves permanently in the heart of the kingdom, and sweeping it in all directions with fire and sword, until at last they even succeeded in placing their own king upon the English throne. Such a state of things was necessarily fatal to the progress of civilization and with it to the language; for though the Danes of the tenth century were no longer the low pirates of a century previous, and though even during the twenty years of the reign of Canute the country enjoyed in every way more of the advantages of good government than it had done in any previous period of the same length, yet this very state of peace and relative prosperity was again prejudicial to the vernacular English by favoring a further

<sup>1</sup> Ælfred cyning and Gydrhun cyning and ealles Angelcynnes Witan, and eal seo theod the on East-Englum beodh. Wilkins, *Leges Anglo-Saxon*. In several Latin instruments Alfred translates his title by the word *dux*. Ego Ælfred dux, *apud Chart*, sub anno 883.—Ley, *Gloss. Sax*.

<sup>2</sup> The word has apparently this signification; but it is more probable that *Wæthlinga-street* was only the Saxon mispronunciation of the British *Gwyddelinsarn*, signifying "Road of the Gaels," that is, "the Irish," which is a very likely name for a high-road leading from Dover to the Cheshire coast.

admixture of words and phrases from the dialects of the Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, and other Scandinavian tribes then settled permanently and in great numbers on the island.

It would not be correct, however, to attribute the decline and extinction of the earliest literary civilization of the Angles and Saxons wholly to the Danish invasions. The Northmen did not make their appearance till toward the close of the eighth century, nor did their ravages occasion any considerable alarm till long after the commencement of the ninth; but for a whole century preceding this date learning in England appears to have fallen into decay. The devastation of the Danes therefore only completed what had been begun by the dissensions and confusion that attended the breaking up of the original political system established by the Angles and Saxons, and perhaps also by the natural decay of the national spirit among a race long accustomed to a stirring and adventurous life, and now left relatively in undisturbed ease and quiet before the spirit of a new and more intellectual activity had been sufficiently diffused among them. As it was, this was a dark age for England. Schools had almost ceased to exist. In the monasteries themselves the thread of learned tradition had become very thin, indeed, scarcely discernible, and if a shining light still burned here and there, it only showed more forcibly the depth of the general darkness. When Alfred was a young man, he could find no master in England to instruct him in any of the higher branches of learning; there were at that time, according to his biographer, Asser, few or none among the West Saxons who had any scholarship, or could so much as read with propriety and ease. Alfred has himself stated that, though some of the English at his accession could read their native language well enough, the knowledge of the Latin tongue was so much decayed that there were very few on his side of the Humber who could understand the common prayers of the church, or were capable of translating a single sentence of Latin into English; and that at the south of the Thames he could not recollect that there was one possessed of this moderate amount of learning. This famous passage occurs in a circular preface, addressed to the several bishops, and serves as an introduction to Alfred's English version of Pope Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*. The rare interest of this document, and its bearing upon our subject, induces us to quote it in full:

DEOS BOC SCEAL TO WIOGORA  
CEASTRE.

THIS BOOK IS FOR WORCESTER.

Ælfred kyning hateð gretan Wærferð biscep his wordum luflice and freondlice; and ðe cyðan hate ðæt me com swiðe oft ón gemynd, hwelce wiotan iu wæron giond Angelcynn, ægðer ge godcundra hada ge woruldcundra; and hu gesæliglica tida ða wæron giond Angelcynn; and hu ða kyningas ðe ðone ónwald hæfdon ðæs folces on ðam dagum Gode and his ærendwrecum hersumedon; and hie ægðer ge hiora sibbe ge hiora siodo ge hiora ónweald innanbordes gehioldon, and eac út hiora eðel gerymdon; and hu him ða speow ægðer ge mid wige ge mid wisdom; and eac ða godcundan hadas hu giorne hie wæron ægðer ge ymb lare ge ymb liornunga, ge ymb ealle ða ðiowotdomas ðe hie Gode scoldon; and hu man utanbordes wisdom and lare hieder ón lond sohte, and hu we hie nu sceoldon ute begietan gif we hie habban sceoldon. Swæ clæne hio wæs oðfeallenu ón Angelcynne ðæt swiðe feawa wæron behionan Humbre ðe hiora ðeninga cuðen understandan ón Englisc, oððe furðum án ærendgewrit óf Lædene ón Englisc areccean; and ic wene ðæt noht monige begiondan Humbre næren. Swæ feawa hiora wæron ðæt ic furðum anne ánlepne ne mæg geðencean besuðan Temese ða ða ic to rice feng. Gode ælmihtegum sie ðonc ðæt we nu ænigne ón stal habbað lareowa.

King Alfred bids greet bishop Wærferth with his words lovingly and with friendship; and I let it be known to thee that it has very often come into my mind, what wise men there formerly were throughout England, both of sacred and secular orders; and how happy times there were then throughout England; and how the kings who had power over the nation in those days obeyed God and his ministers; and they preserved peace, morality, and order at home, and at the same time enlarged their territory abroad; and how they prospered both with war and with wisdom; and also the sacred orders how zealous they were both in teaching and learning, and in all the services they owed to God; and how foreigners came to this land in search of wisdom and instruction, and how we should now have to get them from abroad if we were to have them. So general was its decay in England that there were very few on this side of the Humber who could understand their rituals in English, or translate a letter from Latin into English; and I believe that there were not many beyond the Humber. There were so few of them that I can not remember a single one south of the Thames when I came to the throne. Thanks be to God Almighty that we have any teachers among us now.

It was not till he was nearly forty years of age that Alfred himself seriously commenced his study of the

Latin language. Before this, however, and as soon as he had rescued his dominions from the hands of the Danes, and reduced these foreign disturbers to subjection, he had exerted himself with his characteristic activity in bringing about the restoration of letters as well as of peace and order. He had invited to his court all the most learned men he could discover anywhere in his native land, and had even brought over instructors for himself and his people from other countries. Werfrith, the bishop of Worcester; Ethelstan and Werwulf, two Mercian priests; and Plegmund, also a Mercian, who afterward became archbishop of Canterbury, were some of the English of whose superior acquirements he thus took advantage. Asser he brought from the western extremity of Wales. Grimbold he obtained from France, having sent an embassy of bishops, presbyters, deacons, and religious laymen, bearing valuable presents to his ecclesiastical superior Fulco, the archbishop of Rheims, to ask permission for the great scholar to be allowed to come to reside in England. And so in other instances, "like the bee, looking everywhere for honey," to quote the similitude of his biographer, this admirable prince sought abroad in all directions for the treasure which his own kingdom did not afford.

Up to this time absolute illiteracy seems to have been common even among the highest classes of the English. When Alfred established his schools, they were as much needed for the nobility who had reached an advanced or mature age as for their children; and, indeed, his scheme of instruction seems to have been intended from the first to embrace the former as well as the latter; for, according to Asser's account, any person of rank or substance, who, either from age or want of capacity, was unable to learn to read himself, was compelled to send to school either his son or a kinsman, or, if he had neither, a servant, that he might at least be read to by some one. The royal charters, instead of the names of the kings, sometimes exhibit their marks, used, as it is frankly explained, in consequence of their ignorance of letters.

This general state of ignorance, however, was not confined to England alone, and when Alfred tells us that he knew no priest south of the Thames who understood the meaning of the Latin prayers which he used, he only describes a state of things which was then general over almost all Christendom; for though Latin was the uni-

versal language of the Church, not one priest in a thousand, either in France or Spain, could at that time write a single letter in the Latin tongue. We must even suppose that the language, as used by Alfred, is not intended to include monks; for notwithstanding the destruction caused by the Danish invasions, many Benedictine monasteries had continued to be centers of a restricted, but not the less genuine, study of Latin and the Scriptures. Very restricted, however, it must have been, if we are to believe Alfred himself, when he refers to "foreigners coming to England in search of wisdom and instruction, and how now they had to get them from abroad if they were at all to have them." Indeed, such had been once the advanced state of learning and piety among the English monks that, after the redemption from idolatry of their own people, they sent in turn missionaries to the Continent to extend the bounds of Christianity among the Teutonic races, most of whom were still heathens at the time of Pepin, the father of Charlemagne. One of them, Winifreth or Boniface, more zealous or more successful than the rest, has even been called "the apostle of Germany." Still, as it was mainly the reform and extension of the Church, and only incidentally of the school, that engaged his zeal, education among the Dutch and German people, to whose conversion his labors were mainly confined, remained in a barbarous state until Charlemagne had established schools and a more thorough education of the priesthood throughout his dominions. In this he was assisted by another English monk, Alcuin of York, who was an excellent product of the learning of his time, and devoted to his work. Under Alcuin's advice he issued instructions for the reform of schools, such as then existed, in 787. As this has been justly regarded as a document of great significance in the educational history of the period, it will be especially interesting to compare the views of Charlemagne with those expressed by Alfred on the same subject half a century later. It has been thus translated:<sup>1</sup>

"Charles, by the grace of God, king of the Franks and of the Lombards, and patrician of the Romans, to Bangulfus, abbot, and to his whole congregation and the faithful committed to his charge: Be it known to your devotion, pleasing to God, that in conjunction with our faithful we have judged it to be of utility that, in the bishoprics and

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<sup>1</sup> J. B. Mullinger, from the original Latin quoted by Mabillon, part i, c. 9.

monasteries committed by Christ's favor to our charge, care should be taken that there shall be not only a regular manner of life and one conformable to holy religion, but also the study of letters, each to teach and learn them according to his ability and the divine assistance. For even as due observance of the rule of the house tends to good morals, so zeal on the part of the teacher and the taught imparts order and grace to sentences; and those who seek to please God by living aright should also not neglect to please him by right speaking. It is written, 'By thine own words shalt thou be justified or condemned'; and although right doing be preferable to right speaking, yet must the knowledge of what is right precede right action. Every one, therefore, should strive to understand what it is he would fain accomplish; and this right understanding will be the sooner gained according as the utterances of the tongue are free from error. And if false speaking is to be shunned by all men, especially should it be shunned by those who have elected to be the servants of the truth. During past years we have often received letters from different monasteries, informing us that at their sacred services the brethren offered up prayers on our behalf; and we have observed that the thoughts contained in these letters, though in themselves most just, were expressed in uncouth language, and, while pious devotion dictated the sentiments, the unlettered tongue was unable to express them aright. Hence there has arisen in our minds the fear lest, if the skill to write rightly were thus lacking, so, too, would the power of rightly comprehending the sacred Scriptures be far less than was fitting; and we all know that though verbal errors be dangerous, errors of the understanding are yet more so. We exhort you, therefore, not only not to neglect the study of letters, but to apply yourselves thereto with perseverance and with that humility which is well pleasing to God; so that you may be able to penetrate with greater ease and certainty the mysteries of the Holy Scriptures. For as these contain images, tropes, and similar figures, it is impossible to doubt that the reader will arrive far more readily at the spiritual sense according as he is the better instructed in learning. Let there, therefore, be chosen for this work men who are both able and willing to learn, *and also desirous of instructing others*; and let them apply themselves to the work with a zeal equaling the earnestness with which we recommend it to them.

“It is our wish that you may be what it behooves the soldiers of the Church to be—religious in heart, learned in discourse, pure in act, eloquent in speech; so that all who approach your house, in order to invoke the Divine Master or to behold the excellence of the religious life, may be edified in beholding you, and instructed in hearing you discourse or chant, and may return home rendering thanks to God most high.

“Fail not, as thou regardest our favor, to send a copy of this letter to all thy suffragans and to all the monasteries; and let no monk go beyond his monastery to administer justice, or to enter the assemblies and the voting-places. Adieu.”

Instruction, in those days, began about the age of seven. The alphabet, written on tables or leaves, was learned by heart by the children, then syllables and words. The first reading-book was the Latin psalter, and this was read again and again until it could be said by heart, and any failure on the part of boys to recite accurately was severely punished. The psalter was read and learned by heart, at first without being understood; and numerous priests, and even monks, were content all their lives with the mere sound of the Latin words, which they could both read and recite, but did not understand.

Writing followed reading. There were two stages. In the first, the boys were taught to write with a style on wax-covered tablets, imitating copies set by the master; and in the second, or advanced stage, they learned to write with pen and ink on parchment—an accomplishment highly prized in days when books were multiplied by hand-copying.

The higher instruction generally aimed at giving the pupil a knowledge of the seven liberal arts—the *trivium* and *quadrivium* of the Romano-Hellenic schools.<sup>1</sup> Compendiums were written and learned; these, however, were very often so dry and brief, that the pupil knew nothing more than the name and contents of the Arts

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<sup>1</sup> It seems that the course of instruction in the trivium and quadrivium was established under Alexander the Great, and that the labors of Isocrates, Aristotle, and Theophrastus stand accredited with much influence in its adoption. The trivium included the three formal sciences—grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, and furnished the foundation of intellectual education. The quadrivium included arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music—four branches relating mostly to nature, and in contrast with the studies of the trivium, which relate to human nature or man.—W. T. Harris.



studies. The instruction was arranged in the form of question and answer.

Such were in substance the methods of study pursued under the direction of Alcuin, who occupied at the court of Charlemagne a post corresponding to what we now should designate Minister of Public Education and of Public Worship. He was in some respects an able, and certainly a very energetic, man, but his views on education were of a narrow and monastic character. In a letter addressed to his imperial patron he enumerates, in the fantastic rhetoric of the period, the subjects in which he instructed his pupils in the school of St. Martin at Paris. "To some," says he, "I administer the honey of the sacred writings; others I try to inebriate with the wine of the ancient classics. I begin the nourishment of some with the apples of grammatical subtlety. I strive to illuminate many by the arrangement of the stars, as from the painted roof of a lofty palace." In plain language, his instructions embraced grammar, the Greek and Latin languages, astronomy, and theology. In the poem in which he gives an account of his own education at York, the same writer informs us that the studies there pursued comprehended, besides grammar, rhetoric, and poetry, "the harmony of the sky, the labor of the sun and moon, the five zones, the seven wandering planets; the laws, risings, and settings of the stars, and the ærial motions of the sea; earthquakes; the nature of man, cattle, birds, and wild beasts, with their various kinds and forms; and the sacred Scriptures." In the dialogues which he made for the son of Charlemagne, he uses like formulas the little poetic and trite phrases which were the characteristics of the national poetry. For instance: "What is writing? The guardian of history.—What is speech? The interpreter of the soul.—What gives birth to speech? The tongue.—What is the tongue? The whip of the air.—What is the air? The preserver of life.—What is life? A joy for the happy, a pain for the miserable, and for all the expectation of death.—What is death? An inevitable event, an uncertain voyage, a subject of tears for the living, a robber of men.—What is heaven? A moving sphere, an immense vault.—What is light? The torch of all things.—What is the sun? The splendor of the universe, the beauty of the firmament, the grace of nature, the glory of the day.—What is the day? A call to labor, etc., etc." More, he ends his instruction with enigmas in the spirit of the Skalds, such as we still

find in the old manuscripts, together with barbarian songs; and he thus addresses his royal pupil: "As you are a youth of good disposition, and endowed with natural capacity, I will put to you several other unusual questions: endeavor to solve them.—I will do my best; if I make mistakes, you must correct them.—I shall do as you desire. Some one who is unknown to me has conversed with me, having no tongue and no voice; he was not before, he will not be hereafter, and I neither heard nor knew him. What means this? Perhaps a dream moved you, master.—Exactly so, my son. Still another one. I have seen the dead engender the living, and the dead consumed by the breath of the living. Fire was born from the rubbing of branches, and it consumed the branches."<sup>1</sup> This was the sort of instruction young Lewis received from his learned master. It was evidently the best his royal father could command, and gives us an idea of the methods then universally employed in England as well as in France and elsewhere, and which, in scientific as well as in religious instruction, prevailed for centuries after.

To young men fortunate enough to go beyond the first rudiments of knowledge, a certain command of Latin was indispensable to understand explanations for which the vernacular was utterly inadequate, at a time when dialects were numberless, and often varied from one village to another. Hence the years devoted to what we now call secondary instruction, were mainly taken up by the study of the Latin language, when grammar was regarded as the basis of all other studies. Indeed, the name of "grammar school" is still a relic of those days, when grammar was the principle of all that could be learned. In the court of Charlemagne there was a much-admired painting, which represented the seven liberal arts, and in which *Grammar* was represented as the queen, sitting under the tree of knowledge with a crown on her head, a knife in her right hand with which to scratch out errors, and a thong in her left. The thong was supposed to symbolize the supremacy of grammar in the schools; it may, however, have symbolized the discipline of the time. For England especially this discipline was exceedingly severe. The slightest faults were punished with the rod. *Degere sub virga* meant "to receive education." The severity was no doubt encouraged by the theory that the devil was

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<sup>1</sup> Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, t. ii, p. 191.

in the hearts of boys, and could be got out only by flogging. In many monasteries all the boys were periodically flogged as a kind of general atonement for sins past and possible. Even so late as the fourteenth century we find that the ceremony of introducing a schoolmaster to his office was presenting him with a palmer (ferule) and rod, and requiring him to flog a boy publicly. "Then shall the Bedell purvay for every master in Gramer a shrewde boy whom the master in Gramer shall bete openlye in the Scolys and the master in Gramer shall give the boy a Grote for hys labour and another Grote to him that provydeh the rode and the palmer," etc.<sup>1</sup>

As we have no specimens of any of the dialects current among the Saxon and Angle invaders of Britain for nearly three centuries after their settlement in the island, we can not tell to what extent these dialects agreed with or differed from each other, nor can we be sure whether the differences, found at a later period when we can make a comparison between northern and southern English, were due to original diversity or to subsequent differentiation. However, as the dialectal differences, afterward discernible, correspond in the main to the areas historically assigned to Angles and Saxons respectively, it may be assumed that there was some difference of dialect to begin with—that of the Saxons corresponding to the Dutch, which is still its nearest representative on the Continent, and that of the Angles to the Friesian, and through it possibly to such Scandinavian dialects as were current in the Danish islands, where the Friesians for a long time had their colonies, and in Holstein, which they occupied in common with the Angles before their conquests in Britain.

The Friesian dialect, which still survives in Friesland, in Heligoland, in the islands between the Ems and Weser, in part of Sleswick, and in a few localities in Oldenburg and Westphalia, was once spoken over a far greater area than at present, extending as it did to an uncertain and irregular distance inland between the Zuyder Zee to the Elbe. These were certainly the parts the Friesians and Angles came from; and it is probably on that ground that at one time it was believed that Modern English possessed a greater affinity with the Friesian than with any other Low Dutch dialect or language. There is certainly some

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<sup>1</sup> S. S. Laurie, *The Rise and Early Constitution of Universities.*

analogy between the Friesian patois, that may be heard along the coast and on the islands, with some of the old English patois that are yet lingering in some remote northern districts along the Scotch frontier, where Friesian settlements were numerous, but even there the resemblance extends now far more to accent and intonation than to the language itself. Bosworth quotes the following specimen of the Friesian dialect, which is part of a rustic song supposed to be sung by a peasant on his return from a wedding feast, and dates from the middle of the seventeenth century,

*“Swiet, ja swiet, is't oer 'e mlete,  
'T bodskiere fôar l jonge lie,  
Kreftich swiet is't, sizs ik jietle,  
As it giet mei alders rle.  
Mai dars tiget 'et to 'n plêach,  
As ik dan myn geafeunt seach.”*

Gysbert Japix, *Friesche Rymlerye*.

which has been thus translated :

“Sweet, yes, sweet is over (*beyond*) measure,  
The marrying for the young lede (*people*) ;  
Most sweet is it, I say yet (*once more*),  
When (*as*) it goes with the rede (*counsel*) of the elders,  
But otherwise it tends to a plague,  
As I saw on (*by the example of*) my village fellow.”

Comparing this with the following specimens of Dutch, quoted and translated by Bowring, the greater resemblance between the latter language and English will be readily apparent :

*“Als de wyn is in de man,  
Is de wysheid in de kan.”*

Tuinman, *Spreekwoorden*, p. 19.

“As (when) the wine is in the man  
Is the wisdom in the can.”

Bowring, *Batavian Anthology*.

*“Parnassus is te wyd ; hier is geen Helicon,  
Maar duinen, bosch, en beek, een lucht, een zelfde zon ;  
Dit water, dit land, beek, veld, stroom en boomgoddinnen,  
Met machteloose liefde wy hartelyk beminnen.”*

Hartspiegel, I, 127-130.

“Parnassus is too wide, here is no Helicon,  
But downs, wood, and beck, one air, one self-same sun ;  
This water, this land, beck, field, steam, and wood goddesses,  
With mightless love, we heartily admire.”

Bowring, *Bat. Anth.*

Not only does the Dutch construction of the sentence bear a closer analogy to the Anglo-Saxon than the Modern English, but a long list of Anglo-Saxon words might be made out which resemble the Dutch far more than their corresponding form in English.<sup>1</sup> It has therefore been well said that, if the English language, as it was written a thousand years ago, had been left to itself, and no other action from without had interfered with that of its spontaneous growth or inherent principles of change and development, English and Dutch to-day, if not exact-

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<sup>1</sup> This has not escaped the attention of Mr. Skeat, who says: "The introduction into English of Dutch words is somewhat important, yet seems to have received but little attention. I am convinced that the influence of Dutch upon English has been much underrated, and a closer attention to this question might throw some light even upon English history. I think I may take the credit of being the first to point this out with sufficient distinctness. History tells us that our relations with the Netherlands have often been rather close. We read of Flemish mercenary soldiers being employed by the Normans, and of Flemish settlements in Wales, 'where (says old Fabyan, I know not with what truth) they remained a longe whyle, but after, they sprad all Englande over.' We may recall the alliance between Edward III and the free towns of Flanders; and the importation by Edward of Flemish weavers. The wool used by the cloth-workers of the Low Countries grew on the backs of English sheep; and other close relations between us and our nearly-related neighbors grew out of the brewing-trade, the invention of printing, and the reformation of religion. Caxton spent thirty years in Flanders (where the first English book was printed), and translated the Low German version of Reynard the Fox. Tyndale settled at Antwerp to print his New Testament, and he was burnt at Vilvorde. But there was a still closer contact in the time of Elizabeth. Very instructive is Gascoigne's poem on the Fruits of War, where he describes his experiences in Holland; and every one knows that Zutphen saw the death of the beloved Sir Philip Sidney. As to the introduction of cant words from Holland, see Beaumont and Fletcher's play entitled 'The Beggar's Bush.' After Antwerp had been captured by the Duke of Parma, 'a third of the merchants and manufacturers of the ruined city,' says Mr. Green, 'are said to have found a refuge on the banks of the Thames.' All this can not but have affected our language, and it ought to be accepted, as tolerably certain, that during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, particularly the last, several Dutch words were introduced into England." This, however, would not account for a much larger number of words of whose origin the author seems to be uncertain, and to denote which he employs the term Old Low German, he says, "for want of better." These words, existing already in Anglo-Saxon, are simply Old Dutch, and have remained much the same in Modern Dutch, as may be readily ascertained from any Anglo-Saxon-English and English-Dutch dictionary. Of these words the author remarks that, "if not precisely English, they come very near it"; and he adds: "Either they belong to Old Friesian, and were introduced by the Friesians who came over to England with the Saxons, or to some form of Old Dutch or Old Saxon, and may have been introduced from Holland, possibly even in the fourteenth century, when it was not uncommon for Flemings to come here. Some of them may yet be found in Anglo-Saxon. I call them Old Low German because they clearly belong to some Old Low German dialect; and I put them in a class together in order to call attention to them, in the hope that their early history may receive further elucidation."—W. W. Skeat, *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*. See pages 430-440.

ly alike, would present two very similar dialects of one and the same idiom.

But whether it was the Angle, Friesian, Dutch, or Saxon dialects which prevailed, or whether the written Anglo-Saxon originated in a rude mixture of the various dialects which, in the progress of time, melted into one language, just as the kindred tribes themselves united to form a nation, which seems more probable, it must not be supposed that the relative unity found in Anglo-Saxon writers extended also to the spoken language. The highly polished Dutch of Holland, which is only a modern form of that language, and has suffered much less from revolutions and the injury of time, has still a vast number of dialects peculiar to certain localities; and in spite of a superior system of national education, custom allows, nay, even authorizes, in the spoken language, as used by the most refined, certain forms and turns of phrase which would be totally inadmissible in writing. It is, therefore, not probable that what is called the Anglo-Saxon language was ever spoken with any degree of accuracy or uniformity, even among the better classes, at a time when literary culture was in its infancy in England, and especially not among the mass of country people, with whom reading and writing were arts unknown. The latter, from their agricultural pursuits, had but little communication with the inhabitants of neighboring districts; and having few opportunities and little inducement to leave their own neighborhood, they generally intermarried among themselves. And from their limited acquaintance and circumscribed views, they would naturally be much attached to their old manners, customs, and language; and thus we may account for many peculiarities, prevalent in olden times, being preserved even to the present day in the provincial dialects of certain districts in England, though it may be difficult to determine from which particular dialect they are derived.

Among other evidences that the written Anglo-Saxon is a conglomerate of various dialects, may be cited this fact that no less than five different fragments of verbs, of which the principal terminations appear in cognate languages, are huddled together in the conjugation of the substantive verb.<sup>1</sup> In its grammatical forms, Anglo-Saxon presents comparatively few deviations from the early

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<sup>1</sup> Sharon Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iv, p. 510.

branches of the Teutonic family of languages. It has two numbers, singular and plural, and three genders. The gender of nouns is chiefly determined by their terminations, and the adjectives have variable terminations to correspond to their nouns in gender, number, and case. There are four cases and three declensions, the latter being used to distinguish when the adjective has either a definite article, a demonstrative, or a possessive determinative before it. But perhaps one of the most remarkable characteristics of Anglo-Saxon is the multiplicity of its synonymous words. It has ten synonyms for the word *man*, and as many for *woman*; it has eighteen words to denote persons in authority, besides ten compounds and several official titles. It has also eighteen words expressive of the mind, and fourteen to denote the sea; and to express the name of the Supreme Being it has more terms and periphrases than perhaps any other language. The Anglo-Saxons, especially the earlier writers, possessed a strong partiality for metaphor and periphrasis; Cædmon, for instance, as we have seen, to describe the ark, used no less than thirty consecutive phrases, and this poetical combination of words was so continuously resorted to, especially in poems, that many of the words thus combined became current in the language.

“As a subject of philological study,” says Craik, “the importance of this earliest known form of the English language can not be overestimated; and much of what we possess written in it is also of great value for the matter. But the essential element of a literature is not matter, but manner. Here, too, as in everything else, the soul of the artistic is form—beauty of form. Now of that what has come down to us written in this primitive English is, at least for us of the present day, wholly or all but wholly destitute.

“There is much writing in forms of human speech now extinct, or no longer in oral use, which is still intelligible to us in a certain sort, but in a certain sort only. It speaks to us as anything that is dead can speak to us, and not otherwise. We can decipher it, rather than read it. We make it out, as it were, merely by the touch, getting some such notion of it as a blind man might get of a piece of sculpture by passing his hand over it. . . . The original form of the English language is in this state. It is intelligible, but that is all. What is written in it can, in a certain sense, be read, but not so as to bring out from

the most elaborate compositions in it any artistic element, except of the most dubious and unsatisfactory kind. Either such an element is not present in any considerable degree, or the language is not now intimately enough known for any one to be able to detect it. If it is not literally dumb, its voice has for us of the present day entirely lost its music. Even of the system of measure and arrangement according to which it is ordinarily disposed for the purposes of poetry we have no proper apprehension or feeling. Certain mechanical principles or rules may have been discovered, in obedience to which the versification appears to be constructed; but the verse as verse remains not the less for our ears and hearts wholly voiceless. When it can be distinguished from prose at all it is only by certain marks or characteristics, which may indeed be perceived by the eye, or counted on the fingers, but which have no expression that excites in us any mental emotion. It is little better than if the composition merely had the words 'This is verse' written over it or under it."<sup>1</sup>

One of the main causes which retarded the development of the national language was the habit of the scholars of the time of writing almost exclusively in Latin. This practice was not confined to England alone, but then existed everywhere. The scholars of the eighth century, communicating with each other only, and taking but little interest in the concerns of such of their fellow-creatures as were unable to express their happiness or misery in Greek or Latin, do not seem to have produced very extensive benefits to the nation. So much of life was wasted in acquiring erudition that little remained for the application of it; and as nature seldom produces a long succession of prodigies, learning expired with its first professors. Some of the English clergy attempted to compose religious poems in imitation of Cædmon, but, according to Bede, "no one ever compared with him."<sup>2</sup> Bede himself wrote chiefly for the learned; yet, that the common people might be taught the elements of the new religion, he turned the Lord's Prayer and the Creed into Anglo-Saxon, and presented copies of these formulæ to such illiterate priests as came under his notice. But the rest was all Latin, with the exception of a translation of the

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<sup>1</sup> G. L. Craik, *Manual of English Literature*.

<sup>2</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, iv, ch. 24.



Gospel of St. John perhaps, which he is said to have completed just as death put an end to his labors. That after him much valuable literature perished in the trouble and confusion attending the incursions and pillaging of the Danes, there can be no doubt; for nearly all the monasteries and the schools connected with them throughout the land were either laid in ashes, or were deserted in the general terror and distraction occasioned by the attacks of the ruthless invaders. Indeed, an antiquary, in mentioning the destruction of the Malmesbury Library, relates that many years after, traveling that way, "he saw broken windows patched up with remnants of the most valuable manuscripts on vellum."<sup>4</sup> Of all the literary losses caused by the savage fanaticism of the Danes, none is more to be deplored than that of the specimens of early English vernacular that must have existed, and copies of which these libraries undoubtedly contained. Such, however, as have escaped destruction, show that the Anglo-Saxon Church had, in her own tongue, a considerable amount of scriptural instruction, especially in the way of translation of the Gospels, some of which are still extant, and preserved in great perfection. The following passage of St. Luke, chapter vii, of which we have already given several versions, will be exceedingly interesting to the student of early English. The left-hand column is taken from an Anglo-Saxon manuscript, believed to be of the eighth century, and the right-hand column from another manuscript, dating possibly two hundred years later:

## ST. LUKE, CHAPTER VII.

11 Ða wæs syððan gewórden he férd e on þa ceastre þe is genemned náim. 7 mid him ferdun hys leorning-cnihtas. 7 mycel menego;

12 Ða he ge-nealæhte þære ceastre gate þa wæs þar án dead man geboren anre wudewan sunu þe nanne oðerne næfde; 7 seo wudewe wæs þar. 7 mycel menegu þære burhware mid hyre;

13 Ða se hælend hig ge-seah þa wæs he mid mild-heortnesse

11 Ða wæs syððen ge-wórden he ferde on þa ceastre þe ys genemned naym; 7 mid hym ferdun his leorning-cnyhtes. 7 mycel manigeo.

12 Ða he ge-nehlahte þære ceastre gate þa wæs þar an dead man ge-boren ane wudewon sune. þe nænne oðerne næfde. 7 syo wudewe wæs þær. 7 mycel menigeo þære burh-wære mid hire.

13 Ða se hælend hyo ge-seah. Ða wæs he mid mildheortnyse

<sup>4</sup> Maitland, *Dark Ages*, p. 281.

ofer hig gefylled. 7 cwæp to hyre. ne wep þu ná.

14 Ða genealæhte he 7 þa cyste æt-hran. þa æt-stodon þa þe hyne bæron; Ða cwæp se hælend. eala geonga þe ic secge aris;

15 Ða arás se þe dead wæs. 7 ongan spreca. þa agef he hine hys meder;

16 Þa ofer-eode ege hig ealle. 7 hig god mærsodon 7 cwædon. þ̅ mære witega on us arás. 7 þæt god hys folc genosude;

17 Ða férdæ þeos spræc be him on ealle iudea. 7 embe eall þ̅ rice;<sup>1</sup>

ofer hyo ge-felled. 7 cwæð to hire. ne wep þu ná.

14 Þa ge-nehleahte he 7 þa cheste ætran. þa æt-stoden þa þe hine beren. Ða cwæð se hælend. Eala geonge þe is segge aris.

15 Þa aras se þe dead wæs. 7 ongan spræcen. þa agef he hine his moder.

16 Þa ofer-eode eyge hyo ealle. 7 hyo god mersodon 7 cwæðen. þ̅ mare witega on us aras. 7 þæt god his folc geneosode.

17 Ða ferde þeos spræce be him on eallen iudea 7 embe eall þæt rice.<sup>2</sup>

Not less interesting will be the following Northumbrian gloss of the same passage in Latin. This, however, is not to be considered a fair specimen of the Northumbrian dialect, inasmuch as a gloss construes only the foreign text, word for word, and without much regard to the grammatical arrangement of the words of the vernacular tongue thus substituted. Its sole aim is to supply a clue to the meaning of the words of the original separately, so that the original itself be more easily understood; whereas a version or translation conforms to the grammatical rules of the vernacular tongue, and is intended to replace the original so completely as to make the reader quite independent of it. This gloss, therefore, gives only Northumbrian words, but is not a specimen of the old Northumbrian dialect, as was once supposed.<sup>3</sup> It is believed to date from the ninth or tenth century:

11 7 aworden wæs æfter ðon foerde on ceastre ðiu is genemen naim 7 eadon mið hine ðegnas his 7 folc monigo.

12 mið ðy ðonne geneolecte to durum ceastres 7 heono dead

11 Et factum est inceptis ibat in ciuitatem quae uocatur naim et ibant cum illo discipuli eius et turba copiosa.

12 cum autem aprouinquaret portæ ciuitatis et ecce defunctus

<sup>1</sup> From MS. No. cxl, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, described by Wanley in the second volume of Hickeys's *Thesaurus*, at p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> From MS. Hatton 38, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; described by Wanley, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> See K. W. Bouterwek, *Die vier Evangelien in Alt-Northumbrische Sprache*.

wæs ferende sunu ancende mo-  
deres his 7 ðios widua wæs 7  
folco ceastres monig mið hia.

13 ꝥ ilca miððy gesege se  
drihten mið milt-heortnise ge-  
cerred ofer hia cuoeð hir to  
nælle ðu woepa.

14 7 geneolecde 7 hran ꝥ  
ceiste ða uutedlice ðaþe beron  
stodon 7 cuoeð esne ðe ic cuoe-  
ðo aris.

15 7 eft-sætt aras seðe wæs  
dead 7 ongann spreca 7 salde  
hine moeder his.

16 ondfeng uutedlice alle on-  
do 7 wundradon god cuoedon  
þte witga micel aras in us 7  
forðon god sohte folc his.

17 7 eode foerde ðis word  
on all iudea 7 all ymb ꝥ lond.

efferebatur filius unicus matris  
suae et haec uidua erat et turba  
ciuitatis multa cum illa.

13 quam cum uidisset domi-  
nus misericordia motus super  
ea dixit illi noli flere.

14 et accessit et tetigit locu-  
lum hi autem qui portabant  
steterunt et ait adulescens tibi  
dico surge.

15 et resedit qui fuerat mor-  
tuus et cepit loqui et dedit  
illum matri suae.

16 accepit autem omnes timor  
et magnificabant deum dicentes  
quia propheta magnus surrexit  
in nobis et quia deus uisitauit  
plebem suam.

17 Et exit hic sermo in uni-  
uersam iudaeam et omnem circa  
regionem.<sup>1</sup>

Some have believed to find in these glosses the early traces of Danish influence on the national language, but this is very doubtful. The dialects of the Angles and Friesians who had settled in Northumbria certainly differed in some respects from the Saxon,<sup>2</sup> still, Scandinavian words may have found their way into their language, and if so, there is no reason why this admixture may not have taken place among the Angles and Friesians in Holstein long before any Dane set his foot on English soil. All these dialects, moreover, coming from the same original source, had many forms in common, and differed from each other, at that time, far less than they do at present. King Alfred, it is stated, before giving battle to the Danes, entered their camp, and amused them for several days with his songs, so that he might observe the resources of the enemy. Half a century later, Olaf, king of Denmark, succeeded by the same artifice in penetrating even into the tent of King Ethelstan without being detected.

<sup>1</sup> Both Latin text and Northumbrian gloss, which was written over it word for word, are literally copied from MS. Auct. D., ii, 19, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; commonly called the "Rushworth MS." Compare with the English version on page 90.

<sup>2</sup> This difference of dialect is alluded to in a passage from Bede: "Caelin, rex occidentalium Saxonum qui lingua eorum Cæwlin vocabatur."

However, lest too much stress be laid upon these circumstances, it must be remembered that at those times, when people were accustomed to any kind of dialect and accent, and when there existed neither mail, nor newspapers, nor printed books, the minstrel took the place of all these, and that, even in time of war, the gleeman could pass everywhere unmolested, and would find with every one a good reception, provided he had something interesting to tell, and knew how to make himself agreeable; and so the facts alluded to seem to prove that the enemy was mistaken in the real character rather than in the accent or nationality of these princes.

But while these Northumbrian glosses do not by themselves prove the Danish influence on the English language, it is by no means impossible that they are the work of some Danish monk or clergyman, for by the middle of the tenth century most of the Danish citizens of England had turned Christians, in order to remove from themselves a marked indication of alienship. Several, in consideration of grants of land, assumed the title and the employment of perpetual defenders of the church; of that church whose edifices, before, they had with such peculiar delight burned and destroyed. Some of them even entered religious orders, and professed a rigid and somber austerity in expiation of a long career of crime. Still, whether such instances of tardy penance and repentance were ever accompanied by any proficiency in Latin, such as was necessary to interpret the gospel text correctly, is doubtful, and, in the absence of any well-authenticated testimony to the contrary, we may be justified in concluding that these Northumbrian glosses were the work of some native monk who had the advantage of an early literary education, and who interpreted the Latin text, for the benefit of his people, in words belonging to their own vernacular.

If, therefore, these glosses can not be quoted as showing an early Danish influence upon the language, it is not the less certain that this influence was actively at work, and left a lasting imprint. It is in the dialects of Northern England, where the population partakes in greater proportion of Danish blood, that the infusion of words and terms of Scandinavian origin is especially observable, though many of these have also found their way into distant counties, such as Dorset and Worcestershire, where Danes were only few in number, and never had any exten-

sive settlement. "When weighing the corruptions of the Old English," says Oliphant, "we shall find that two thirds of these are due to the shires held by the Norsemen; the remaining one third is due to the Lower Severn and to the shires lying south of the Thames."<sup>1</sup> Thus the Danes branded forever their mark upon the English tongue; the North, which was overrun by them, was evidently first and most affected by their presence, while from all the facts referred to above, we may suppose that the corruption of the original Saxon went on steadily throughout the whole land, until in some parts even the Scandinavian speech prevailed, though with a large admixture of Saxon words, and *vice versa*, according to the relative preponderance in number, power, and influence of the population of either race, in the various districts of England.

Though many words in the English vocabulary are, therefore, undoubtedly of Scandinavian origin, it is not always possible to determine whether they were of Danish importation, or whether they did not exist already in the Old Anglo-Saxon, especially in such cases where the English, Dutch, and Friesian have the same words in common. According to Dr. Gudbrand Vigfusson, however, the following English words are of undoubted Scandinavian origin: *ale, anger, bay, bark* (of a tree), *billow, blush, bondsman, boon, booth, both, breadth, broth, cake, call, cast, clip, crop, depth, dream, droop, dwell, earl, egg, cider, fellow, fir, flat, flay, flit, foster, froth, frown, gain, gust, hair, happy, heel, height, husband, hustings, ill, kid, knife, knot, law, loft, low, meek, meeting, muggy, odd, ransack, rash, rein* (deer), *root, rot, same, scant, score, scrape, seat, shallow, skill, skin, skull, sky, sly, sneak, spoil, spoon, steak, strand, swain, take, task, thrall, thrash, thrift, ugly, walrus, wand, want, width, wing, wont, wrong.*

Of proper names, descriptive of geographical localities, the nationality is more easily ascertained, and the Norse and Danish names, still found scattered all over England, will often even supply us with a means of ascertaining facts which history has left unrecorded. By the aid of these local names we are able, not only to define the precise area which was ravaged by the Scandinavians, but in many instances to detect the nature of the descent, whether for purposes of plunder, trade, or colonization.

In the first place, it must be remembered that Low

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<sup>1</sup> T. L. Kington Oliphant, *Sources of Standard English.*

Dutch and Scandinavian are cognate languages, having many forms in common, and hence that in all countries occupied by the Franks, Saxons, and Scandinavians—from northern France through Belgium, Holland, Friesland, Holstein, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, including Iceland—we may find local names which, differing but little in form, are identical in meaning. Thus the Norse *Breidafjord*, the English *Broadford* or *Bradford*, and the Dutch *Brevoort* mean exactly the same thing; *bree* being the shorter form of the Dutch *breed* (pronounced *brade*), in Anglo-Saxon *brād*; and not only is the present written form of English geographical names apt to mislead us about their original pronunciation, but sometimes even the original sound will cling to a name, though it may be Anglicised in writing, as in the case of *Seaford* in Sussex, for instance, which is still pronounced *Seavoort* by its inhabitants, just as the Dutch *Zandvoort*, *Gansevoort*, *Amersfoort*, etc., which leaves no doubt as to the origin of its earliest settlers. But while the suffix *ford* occurs both in Anglo-Saxon and in Norse names, it is found in them with a characteristic difference of meaning. The *fords* of the Anglo-Saxon husbandmen, which are so abundantly scattered over the south of England, are passages across rivers for men and cattle; the *fords* of the Scandinavian sea-rovers are passages for ships, up arms of the sea, as in the *ffjords* of Norway and Iceland, and the *firths* of Scotland. Therefore these Norse *fords* are found on the coasts which were frequented by the Scandinavians for purposes of trade or plunder, whereas the inland *fords* generally indicate the settlements of a Saxon population.<sup>1</sup>

So the word *wick* or *wich* is found in both Anglo-Saxon and Norse names; but here also there is a difference in the application, analogous to that we have just considered. The primary meaning in either case seems to have been "a station; a location." In Dutch, the word *wyk* means now "a city district," but anciently it had in that language a wider meaning, and is generally found added to some other word, by which it becomes descriptive of the locality, as: *Katwyk*, that is the district of the *Catti* or *Chatti*; *Ryswyk*, *Beeverwyk*, etc. But here it is always an abode on land—a hamlet or a village—and so it was with the Saxons in England. With the Northmen, on the contrary, it was a station for ships—hence "a small creek or

<sup>1</sup> See page 130.

bay." The sea-rovers derived their very name of *vik-ings*,<sup>1</sup> or "creekers," from the *wics* or creeks in which they anchored. The inland *wicks*, therefore, are mostly Saxon, while the Norse *wicks* fringe her English coasts, and usually indicate the stations of pirates, rather than those of colonists. Thus *Alnwick*, on the banks of the *Aln*, and *Berwick*, named after the Celtic *aber*, though situated in parts where there seem to be traces of the Danes, were probably Saxon settlements, whereas *Wick* and *Sandwich* in Kent, *Wyke* near Portland, *Wicklów* in Ireland, show by their very situation to be of Norse derivation. It may be further noticed that in the north of England the form *wick* prevails, as *Keswick*, *Sedgwick*, *Warwick*, etc., and that in the south it assumes the softer form of *wich*, as *Sandwich*, *Greenwich*, *Ipswich*, *Warwich*, etc.

The Danish word *thorp* is the Dutch *dorp* and the German *dorf*, meaning "a village." *Copmansthorpe*, near York, would therefore be equivalent to the Dutch *Koopmansdorp* and the German *Kaufmansdorf*, "the merchant's village," showing that here the Danish traders resided, just as those of Saxon blood dwelt together at *Chapmanslade*. This suffix *thorp*, *thorpe*, *throp* or *trop*, found in the names of *Althorpe*, *Holthrop*, *Winthrop*, *Wilstrop*, is useful in enabling us to discriminate between the settlements of the Danes and those of the Norwegians, being confined almost exclusively to the former. *Ullesthorpe* reminds us of a Scandinavian deity, while *Bishopsthorpe* and *Nunthorpe* point to a later period, and recall the Christian faith of their first occupants.

The word *toft* is also distinctly Danish and East Anglian. It signifies "a homestead" or "inclosure," and, like *thorpe*, it always denotes the fixed residence of a Danish population, as *Toft*, *Lowestoft*, etc.

*Thwaite*, on the other hand, is a distinctive Norwegian suffix. The meaning is "a piece of cleared land; a forest clearing," as *Hallthwaite*, *Lockthwaite*, *Finsthwaite*, *Ormathwaite*, etc. *Garth*, "an inclosure," corresponding to the Anglo-Saxon *gard* and the English *yard*, is also a Norse root, as *Fishguard*, formerly *Fishgarth*, *Applegarth*, etc. It is the Dutch *gaard*, the German *garten*, and the French *jardin*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In later times the word "Viking" came to be used for any robber. In a Norse Biblical paraphrase Goliath is termed a viking.—Daselet, *Burnt Njal*, vol. ii, p. 353.

<sup>3</sup> For Norse names in Normandy, see pages 549-551.

The Norse word *beck*, "a brook," is the Dutch *beek*, with the same meaning, and is found more frequently in the Norwegian than in the Danish region; and this is also the case with the suffix *dal* or *dale*, "a valley," which in Swedish, Danish, and in Dutch is *dal*, in Anglo-Saxon and Old Dutch *dael*, as *Ruysdael*, *Bloemendael*, etc., which makes it doubtful, therefore, whether the names of *Kendal*, *Lonsdale*, *Annandale*, and the like, are of Dutch or of Scandinavian origin. The Friesian form is *del*, as in *Arundel*. When *dal* is a prefix, it is usually a corruption of the Celtic *dol*, "a field," as in the case of *Dalkeith*, *Dalrymple*, etc.<sup>1</sup>

The word *holm*, in Swedish, means "an island," almost always "an island in a lake or river." *Stockholm* stands on such an island. In England we have, likewise, *Flat-holm* on the Severn, and *Lingholme* on Windermere, where a large number of Swedes took refuge in the year 918. The word is found in many English names, such as *Holmes*, *Gateholm*, *Grassholm*, *Steeppholm*, *Wostenholm*, etc. An island in the sea is denoted by the Norse *oe*, *a*, *ay* or *ey*, which latter, however, is Anglo-Saxon as well as Norse. We find these forms in *Bedloe*, *Faroe*, *Thurloe*, *Iona*; *Cumbray* on the western coast of Scotland, and *Lambay* on the Irish coast. This Norse root *ey* is found also in the word *Orkney*, the first syllable of which is the Gaelic *orc*, "a whale," while the *n* which follows it is a remnant of the Gaelic *innis*, "an island." Milton speaks of "the haunt of seals and orcs." The same Norse root is found in *Hackney*, "Hacon's island"; *Bardsey*, "the island of the bards"; *Roodey*, "the island of the rod or cross," etc. *Ea*, in *Anglesea*, "the island of the Angles or English," is only a variety of spelling.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See page 124.

<sup>2</sup> At a little distance from the western gate of London lay what was formerly an island of the Thames, which, from the dense bushes and thickets with which it was covered, received the name of *Thorney*. Robert Wace, in his *Roman de Rou*, mentions this island, and it is quite interesting to notice, in his phonetic spelling, the natural difficulty of the Frenchman in pronouncing the *th*, as well as the indistinct manner in which the English even then pronounced the letter *r*.

"En un islet esteit assise,  
*Zoné* out nom, joste Tamise;  
*Zoné* por ço l'apelon,  
 Ke d'espine i out foison,  
 Et ke l'ewe en alout environ.  
*Ee* en engleis isle apelon,  
*Ee* est isle, *Zon* est espine,  
 Seit rainz, seit arbre, seit racine;  
*Zoné* ço est en engleis,  
 Isle d'espine en franceis." (10653.)



Another word which denotes the occasional presence of the sea-rovers is *ness* or *naze*, which means "nose; a promontory of land." It is the German *nase* and the Dutch *neus*, which has the same meaning, and is also used to denote a headland, as Cape *Ter Neuze*, for instance. In the same way we find capes *Grinez* and *Blancnez*, near Calais, and the *Naze* in Essex. But, although the suffix *ness* is common in English names, it has only this Norse meaning when on the coast or on rivers near the coast where such a headland does exist;<sup>1</sup> whereas, in places inland it has the meaning which we find in the suffix of the word "wilderness," in Dutch *wildernis*, "an uncultivated or desert region."

*Holt* is a Norse name, and corresponds to the German *holz* and the Dutch *hout*, all with the same meaning of "wood." The park of Haarlem, renowned for its fine old oaks, is called the "Hout." This form occurs in *Sparsholt*, *Aldersholt*, and in the shorter forms of *Aldershot*, *Bagshot*, *Bramshot*, etc. The *Wolds* in Yorkshire is a Friesian name, analogous to *holt*, and also means "the woods." Just as *holt* in Dutch is *hout*, so *wold* in Friesian and Dutch is *woud*, meaning "a forest."

The word *force*, which is exclusively Norwegian, is the ordinary name for "waterfall" in the Lake District, and corresponds to the Icelandic *foss*, with the same meaning. *Gill* means "a ravine." *Haugh* is the old Norse *haugr*, "a sepulchral mound," the same word which appears in the *haughs* of Northumberland. *Kirk* is the Dutch *kerk* for "church"; and *bjorn*, now *borne*, is found in *Osborn*, from *Aesborn*, "children of God," etc.

But the Scandinavian word which outstrips all others, both in number and in its exclusively national character, is the suffix *by*. This word originally meant "a dwelling," or "a farm," and in course of time came to denote "a village" or "a town." We find it as a suffix in the village-names of Denmark, and of all countries colonized by the Danes. In England it always denotes Danish *colonization*, "a permanent abode," inasmuch as in places visited only for purposes of trade or plunder no dwellings would be required. There are scores and scores of names ending in *by* all over England; in Lincolnshire alone there are more than one hundred. To the north of Watling Street there are some six hundred instances of its

<sup>1</sup> On the Hudson river we have St. Anthony's neus; St. Anthony's nose.

occurrence; to the south of it but few. This suffix is common both to the Norwegian and Danish districts of England, though it is more frequent in the latter. Thus we have *Grimsby, Swainsby, Rolfsby, Ormsby, Whitby, Colby, Maltby, Hacombby, Ingersby, Osgodby, Stokesby*, etc., all family names, indicating the original owner of the farm or founder of the village. *Saxby, Scotsby, Frisby, Frankby, Flemingby*, show that the name was applied originally by the Danes to the farm of some Saxon, Scot, Friesian, Frank, or Fleminger living in their districts. Wherever the Danes went this form is always certain to be found. Thus the meaning of *Derby, Derwentby, Netherby, Appleby*, and the like, are easily understood. *Coningsby* is Danish for the English *Cunningham*, literally "the king's farm, the king's home." The spelling is Anglicized in *Battersbee, Hornsbee, and Ashbee*. *Rokeby* has become *Rugby*. The Danes were fond of adding the particle to the names of their gods, and thus wrote *Thoresby* and *Baldersby*—justifying the poet when he sings of the Northmen that "they gave the gods the land they won." Other Danish names, such as *Kirkby* and *Crosby*, show that, at the time these names were given, the Christian bishop had driven out the heathen priest, and that the Christian Church and cross had succeeded to the pagan altar.<sup>1</sup> In that part of England which was settled by the Danes, the missionary efforts seem to have been of a parochial character. We find the prefix *kirk*, a church, in the names of no less than sixty-eight places in the Danelagh, while in the Saxon portion of England we find it scarcely once. *Kirby* means church-village, and the *Kirbys* which are dotted over East Anglia and Northumbria speak to us of the time when the possession of a church by a village community was the exception, and not, as is now, the rule. These names point to a state of things somewhat similar to that now prevailing in Australia or Canada, where often but a single church and a single clergyman are to be found in a district fifty miles in circumference. Thus we may regard these *Kirbys* distributed throughout the *Danelagh* as the sites of the mother churches, to which the surrounding

<sup>1</sup> Many village names still localize the scenes of the labors of early missionaries. At *Kirkcudbright*, for instance, we find the name of St. Cuthbert, a shepherd-boy, who became abbot of Melrose, and the Thaumaturgus of Britain. Baxter, who wrote in the second part of the last century on British antiquities, thought the name was Celtic. It is, he says, *forsan*, "Caer gin aber rit," id est "Arx trajectus flumiali Aestuarii.—*Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicorum*, p. 40.

parishes, whose names contain no such prefix, would bear a filial relationship.

The Danes appear to have frequented the southeastern portion of the island for purposes of plunder rather than of colonization. This we gather from the fact that the Norse names in these parts are found chiefly in the immediate vicinity of the coast, and designate either safe anchorages or dangerous headlands. Here we find hardly one solitary instance of the occurrence of the suffixes *by*, *toft*, *thorpe*, or *thwaite*, which would indicate permanent residence. London was repeatedly besieged by the Danes. With the hope of capturing the rich and unrifled prize, their fleets lay below the city for many months together.<sup>1</sup> Their stations were at *Deptford*, *Greenwich*, and at *Woolwich*. The spits and headlands, which mark the navigation along the Thames and the adjacent coasts, almost all bear characteristic Norse names, such as *Shelness*, *Sheerness*, *Shoeburyness*, *Wrabness*, and the *Naze* near Warwich. On the Essex coast we find *Danesey Flats*, *Langenhoe*, and *Alresford*. The few scattered Danish names in Suffolk, such as *Ipswich*, *Dunwich*, *Alderswick*, are all near the coast. *Norwich*, too, is probably Norse, since the city is situated on what was formerly an arm of the sea, and was visited by Danish fleets.<sup>2</sup> In the extreme southeastern corner of Norfolk there is a dense Danish settlement, occupying a space some eight miles by seven, well protected on every side by the sea, and the estuaries of the Bure and the Yare. In this small district eleven names out of twelve are unmistakably Norse, compounded mostly of some common Danish personal name and the suffix *by*. When we cross the Wash, and come to Lincolnshire, we find overwhelming evidence of an almost exclusive Danish occupancy. While in this county the Danish suffix *by* is found in more than one hundred names, the total number of Scandinavian names of all kinds amounts to about three hundred—more than are found in all the rest of Southumbrian England. From Lincolnshire the Danes spread inland over the contiguous counties. The *Danelagh*, or Danish district by agreement between Alfred and Guthrum, renewed by Edmund and Anlaf in 941, was divided from the Saxon kingdom by a line passing along the Thames, the Lea, and the Ouse, and then following

<sup>1</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A. D. 1013, 1014, 1016.

<sup>2</sup> Sharon Turner, *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii, p. 317.—*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A. D. 1004.

the course of Watling Street, the Roman road which runs in a straight line from London to Chester. North of this line we find in the local names abundant evidence of Danish occupancy, while to the south of it hardly a name is to be found denoting any permanent Scandinavian colonization.

As we approach the northeastern extremity of Scotland we again find a large number of Norse names; they are, however, no longer Danish as heretofore, but exclusively Norwegian. Indeed, we know from history that down to a comparatively late period, A. D. 1266, the Shetlands, the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and the Isle of Man were not dependencies of the crown of Scotland, but jarldoms attached to the kingdom of Norway. In the Shetlands every local name, without exception, is Norwegian; in the Hebrides nearly all are. The Isle of Man must at one time have contained a considerable Norwegian population, to judge from the Norse names of the villages, which, it will be seen, are mainly confined to the south of the island—a circumstance which is accounted for by the historical fact that when Goddard of Iceland conquered Man, he divided the fertile southern portion among his followers, while he left the natives in possession of the northern and more mountainous region where, consequently, Celtic names prevail.<sup>1</sup>

In the same way that the Danish names in England are seen to radiate from the Wash, so the Norwegian immigration seems to have proceeded from Morecambe Bay and that part of the coast which lies opposite the Isle of Man. Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Dumfriesshire contain a very considerable number of Scandinavian names, but comparatively few of a distinctively Danish cast. The Lake District seems to have been almost exclusively peopled by Celts and Norwegians. The Norwegian suffixes, *gill*, *garth*, *haugh*, *thwaite*, *force*, and *fell* are there abundant; while the Danish forms, *thorpe* and *toft*, are almost unknown.

Although there are but few Norse names found inland to the south of Watling Street, it is not the less certain that the sea-rovers, knowing all the good harbors of the island, did not overlook the fjords of Pembrokeshire as shelter for their vessels. Thus there were no less than twenty-four of the headlands on the Pembrokeshire coast

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<sup>1</sup> Train, *Isle of Man*, vol. i, p. 78.

occupied by Scandinavian camps, which were probably at first little more than nests of pirates, who sallied forth from the deep land-bound channels to plunder the opposite coast, and to prey upon any passing merchant craft.

There is, however, occasionally in Pembrokeshire a difficulty in distinguishing between the Norse names and those which are due to the colony of Flemings which was established in this district during the reign of Henry I.<sup>1</sup> These colonists came from a portion of Flanders which was submerged by an irruption of the sea in the year 1110. *Leweston, Rickeston, Robeston, Rogeston, Johnston, Walterston, Herbrandston, Thomaston, Williamston, and Jeffreyston* belong to a class of names which we find nowhere else on the English map; names that were given, not by Saxon or Danish pagans, but by Christian settlers, men bearing the names, not of *Thurstan, Gorm* or *Grim*, but of *Lewes, Richard, Robert, Walter*, and others common in the twelfth century.

The Northmen would appear to have established themselves in Ireland rather for purposes of trade than of colonization. Their ships sailed up the great fjords of *Waterford, Wexford, Strangford, and Carlingford*, and anchored in the bays of *Limerick* and *Wicklow*. In Kerry we find the name of *Smerwick*, then apparently, as now, a trading station for the produce of the surrounding district. The name of *Copland Island*, near Belfast, shows that here was a trading station of the Norse merchants, who trafficked in English slaves and other merchandise.<sup>2</sup> As we approach Dublin, the numerous Norse names along the coast—*Lambay Island, Dalkey Island, Ireland's Eye, the Skerries*, etc., prepare us to learn that the Scandinavians in Dublin were governed by their own laws till the thirteenth century, and that, as in London, they had their own separate quarter of the city, guarded by walls and gates.<sup>3</sup> The general geographical acquaintance which the Northmen had with the whole of Ireland is shown by the fact that three out of the four Irish provinces, namely, *Leinster, Munster, and Ulster*, present the Norse suffix *ster*, "a place," which is not Celtic, but essentially Scan-

<sup>1</sup> Flandrenses, tempore Regis Henrici primi . . . ad occidentalem Walliæ parietem apud Haverford sunt translati.—Higden's *Chronicle*.

<sup>2</sup> See Goldwin Smith, *Irish History and Irish Character*, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Worsaae, *Danes and Norwegians*, pp. 323-349. The Scandinavians, called *Ostmen*, possessed the four cities of Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, and Cork. There were Ostmen kings of Limerick, Dublin, and Waterford.—Lapenberg, *Anglo-Norman Kings*, p. 64.

dinavian, and exceedingly common in the Shetlands and in Norway.

The traditions of ancient Scandinavian liberties are associated with the places where the *Things*, that is "the judicial and legislative assemblies of the Scandinavian nations," were wont to meet. These institutions, of which we find traces in all regions colonized by the Northmen, were derived from the parent country, Norway, where there was an *Althing*, or general assembly, and four district *things* for the several provinces. The Norwegian parliament still goes by the name of the *Stor-thing*, or "great council." The *Thing* usually met on some island, hill, or promontory, where its deliberations could be carried on secure from lawless disturbance. The Northmen introduced their *Things* into England. The very name survives in the English words "meeting," from *mot thing*, or assembly of freeholders, and "hustings," or *house things*, at which the duly qualified householders still assemble to delegate their legislative powers to their representatives in parliament. In the Danelagh, as well as in most of the detached Scandinavian colonies, we find local names which prove the former existence of these *Things* in England. Not far from the center of the Cheshire colony in the Wirall, we find the village of *Thingwall*. In the Shetland islands, *Sandsting*, *Althsting*, *Delting*, *Nesting*, and *Lunziesting* were the places of assembly for the local *Things* of the several islands, while *Tingwall* seems to have been the spot where the *Althing*, or general assembly, was held. In the Shetlands, the old Norwegian laws are even now administered at open courts of justice, which still go by the name of *Lawtings*. The old Norse *Thing* has survived in the Isle of Man to the present day.

It would demand more space than the interest of the subject would warrant to trace the local vestiges of the worship of the Scandinavian deities. They have left their names scattered far and wide all over England, Scotland, Ireland, and the smaller isles, where the presence of ancient Scandinavian runes bear testimony to the long duration and great difficulty of the process by which the Scandinavian settlers were converted to Christianity. Of the mythic heroes of Scandinavian legend, the name of *Weland*, the northern Vulcan who fabricates the arms of the heroes of the early Sagas, is preserved at a place in Berkshire called *Waylandsmith*. Here still stands the structure which the Saxons called *Wclandes Smidde*, "We-

land's Forge"—a huge megalithic monument, consisting of two chambers constructed of upright stones and roofed with large slabs, undoubtedly some work of Celtic origin. Daring sailors, and indomitable fighters, the Northmen were not a constructive race, and their pride revolted at the idea that a people stronger than themselves could have brought there such gigantic masses and placed them in position. All such works they invariably attributed to the complacent co-operation of the enemy of mankind, which some one must have necessarily paid for at the price of soul and body. Hence all the marvelous legends which often linger round the numerous places called the *Devil's Dyke*, the *Devil's Punchbowl*, and the like, and which all originated in Norse and Saxon superstition. There is yet in the Lake District a dark and rugged rock which bears the name of *Scratch Meal Scar*. Here we may detect the names of two personages who figure in the Norse mythology, *Skratti*, a demon, and *Mella*, a weird giantess.<sup>1</sup> This demon *Skratti* still survives in the superstition of Northern Europe. The *Skratt* of Sweden, with a wild horse-laugh, is believed to mock travelers who are lost upon the waste; and sundry haunted rocks on the coast of Norway still go by the name of *Skrattaskar*.<sup>2</sup> In the north of England the name of *Skratti* continues to be heard in the mouths of the peasantry, and the memory of "Old Scratch," as he is familiarly called, may probably be destined to survive through many future Christian centuries, in company with "Old Nick," who is no other than *Nikr*, the dangerous water-demon of Scandinavian legend.<sup>3</sup> This dreaded monster, as the Norwegian peasant will gravely assure you, demands a human victim every year, and carries off children who stray too near to his abode, beneath the waters. In Iceland, also, *Nykr*, the water-horse, is still believed to inhabit some of the lonely tarns scattered over the savage region of desolation which occupies the central portion of the island.

Many similar traces of the old northern mythology are to be found in that well-stored antiquarian museum, the English language. In the phrase "Deuce take it," the deity *Tiw* still continues to be invoked.<sup>4</sup> The nursery

<sup>1</sup> Grimm, *Deutsche Mythology*, p. 493.

<sup>2</sup> Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, vol. i, p. 250.

<sup>3</sup> Laing, *Heimskringla*, vol. i, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> Quosdam dæmones quos *dusios* Galli nuncupant—Augustin. *De Civitate Dei*, xv, c. 23.

legend of "Jack and Jill" is found in the younger Edda, where the story of *Hjuki*, "the flow," and *Bil*, "the ebb," the two children of the moon, appears to be merely an exoteric version of the flowing and ebbing of the tides.<sup>1</sup> The morning "gossamer" is the *gott-cymar*, the veil or trail left by the deity who has passed over the meadows in the night. The word "brag" has an etymological connection with the name of *Bragi*,<sup>2</sup> the Norse god of song and mirth, while the faithful devotees of *Bragi* are apt to fall, after a while, under the power of *Mara*,<sup>3</sup> a savage demon, who tortures men with visions, and crushes them even to death, and who still survives, though with mitigated powers, as "the Nightmare" of modern days.<sup>4</sup>

While the words *by*, *thwaite*, *toft*, *holm*, *force*, *gill*, *haugh*, *ey*, are distinctly Norse forms, and mark the sites of Scandinavian settlements in England; while *thorpe*, *drop*, *dorp*, and *dorf*—*bac*, *bec*, *beck*, and *beek*—*fjord*, *ford*, *vord*, and *voort*—*vic*, *wick*, *wich*, and *wyk*, seem to be as much orthographic as phonetic varieties of the same words which the Low Dutch and Scandinavian languages have in common, there are other forms which, on the European continent, extend not much farther north than Friesland, and south not much below the river Seine, and which, found in great numbers in England also, mark there with great precision the sites of what may be called the Anglo-Saxon colonies.

Foremost among these stands the word *ton*, the primary meaning of which is to be sought in the Friesian *teue*, "a hedge." In Anglo-Saxon we have the verb *tynan*, "to close or inclose," and its derivative *tyning*, "an inclosure; a yard; a farm; a garden." A *tun* or *ton* was a place surrounded by a hedge, a ditch, or shut in by a fence or palisade. "Hedging and tining" for hedging and ditching, was a phrase current in England two hundred years ago. Originally a *tun* or *ton* meant only a single croft, homestead or farm, and the word retained this restricted meaning in the time of Wyclif. In his translation of the Bible, the invited guest excuses himself with the words: "I have bought a *toun*, and I have nede to go

<sup>1</sup> Baring-Gould, *Iceland*, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Baring-Gould, *ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> Thrupp, *Anglo-Saxon Home*, p. 263; Laing, *Heimskringla*, i, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> On the subject of the Teutonic and Scandinavian mythology, as illustrated by local names, the reader may consult Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythology*, passim.



owt and se it"; and in the reference to it, Matt. xxii, 5, "But they dispisiden and wenten forth, oon into his *toun*, another to his marchaundise." This usage of the word is retained in Scotland, where a solitary farmstead still goes by the name of *toun*. In Dutch, *tuin* means "a garden, and *tuinman* means "a gardener"; but in some combinations it still retains its original meaning of inclosure. *Houttuinen* are "lumber-yards," and *teertuinen* are "yards where the ship-chandlers keep tar, cordage," etc. In many parts of England the rickyard is called *barton*—that is, the inclosure for the *bear* or "crop" borne by the land. There are still lone farmhouses in Kent in whose names the form *ton* figures as a suffix. But in most cases the isolated *ton* became the nucleus of a village, and the village grew into a *town*, and at last the word *town* has come to denote, no longer the one small croft inclosed from the forest by the Saxon settler, but the dwelling-place of a vast population, often much larger than that which the whole of Saxon England could boast.<sup>1</sup> All these forms of *ton*, *tun*, *toun*, and *town*, are found as suffixes in English local names, and invariably show the sites of original Saxon settlements. *Tunbridge* is one of the few names in which the old form is fully preserved. Generally, however, it has been lengthened into *toun* or *town*, as in *Hope-toun*, *Watertown*, or shortened into *ton*, as in *Acton*, originally *Oaktown*, *Bratton*, *Leighton*, *Leamington*, etc. Almost everywhere we find *Norton*, *Sutton*, *Easton*, *Weston*. Local names of this kind were readily transferred to men, and hence such names as *Walton*, *Milton*, *Wootton*, *Staunton*, *Morton*, *Appleton*, *Wellington*, *Washington*, and the like, are apt to indicate Saxon descent, in contradistinction to the many English patronymics that show a Celtic or Scandinavian extraction.

The Anglo-Saxon *yard*, and the Norse equivalent *garth*, contain nearly the same idea as *ton*. Both denote some place fenced in, or guarded. The articulations *y* and *g* being interchangeable, the meaning of the word *garden* is readily accounted for as "an inclosed cultivated place in which flowers, fruits, vegetables, etc., are reared." The same may be said respecting *stoke*, another common suffix, which we find in *Alverstoke* and *Bassingstoke*. In Dutch, a *stok* means a "stick." In Old English a *stoke* was a place

<sup>1</sup> It appears from Domesday-book that the population of Saxon England was, in the eleventh century, about a million and a half.

stockaded, surrounded with *stocks* or piles. A somewhat similar inclosure is denoted by the suffix *fold*, which was a stall or place constructed of *felled* trees, for the protection of sheep or cattle. The Anglo-Saxon *weorthig*, which appears in English names in the form of *worth*, bears a meaning analogous to all these. It denotes a place *warded*, or protected. It was probably an inclosed homestead for the churls, subordinate to the *tun*. We find this suffix in the names of *Bosworth*, *Walworth*, *Kenilworth*, and many other places in England.

The prevalence of these suffixes in English names, all conveying the notion of inclosure or protection, show how eager every man was to possess some land which he could call his own, and guard from the intrusion of others. Even among those portions of the Teutonic race which remained on the Continent, we do not find that this idea of privacy and seclusiveness has been manifested in local names to the same extent as in England. The feeling seems, indeed, to have been more or less enchorial, for we find strong indications of it even in the pure Celtic names of Britain. Probably more than one half of the Celtic names in Wales and Ireland contain the roots *llan*, *kil*, or *bally*, all of which originally denoted an inclosure of some kind. The Teutonic suffixes which do not denote inclosures are not reproduced in England to nearly the same extent as on the Continent. It would seem, therefore, that the love of inclosure and privacy, of something hedged, walled in, or protected, is due more or less to the Celts, who were gradually absorbed among the Saxon colonists.

The ancient name of *burg* or *burgh*, so frequently found in all Teutonic countries, where it originally meant "a small fortified height," and gave the name of *burgers* or *burghers* to the people living under the protection of the *burgh*, is of course not wanting in England. It there assumes varied forms, changing from the full *Scarborough* to the shortened *Edinboro'*, and occasionally appearing as *bury*, in *Salisbury*, *Malmesbury*, and others. *Brough* in Westmoreland is a contraction of *borough*, and in this form it appears as the root in the compound *Brougham*. The old Scottish form of the word is *brogh*, with the guttural strongly pronounced. *Burgh* and *brough* are Anglian, as are probably four fifths of the "boroughs," while *bury* is the distinctly Saxon form.

*Dun* is both Saxon and Celtic. In both it means "a

height," and in the latter language often "a fortified height," as we have seen in *Dumbarton*, "the fortress of the Britons." In Anglo-Saxon it rather means "an eminence stretching out in gentle slope." Such are the *Dunes* on the French coast, and the *Duinen* in Holland, and there they form the first part of the name of *Dunkerque*, in Dutch *Duinkerken*, pronounced nearly alike, and equivalent to *Kirk on the Downs*. We find this form in *Southdowns*, *Landsdowne*, *Huntingdon*, *Maldon*, *Brandon*, *Farringdon*, etc. The Scots place it first, and say *Dunkeld*, *Dunbar*, *Dunrobin*, which shows these words to be of Celtic origin, as observed already elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

The vast tract in Kent and Sussex which is now called "the Weald," is the remains of a Saxon forest called *Andredesleah*. In this district almost every local name, for miles and miles, terminates in *hurst*, *ley*, or *den*. The *hursts* were the denser portions of the forest, the *leys*, *leahs*, or *leas*, in modern English *leigh*, were the open forest glades, and the *dens* were the deep-wooded valleys. All these words are found as parts of local names in *Orleigh*, *Wadleigh*, *Berkeley*, *Hamersley*, *Wellesley*, *Lyndhurst*, *Hawkshurst*, *Malden*, *Hampden*, *Tenterden*, and the like. The *dens* were the swine pastures; and down to the seventeenth century the "Court of Dens," as it was called, was held at Aldington to determine disputes arising out of the rights of forest pasture. The surnames *Hayward* and *Howard* are corruptions of *Hogwarden*, an officer elected annually to see that the swine in the common forest pastures or *dens* were duly provided with rings, and were prevented from straying. So the *Woodward* was the wood warden, whose duties were analogous to those of the howard.

The Anglo-Saxon *field* or *feld*, in Dutch *veld*, is an open space of land, an inclosed portion of cultivated soil, a part of the wood where the trees have been *felled*. In old writers *wood* and *field* are continually contrasted. Like our modern term "clearing," the word *field* bore witness to the great extent of *unfelled* timber which still remained. With the progress of cultivation the word lost its primitive meaning, and is often found with a prefix referring to the cause or circumstance in which the name originated. *Lichfield*, in Hampshire, for instance, literally means "field of corpses," and evidently refers to some bloody conflict of which history has preserved no other

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<sup>1</sup> See pages 124 and 177.

record than its name and the city arms, which are "a field covered with dead bodies." *Thundersfield*, in Surrey, is a survival of the ancient worship of the Anglo-Saxon god *Thunor*, in Danish *Thor*, in Dutch *Donder*, and in English *Thunder*. *Fairfield*, *Marshfield*, *Bloomfield*, *Hartfield* speak for themselves. So do the Dutch *Blauvelt*, *Rosevelt*, *Westervelt*, *Harteveld*, etc.

*Combe* is a common word in England and northern France, meaning "a cup-shaped depression in the hills." It enters into the formation of many English local names, as *Farncombe*, *Hascombe*, *Newcomb*, *Compton* (a contraction of *Combe-ton*), etc. The word also existed in Welsh in the form *cwm*, pronounced *coom*, and with the same meaning. *Cum bychan* literally means "a little combe." Out of Wales all these names appear in their Saxonized form, as *Wycombe*, *Gatcomb*, *Appledurcomb*, and so they are even in those parts where the Celtic element is strongest. In Devonshire there is an *Ilfracombe*, a *Yarcombe*, a *Luscombe*, and a *Combe Martin*; and the *combes* among the Mendip hills are very numerous. The Celtic County of Cumberland has been supposed to take its name from the *combes* with which it abounds.<sup>1</sup>

The Dutch word *meer*, "a lake," is found in *Lichmere*, *Uggmere*, *Windermere*, *Buttermere*, and *Eastermaer*. *Vliet*, which in Dutch means "a flow of water," as *Meervliet*, *Watervliet*, is found with the same meaning in *Ebbfleet*, *Southfleet*, *Northfleet*, *Portfleet*, etc. The *Fens* in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire are named after the *veens* in Friesland and elsewhere in Holland, which are swampy lands formed by a natural accumulation of decayed vegetable substance, occurring in strata more or less deep. The fuel made of it goes by the name of *turf*, which, as an English word, has gained a more extensive meaning. The English *moor* and *morass* are the Dutch *moer* and *moeras*. The name of *Moerdyk* is one that explains itself. Holland is full of *dykes*. It is by means of this kind of embankment that, from time immemorial, its lowlands have commenced to be reclaimed from the sea and overflowing rivers. In Holland they serve as a protection against the fury of the waters; in England a *dyke*

<sup>1</sup> Anderson, a Cumberland poet, says of his native county:  
 "There's *Cumwhitton*, *Cumwhinton*, *Cumranton*,  
*Cumrangan*, *Cumrew*, and *Cumcatch*,  
 And mony mair *Cums* i' the County,  
 But nin wi' *Cumdivock* can match."

was a "rampart for purposes of defense," and served to mark the boundaries between hostile kingdoms. One of the most important of these Saxon dykes was the *Wansdyke*, in Anglo-Saxon times *Wodnesdic*—the ancient boundary of Wessex—which still stretches across the downs of Somerset and Wilts. *Offa's Dyke*, which stretched from Chester to the Wey, guarded the frontiers of Mercia against the Welsh; *Grim's Dyke*, near Salisbury, marks the position of the Welsh and Saxon frontier at an earlier period; and the *Devil's Dyke* served as the defence between the kingdom of East Anglia against Mercia.

But by far the most important elements which enter into Anglo-Saxon names are the suffixes *ham* and *ing*. Like many other Saxon forms already considered, the suffix *ham* signifies primarily "an inclosure; something that hems in"—a meaning not very different from that of *ton* or *worth*, or even of the Norse *by*. But while the latter syllable is generally found attached to some personal Danish name, we find the suffix *ham*, in the Anglo-Saxon charters, united with the names of families only; never with those of individuals. This word, with some phonetic modifications, is found in all parts of continental Europe whose people contributed to the Saxon conquest of England. In France we find the names *Ham*, *Hame*, *Hames*, *Le Ham*, *Le Hamelet*, *Bazingham*, *Etreham*, *Ouistrham*, etc., as a bequest from the Franks. As we approach the Belgian frontier, *ham* passes into *hem*, as *Inghem*, *Linghem*, *Bouquinghem*, *Hardinghem*, *Maninghem*; and even into *hen*, as *Berlinghen*, *Massinghen*, *Velinghen*. *Cacn* was originally written *Cathem* and *Catheim*. All along the river Rhine, *hem* takes the form of *heim*, as *Hochheim*, *Rudesheim*, *Geisenheim*, etc. In Holland it becomes *heem*, as *Heemskerk*, *Heemstede*,<sup>1</sup> or else it takes the shorter form of *hem*, as in *Arnhem*, *Gorinchem*, or even of *em*, as in *Haarlem*. *Hem* or *em* becomes *um* in Friesland, as *Boerum*, *Dokkum*, *Wierum*, *Ryssum*, *Witmarsum*; and all along the coast-line of Hanover we find such names as *Bornum*, *Eilum*, *Hallum*, *Berlikum*, etc. Then, again, it changes into *om*, as *Blaricom*, *Heukelom*, in which form we find it in the old Friesian settlement of Holderness in Yorkshire, as *Newsom*, *Rysom*, and even as *am* in the village names of *Arram* and *Argam*, in the same district. Elsewhere in England it assumes the form *ham*, generally attached to some family name, as

<sup>1</sup> The English word "homestead" is a literal translation from the Dutch.

*Ingham, Lingham, Banningham, Billingham, Birmingham, Buckingham, Brantingham, Cardingham, Hardingham, Woolingham*; sometimes as a suffix to a word descriptive of the site, as *Farnham*, which still abounds in ferns, and *Denham*, which lies in a snug den. *Langham, Higham, Windham*, and *Shoreham* explain themselves. *Waltham* is "the home in the wood or the weald." *Durham* has not the same origin. In this word the suffix is not the Saxon *ham*, but the Norse *holm*. It was written *Dunholm* in the Saxon Chronicle A. D. 1072; and *Dunelm*, which is the signature of the bishop, further reminds us that the prefix is the Celtic *dun*, "a hill fort," and not *dur*, the Welsh word for "water."

The suffix *ing*, so frequent in Dutch names, as *Budding, Groening, Wilmerding*, or with the addition of *en* in local names, as *Groningen, Harlingen, Vlissingen, Wieringen, Vlaardingen, Scheveningen, Wageningen*, etc., and found wherever the Saxons, Franks, and Friesians had their settlements, occurs in the names of a multitude of English villages and hamlets, often as a simple suffix, as in the case of *Barking, Dorking, Harling, Hastings*; but more frequently as the medial syllable of names ending in *ham* or *ton*, as *Birmingham, Buckingham, Wellingham, Kensington, Islington, Wellington*, etc. This syllable *ing* was the usual patronymic among the early Saxon settlers,<sup>1</sup> and had with them very much the same significance as the prefix *Mac* in Scotland, *O'* in Ireland, *Ap* in Wales, or *Beni* among the Arabs. A whole tribe, claiming to be descended from a real or mythic progenitor, or a body of adventurers attaching themselves to the standard of some chief, were thus distinguished by a common patronymic or *clan* name.<sup>2</sup> This kind of family bond was the ruling power which directed the Teutonic colonization of England, and the Saxon immigration was doubtless an immigration of such associations. It existed in Roman times, and probably continued on a more extensive scale, for a century or so, during the intervals between the larger expeditions, which achieved the conquest of the island. Britain was an attractive land for those who wanted to better themselves, and leave the unhealthy, marshy tracts of Friesland and of Holland. In

<sup>1</sup> In the Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 547, we read: "Ida was Eopping; Eoppa was Esing; Esa was Inguing; Ingui, Angenwiting"; that is: Ida was Eoppa's son; Eoppa was Esa's son; Esa was Ingwy's son; Ingwy, Angenwit's son.

<sup>2</sup> The Scotch word *clan* is here purposely used to indicate the patriarchal nature of the Teutonic family bond. See page 118.

that case the head of the family built or bought a ship, and embarked in it with his wife and children, his freedmen, and his neighbors, and established a family colony on any shore to which the winds might carry him. The subsequent Scandinavian colonization was, on the other hand, wholly or mainly effected by soldiers of fortune, who abandoned domestic ties at home, and, after a few years of piracy, settled down with the slave women whom they had carried off from the shores of France, Spain, or Italy, or else roughly wooed the daughters of the soil which their swords had conquered. Thus the Scandinavian adventurers *Grim*, *Orm*, *Hacon*, or *Asgar*, left their names at *Grimsby*, *Ormsby*, *Haconby*, and *Asgarby*, whereas in the Saxon districts of the island we find the names, not of individuals, but of tribes or parts of tribes, or, as the Scots would call them, *clans*. It is these family settlements which are denoted by the syllable *ing*.

Where this patronymic stands without any suffix, as in the case of *Malling*, *Dorking*, *Woking*, it is supposed that we have the original settlements of the clan, and that, where we find it with the suffix *ham* or *ton* subjoined, the name denotes the filial colonies sent out from the parent settlement; which seems to be proved from the way in which these patronymics are distributed throughout the English counties. By a reference to the map of England, it will be seen that the names of the former class are chiefly found in the southeastern districts of the island, where the earliest Teutonic settlements were found, namely, in Kent, Sussex, Essex, Middlesex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and the adjoining counties, and that they gradually diminish in frequency as we proceed toward the northern and western counties. Still farther to the west, as in Gloucestershire and Warwickshire, the names of the former class are very rare; those of the second abound. In the semi-Celtic districts of Derbyshire, Devonshire, and Lancashire, names of either class become scarce; while in Cumberland, Westmoreland, Cornwall, and Monmouth, they are wholly or almost wholly wanting. This remarkable distribution of the simple ending *ing*, and the compound forms *ingham* or *ington*, in English local names, can not be accidental, and seems to indicate, as is now believed, that the Saxon rule was gradually extended over the western and central districts by the descendants of families already settled in the island, and not by fresh immigrants arriving from abroad.

Now, whence came originally all these Teutonic immigrants whom the Roman *Notitia* refers to as Saxons, and who are mentioned by British authors afterward by no other name,<sup>1</sup> is a question already partially answered by a comparison of local names in England and on the Continent, and which may be further solved by a careful examination of the map of those parts of Western Europe where Saxons, Franks, and Friesians have been generally located. That the Franks, especially the Salian Franks, formed no considerable part of them is quite evident from the many names in the old French provinces of Picardy and Artois, which the Franks brought there from Holland,<sup>2</sup> and which are, most of them, identically the same with village names to be found in England. The Dutch word *tuin*, for instance, in English *tun*, *toun*, *ton*, is there reproduced, as clearly and correctly as French orthography can make it, in the suffix *thun*. Thus—

<i>Fréthun</i>	in France	is	Freton	in England.
<i>Allencthun</i>	“	“	Allington	“
<i>Colincthun</i>	“	“	Collington	“
<i>Pelincthun</i>	“	“	Pallington	“
<i>Podincthun</i>	“	“	Poddington	“

With the suffix *ham*, *hem*, *hen*, the resemblance is still more apparent. Thus we find—

<i>Basingham</i>	in France	and	Bassingham	in England.
<i>Balinghem</i>	“	“	Ballingham	“
<i>Eringham</i>	“	“	Erringham	“
<i>Hardinghem</i>	“	“	Hardingham	“
<i>Inghem</i>	“	“	Ingham	“
<i>Linghem</i>	“	“	Lingham	“
<i>Losingham</i>	“	“	Lossingham	“
<i>Maningham</i>	“	“	Manningham	“
<i>Berlinghen</i>	“	“	Birlingham	“
<i>Elinghen</i>	“	“	Ellingham	“
<i>Masinghen</i>	“	“	Massingham	“
<i>Velinghen</i>	“	“	Wellingham	“

A comparison of such names, which are numerous in both countries, renders it quite evident that the same families which gave their names to many English villages had also their representatives in that part of northwestern France which was settled by the Salian Franks. Even

<sup>1</sup> Even now the Welsh and the Bretons, the Gaels of Scotland, the Irish, and the Manxmen, respectively, call the English *Saeson*, *Saox*, *Sasunnaich*, and *Sagsomach*.

<sup>2</sup> See page 107.



before we hear of them under that name, we find them introduced into Gaul as subsidized colonists, by the Roman rulers, to defend the frontier. They were then called *Læti*,<sup>1</sup> and, according to the *Notitia*, there were Batavian *Læti* at Arras. The Emperor Julian transported thousands of the Chattuari, Chamavi, and Frisii to the neighborhood of Amiens, Beauvais, and Langres.<sup>2</sup> The system was continued at a later period. Charlemagne transported into France a vast multitude of Saxons;<sup>3</sup> but, though many of the German names in France may be due to these forced emigrations, there is no doubt that by far the greater number are records of the settlements of the Frank and Burgundian conquerors. In the southern portion of what was known in mediæval times as *Franken* or *Franconia*, "the land of the Eastern Franks," the suffix *en* for *ham* is almost universal in local names, whereas in Westphalia, which has been generally assumed to be the original home of the Saxons, it assumes the form of *hausen*, which also conveys the meaning, it is true, of "scattered dwellings; a hamlet," but is too remote in sound and form from the suffix *ham* to be considered a phonetic variety of that Teutonic word. Still a large number of families whose names are found in Westphalian settlements with the suffix *hausen*, are also represented in English village names with the suffix *ham* or *ton*, as will be seen by the following list of family names corresponding to their settlements in both Westphalia and England:

FAMILIES.	WESTPHALIA.	ENGLAND.
<i>Æscings</i>	<i>Assinghausen</i>	Assington
<i>Bædlings</i>	<i>Betlinghausen</i>	Bedlington
<i>Billings</i>	<i>Billinghausen</i>	Billingham
<i>Bennings</i>	<i>Benninghausen</i>	Bennington
<i>Birlings</i>	<i>Berlinghausen</i>	Birlingham
<i>Cidings</i>	<i>Keddinghausen</i>	Keddington
<i>Cyllings</i>	<i>Kellinghausen</i>	Kellington
<i>Deddings</i>	<i>Dedinghausen</i>	Dedington
<i>Frilings</i>	<i>Frilinghausen</i>	Frilinghurst
<i>Heddings</i>	<i>Heddinghausen</i>	Heddingham
<i>Hellings</i>	<i>Hellinghausen</i>	Hellinghill
<i>Hemings</i>	<i>Heminghausen</i>	Hemington
<i>Læferings</i>	<i>Leveringhausen</i>	Leverington
<i>Lullings</i>	<i>Löllinghausen</i>	Lullington

<sup>1</sup> See pages 207 and 466.

<sup>2</sup> Latham, *Channel Islands; Nationalities of Europe*, ii, p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> *Annal. Laureshamenses*, vol. i, pp. 119, 120.

FAMILIES.	WESTPHALIA.	ENGLAND.
<i>Millings</i>	<i>Millinghausen</i>	Millington
<i>Mæssings</i>	<i>Messinghausen</i>	Massingham
<i>Rælings</i>	<i>Ratlinghausen</i>	Ratlinghope
<i>Rillings</i>	<i>Rielinghausen</i>	Rillington
<i>Sydtings</i>	<i>Siedlinghausen</i>	Sydling
<i>Wealings</i>	<i>Vellinghausen</i>	Wellington
<i>Wærings</i>	<i>Weringhausen</i>	Werrington

These double suffixes, *ington*, *ingham*, *inghem*, *inghen*, derived from family names, often take the form *igny* in northern France, as—

FAMILIES.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.
<i>Ælings</i>	<i>Alligny</i>	Allington
<i>Antings</i>	<i>Antigny</i>	Antingham
<i>Arrings</i>	<i>Arrigny</i>	Arrington
<i>Artings</i>	<i>Artigny</i>	Artington
<i>Bælings</i>	<i>Baligny</i>	Ballingham
<i>Berrings</i>	<i>Berigny</i>	Berrington
<i>Bobbings</i>	<i>Bobigny</i>	Bobbington
<i>Bontings</i>	<i>Bontigny</i>	Bondington
<i>Brantings</i>	<i>Brantigny</i>	Brantingham
<i>Bullings</i>	<i>Bulligny</i>	Bullingham
<i>Callings</i>	<i>Caligny</i>	Callington
<i>Cofings</i>	<i>Cauvigny</i>	Covington
<i>Dartings</i>	<i>Dartigny</i>	Dartington
<i>Hædings</i>	<i>Hadigny</i>	Haddington
<i>Leasings</i>	<i>Lassigny</i>	Leasingham
<i>Lings</i>	<i>Ligny</i>	Lingham
<i>Mærings</i>	<i>Marigny</i>	Marrington
<i>Maæssings</i>	<i>Massigny</i>	Massingham
<i>Pælings</i>	<i>Paligny</i>	Pallingham
<i>Polings</i>	<i>Poligny</i>	Pollington
<i>Remings</i>	<i>Remigny</i>	Remington
<i>Seafings</i>	<i>Savigny</i>	Seavington
<i>Sulings</i>	<i>Soulangy</i>	Sallington
<i>Syfings</i>	<i>Sevigny</i>	Sevington

It is difficult to account for all these resemblances on the ordinary theory that England was colonized exclusively by the Saxons and Angles, and France by the Franks and Burgundians. A large number of Frank adventurers must have joined in the descents which the Saxons made on the English coast, and many Saxons must have found a place in the ranks of the Frankish armies which conquered northwestern France. The chroniclers, when mentioning the earlier invasions and piratical attacks, at-

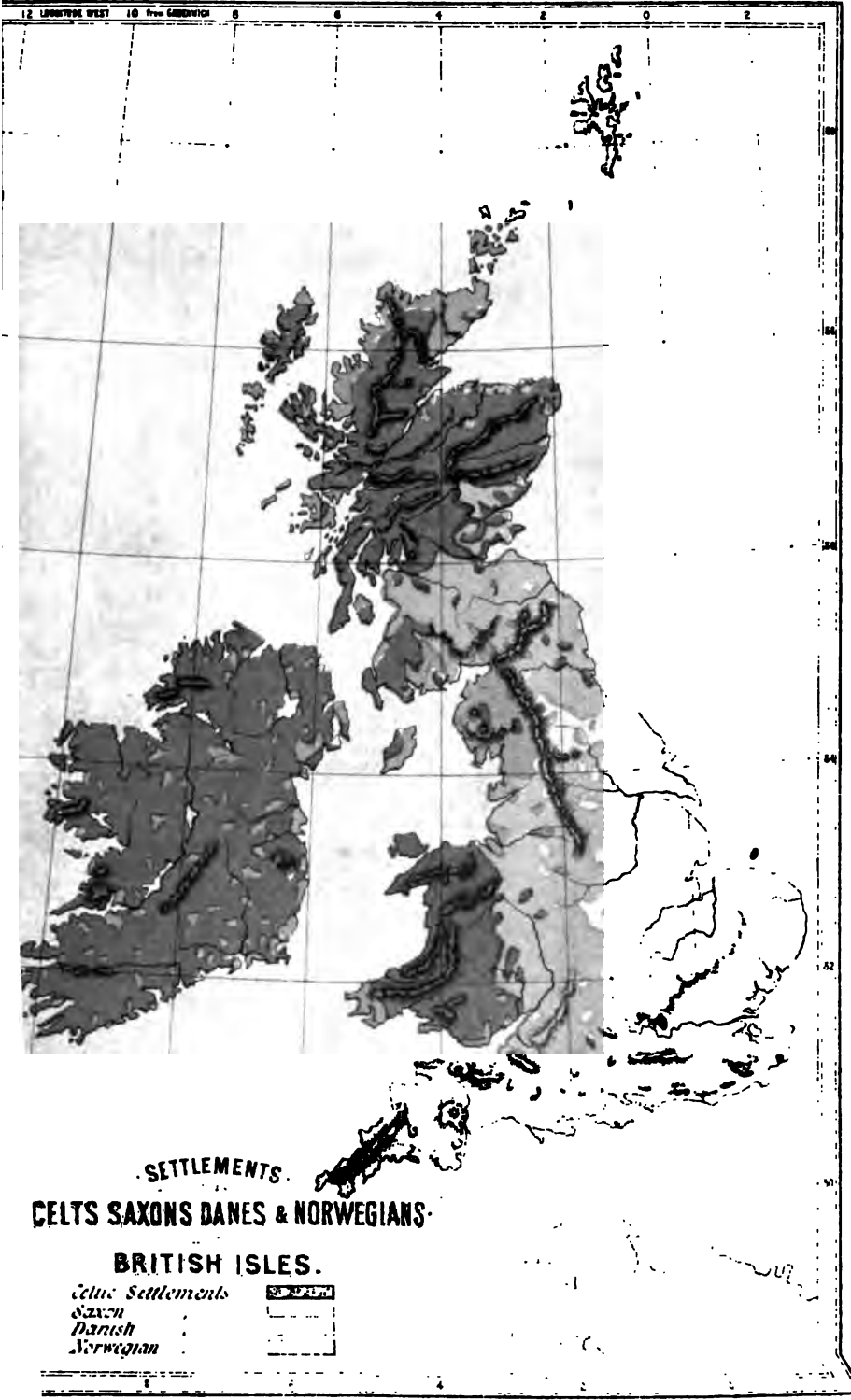
tribute them to Franks and Saxons,<sup>1</sup> and when on eastern France to Saxons and Lombards in conjunction. The tribes between the Rhine and the Elbe—Franks, Saxons, Angles, Sueves, Lombards, and Burgundians—were probably united by a much closer connection—ethnological, geographical, and political, than is commonly supposed. Indeed, there is strong reason for believing that the names of Frank, Saxon, or Lombard are not true ethnic names, but that they were only the designations of temporary confederations for military purposes, and that these names were derived from their usual armament, the *franca*, *seax*, or the *lang-barta*.<sup>2</sup>

Guided by this geographical nomenclature the reader, on scanning the map of England, will be able to form an idea of the many nationalities which, under the general names of Celts, Saxons, and Danes, were to be found in England at the end of the tenth century. He will find the Celts as a body in possession of Ireland, the western coast of England, almost all of Scotland, and the remainder dispersed among the Saxons and the Danes. The Saxons he will find distributed over the rest of England, with the exception, however, of the eastern and northern shires, where the Danish conquest has left its deepest impress, and where even at this day the popular language would be strictly intelligible to a Dane or a Norwegian, were it not for the French words which the Norman conquest subsequently introduced in great numbers. This difference of dialect is, moreover, invariably accompanied by a difference in customs and manners, and certain local traditions which, disappearing but slowly before the industries of modern civilization, still point to those times when fear and distrust kept each family in its own town, each individual in his own family; when the cultivator went armed to the field, and shut himself up at night in his walled town, his *borough*; when the inhabitants of neighboring villages looked upon each other as enemies, considering every journey dangerous, every business risky, and never marrying but among themselves. Their dialects differed often so much as in many instances to be unintelligible to people living in each other's immediate vicinity.

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<sup>1</sup> Eutropius, Julian, and Ammianus Marcellinus, associate the Franks and Saxons in this manner.

<sup>2</sup> A long pole terminating in a battle-axe, and overtopped by a spear-head; a halbert.



SETTLEMENTS.

CELTS SAXONS DANES & NORWEGIANS.

BRITISH ISLES.

- Celtic Settlements*
- Saxon*
- Danish*
- Norwegian*





It was impossible that in such circumstances the national character should not have become deteriorated, and that the country should not have lagged behind in the career of wealth, of the arts, of literature, and of every other line of public prosperity and greatness. Accordingly, at the era of the Norman invasion, England was still a country of no account on the political map of Europe. Some foreign commerce was springing up under Edward the Confessor; but still its intercourse, either commercial or of any other description, except with Normandy, was apparently very limited. A certain degree of excellence, indeed, seems to have been attained by its artists in some kinds of ornamental work, in the fabrication of trinkets and other articles of luxury,<sup>1</sup> as is shown by the immense spoils of William, of which he sent a large part to the churches and monasteries in Normandy, and a taste for which probably prevailed among the wealthier inhabitants of England; and on a first view we might be disposed to conjecture that other and more necessary kinds of industry must needs have also flourished where there was room and encouragement for the exercise of this species of refined and expensive ingenuity. But nothing can be more unsafe and fallacious than such a mode of inference, by which some particular feature is taken to indicate in one age, or country, or state of society, the same thing which it would indicate in another. It would be quite unwarrantable to assume the existence of any general wealth or refinement among the English of the eleventh century merely from their passions of show and glitter, which, in its lower manifestations, is an instinct of the rudest savages; and, even when directed with very considerable taste, may co-exist both with the most imperfect civilization and with much general poverty and squalor, as we see it doing in eastern countries at the present day. No other species of art or manufacture, except the ordinary trades required for the supply of their most common necessities, appears to have been practiced among them. But the backward and declining condition of the country was most expressively evinced by the lamentable decay of all liberal knowledge among all classes

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<sup>1</sup> The production of such jewels has been ascribed to monks, who, according to Malmesbury, were the most skilled artists of that period in England, so much so that curious reliquaries, finely worked and set with precious stones, were called throughout Europe *opera Anglica*.—J. A. Weisse, *Origin, Progress, and Destiny of the English Language and Literature*, p. 131.

of people. The oldest historians are unanimous in their attestations to the general ignorance and illiteracy that prevailed among the English of the age. Ordericus Vitalis, a contemporary writer, and himself a native of England, describes his countrymen as a rustic and illiterate people. Malmesbury, another Englishman, writing sixty or seventy years later, and, as he informs us himself, as much a Saxon as a Norman by descent, assures us that when the Normans first came over, the greater number of the English clergy could hardly read the church service, and that, as for anything like learning, they were nearly to a man destitute of it; if any of them understood grammar, he was admired and wondered at by the rest as a prodigy. The English monks are described by him as stupid and barbarous, and even the archbishop and bishops, in Edward's time, as having been illiterate men. The rest of his account represents the upper classes in general as sunk in sloth and self-indulgence, and addicted to the coarsest vices. Many of the nobility, he says, had given up attending divine service in church altogether, and, as a class, were universally given to gluttonous feeding and drunkenness, continuing over their cups for whole days and nights, and spending all their incomes in riotous feasts, at which they ate and drank to excess, without any display either of refinement or of magnificence. The dress, the houses, and all the domestic accommodations of the people of all ranks are stated to have been mean and wretched in the extreme.<sup>1</sup>

Even long before the Norman conquest, the native language of England had commenced to fall into contempt among the upper classes, and French to be substituted in its stead. As early as the year 952, it was a common practice among the English nobles to send their sons to France for education,<sup>2</sup> and not only the language but the manners of the French were esteemed the most polite of accomplishments. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, the resort of Normans to the English coast was so great that the affectation of imitating the French customs became almost universal,<sup>3</sup> and even the lower classes of

<sup>1</sup> Willelm Malmesbury, *de gest. rer. Angl.*, lib. iii, pag. 101, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Ob usum armorum, et ad linguæ nativæ barbariem tolendam. (Du Chesne, vol. iii, pag. 307.)—Warton, *History of English Poetry*, L. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Coepit ergo, tota terra sub Rege et sub aliis Normannis introductis Anglicos ritus dimittere, et Francorum mores in multis imitari. (Ingulf., *Hist Croylan*, pag. 895.)

the people were ambitious of catching the foreign idioms to the detriment of the native English, the alphabet of which had fallen into discredit and disuse a long time previous, and become so difficult and obsolete that few beside the oldest men could understand the characters. Edward is said to have favored this movement by making French the court language; but if he preferred the use of this language, it is more than probable that it was on account of his having almost entirely forgotten his native English. He was only thirteen years old when he was first sent into Normandy; he was somewhat past forty when he ascended the English throne; so that for twenty-seven years he had been accustomed to foreign manners and habits, and to convey all his thoughts and feelings through the medium of Norman French. Thus he preferred the society of Normans, among whom the best years of his life had been passed, to that of his own subjects, whose civilization and social refinement, owing to the terrible wars the nation had been so long engaged in, had not kept pace with that of their French neighbors. Those, therefore, who hoped to prosper at court, learned to speak French, and imitated the dress, the style, and manners of the latter. Even in those rude ages fashion had her influence and her votaries. Not to know French was to acknowledge one's social inferiority; and, following the example of the court, the rich, the young, and the gay of both sexes were not satisfied unless their tunics, their chausses, their streamers, and mufflers were cut after the latest Norman pattern.

"England was slumbering in this declining state when the Norman conquest, like a moral earthquake, suddenly shook its polity and population to their center, crushed and hurled into ruin all its ancient aristocracy, destroyed the native proprietors of its soil, broke up its corrupt habits, thinned its enervated population, kindled a vigorous spirit of life and action in all classes of its society, and excited that national taste for letters, and commenced that system of education which, assisted by new sources of instruction, produced a love and cultivation of knowledge which has never since departed from the island."<sup>1</sup>

The conquest of England by William, duke of Normandy, in 1066, which is now to be considered, is the last territorial conquest that has occurred in Western Europe.

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<sup>1</sup> Sharon Turner, *History of England*, P. 1, ch. iii.



Since then there have been only political conquests, far different from those in which whole tribes invaded a neighboring country, with the avowed purpose of dividing the conquered territory among themselves, and of leaving the people nothing but their lives, on condition of keeping quiet and toiling for their new masters. The Norman conquest of England having taken place at a period less remote than those of the Saxons and Danes, we are in possession of documents relating to this epoch far more complete than those which refer to previous times. Availing ourselves of these data, as collected by the best writers on the subject, we will now present, in brief outline, such parts as relate to the origin and history of the men who weighed so heavily in the destinies of England; their character and institutions; their social and political relations with the conquered population; the gradual emancipation of the latter, and the final amalgamation of the contending races, which will enable us to discuss understandingly with our readers the causes and circumstances that led to the fusion of the various idioms and dialects once current in England, and the formation of the English language.

## CHAPTER V.

THE NORMANS IN GAUL.<sup>1</sup>

WE must here cast a retrospective glance upon the history of these northern adventurers who, expelled from their own country, had sought their fortune in Gaul, where, more successful than their Scandinavian brethren in England, they established a permanent dominion in one of the best parts of the country, giving the world the interesting spectacle of a barbarous people civilizing themselves with unexampled rapidity, so much so as, within one hundred and fifty years after their arrival, to be ranked among the most influential and most civilized nations of the age. The prominent part they were then about to take in the destinies of England renders it important that we should acquaint ourselves with the men whose energies had been so well directed, and among whom originated many of the best of our present institutions.

In a former chapter we had occasion to mention that, at the close of the ninth century, Harald Harfager, king of one portion of Norway, extended by force of arms his power over the remainder, and made of the whole country one sole kingdom. This destruction of a number of petty states, previously free, did not take place without resistance. Not only was the ground disputed inch by inch, but, after the conquest was completed, many of the inhabitants preferred expatriation and a wandering life on the sea to the domination of a foreign ruler. These exiles infested the northern seas, ravaged the coasts and

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<sup>1</sup> Man en engleiz e en noreiz  
 Senefie hom en francheiz ;  
 Justez ensemble north e man,  
 Ensemble dites donc Northman,  
 Ço est hom de North en romanz.  
 De ço vint li non as Normanz.  
 Normant solent estre apelé,  
 E Normendie k'il ont poplé.—*Roman de Rou.*

islands, and constantly labored to excite their countrymen to insurrection. Political interest thus rendered the conqueror of Norway the most determined enemy of the pirates. With a numerous fleet he pursued them along the coasts of his own kingdom, and even to the Orcades and Hebrides, sinking their vessels, and destroying the stations they had formed on many of the islands of the northern seas. He, moreover, by the severest laws, prohibited the practice of piracy and of every species of armed exactions throughout his states.<sup>1</sup>

It was an immemorial custom of the Vikings to exercise upon every coast, without distinction, a privilege which they termed *strandhug*, or impressment of provisions. When a vessel found its stores drawing to an end, the pirate crew landed at the first place where they perceived a flock insecurely guarded, and seizing upon the animals, killed them, cut them up, and carried them off without payment, or at best, with a payment quite below the value. The *strandhug* was thus the scourge and terror of the country districts which lay along the sea-coast or the banks of rivers, and all the more so as it was often exercised by men who were not professional pirates, but to whom power and wealth gave impunity.<sup>2</sup>

There was at the court of King Harald, among the iarls or chieftains of the first rank, a certain Rognvald, whom the king greatly loved, and who had served him zealously in all his expeditions. Rognvald had several sons, all of them noted for their valor. Of these the most renowned was Hrolf or Rolf, or, by a sort of euphony common to many Teutonic names, *Roll*. He was so tall that, unable to make use of the small horses of his country, he always marched on foot, a circumstance which procured him the appellation of *Gaungu Rolfur*, that is, "Roll the Walker."<sup>3</sup> One day when he, with his companions, was on his return from a cruise in the Baltic, before landing in Norway, he shortened sail off the coast of Wiggen, and there, whether from actual want of provisions, or simply availing himself of an opportunity, he exercised

<sup>1</sup> Mallet, *Histoire du Danemarck*, i, 223.

<sup>2</sup> Depping, *Histoire des Expéditions Maritimes des Normands*.

<sup>3</sup> Rolfur var vikingur mikill, hann var sva mikill mathur vexti, at engi hestur matti bera bann, oc geck hann hvargi sem hann for, hann var kallathur *Gaungu Rolfur* (*Harald Harfagers-saga*, cap 24), that is: "Rolf was a powerful viking, and of such a large size that no horse could carry him; he therefore was obliged always to go on foot, whence he was called *Gaungu Rolfur* (Rollo the Walker).

*strandhug*. It so happened that King Harald was in the vicinity at that moment, and the peasants having laid their complaints before him, he at once, without heeding the position of the offender, summoned a *Thing*, or high council of justice, to try Roll according to law. Ere the accused appeared before the assembly, which would in all probability sentence him to banishment, his mother hastened to the king and implored for pardon. But Harald was inexorable; sentence was pronounced; and Roll, finding himself banished for life, collected some vessels, and sailed toward the Hebrides. There he met a number of dissatisfied Norwegians who, after the conquests of Harald, had emigrated, and who were all men of high birth and great military reputation. With these he entered into association for the purpose of piracy, and his vessels, added to theirs, formed a numerous fleet which, it was agreed, should act under the orders, not of one sole chieftain, but of the confederates generally, Roll having no other pre-eminence than that of his personal merits and of his name.<sup>1</sup>

Sailing from the Hebrides late in the season, the fleet doubled the extreme point of Scotland, and effected a landing on the east coast of England; but either that their countrymen would not have anything to do with them, or that they were prevented from joining them by the English, Roll and his companions encountered a body of the latter on their way, and lost many of their number. Still they managed to hold their own, and to winter on the island, living on pillage as usual. Early in spring they set sail for the Continent, and entered the Scheldt, robbing and taking whatever they could lay their hands upon; but as Flanders, naturally poor and already devastated on several occasions, offered very little to take, the pirates soon put to sea again. Going farther south, they sailed up the Seine as far as Jumièges, five leagues from Rouen. It was just at this period that the limits of the kingdom of France had been definitively fixed between the Loire and the Maas. To the protracted territorial revolutions which had lacerated that kingdom, there had succeeded a political revolution, the object of which, realized a century later, was the expulsion of the second dynasty of the Frank kings. The king of the French, a descendant of Karl the Great, and bearing his name—the

<sup>1</sup> *Harald Harfagers-saga*, cap. 24; *Snorre's Heimskringla*, i, 100.

only resemblance between them—was disputing the crown with a competitor whose ancestors had never worn that crown. The conqueror and the conquered, the king of ancient race and the king by election, alternately became master; but neither the one nor the other was powerful enough to protect the country against foreign invasion; all the forces of the kingdom were engaged on either side in maintaining the civil war; no army, accordingly, presented itself to stay the pirates, or prevent them from pillaging and devastating both banks of the Seine.<sup>1</sup>

The reports of their ravages soon reached Rouen, and filled that city with terror. The inhabitants did not expect any succor, and despaired of being able to defend their walls, already in ruins from former invasions. Amidst the universal dismay, the archbishop of Rouen, a man of prudence and firmness, took upon himself to save the city, by negotiating with the enemy before the attack.

<sup>1</sup> There is still much uncertainty among modern historians as to the exact time of Rollo's descent on French soil. Asser, the biographer of Alfred, says it was in 876. "Anno dominicæ incarnatimis 876 Rollo cum suis Normanniam penetravit."—*Vita Alfredi*. This has been objected to on the ground that Asser died in the year 909, which was before Neustria was ceded to the Normans, and hence could not have made use of the term *Normandy*, which was of later adoption. It was concluded, therefore, that the above passage was interpolated in subsequent copies of his work. This, however, is not certain, and it is more probable that a later copyist has changed the name of *Neustria* into that of *Normandy*. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says: "A. D. 876, Her Rodla thurferde Normandi mid his here, and he rixade fifti vintra." The date may have been copied from Asser, but the statement that Rollo reigned fifty winters agrees with tradition, which places his death, others say his abdication, at A. D. 926. As regards the date of his landing, the following chroniclers seem to be all agreed.

Thus the *Chronic. Florent. Wigorn.*, ad ann. 876 says: "Rollo cum suis Normanniam penetravit 15 kal. decembris."

"Anno 876 Rollo paganus, genere Danus, cum suis Normanniam intravit et obtinuit, qui postea baptizatus, vocatus est Rodbertus."—*Chronica de Mailros*.

"Ann. 876, venit Rollo Daniæ in Neustriam cum suis, volens eam sibi acquirere."—*Chronic. Fiscanense*.

"Hoc anno 876, Rollo cum suis Normanniam penetravit 15 kal. decembris."—*Chronic. Rotomag.*

"Hoc anno 876 Rollo cum suis Normanniam acquisivit xv kal. decembris."—*Chronic. Thosansum* (*Chronicalia de Normannis*, MS. de la Bibliothèque du roi, à Paris).

"Anno 876 Rollo in Normanniam cum suis venit xv kalend. decembris."—*Chronic. Fontanellense* (in cod. monast. S. Michaelis de Monte).

"An. 876, rege Carolo, Rollo quidam, natione Danus, cum suis Franciam intravit."—*Vita S. Waringi*, tom. II des *Acta SS. ord. S. Bened.*

Though a later date is assigned to the event by modern historians, it is not the less certain that the historians of the Dukes of Normandy, viz., Dudo de Saint Quentin, Guillaume de Jumièges; the Trouvères Wace and Benoît de Sainte-More, as well as the ecclesiastic historian Ordericus Vitalis, have all accepted the same date as correct.

Without being deterred by the hatred often so cruelly testified by the pagans of the north toward the Christian clergy, the bishop repaired to their camp near Jumièges, and, in the name of the people, spoke to the Norman chief through the medium of an interpreter.<sup>1</sup> He did so well that he concluded a truce with the enemy, guaranteeing them ready admission to the city, and receiving from them in return the assurance that no violence should be committed by them. So the Norwegians peacefully landed. Having moored their vessels, the chiefs went through the city in different directions; they carefully examined the ramparts, the quays, the fountains, and, finding everything to their liking, resolved to make it the citadel and headquarters of their new establishment.<sup>2</sup>

Evreux and several other neighboring towns next fell into the hands of the Normans, who thus extended their dominion over the greater part of the territory which thus far had been known by the old name of Neustria. Guided by a certain political good sense, they ceased to be cruel when they no longer encountered resistance, and contented themselves with a tribute regularly levied upon the towns and country districts. The same good sense told them that the time had come to elect a supreme chief, invested with permanent authority, and the choice fell on Roll, "whom they made their king," says an old chronicler, which title, in their mind, was probably something like *sea-king*, according to Scandinavian fashion, but which was ere long to be replaced by the title of *duke*, which in France was that of any prominent military leader, corresponding to the old Latin title *dux*.

Though pirates to all intents and purposes, and as such not better than their forefathers, the present invaders of France were in many respects a different class of men from those who for half a century had been harassing the English so fearfully. In the age of Rollo the great feature

<sup>1</sup> Lors fist assembler Rou les gens de la ville et du pays, et leur dist qu'il entendoit et vouloit illec à demourer, et y faire sa maistre-ville; et ils lui dirent . . . qu'ils n'avoient aucun qui les deffendist, et que s'il lui plaisait de les garder et deffendre et tenir en justice, ils le tenroient à seigneur, et lui donneroient nom de duc.—*Chronique de Normandie, M.S. de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, No. 9857. Et les gens de Rouen et autres ordonnèrent que leur archevesque iroit à Rou, et mettroit en son obéissance la cité et le pais, et ainsi il fist.—*Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> E Rou esgarda la vile é lunge et lée,  
E dehorz e dedenz l'a sovent esgardée;  
Bone li semble e bele, mult li plect é agrée,  
E li compaignonz l'ont a rou mult loée.

Wace, *Roman de Rou.*, i, 60.

of the Northman character was a love of glory, pursuing its gratification by an assiduous cultivation of bodily strength, agility, and manual dexterity; and combining with the most daring intrepidity, tenacity of purpose, and great warlike fortitude. To climb steep and towering rocks, and to descend from them rapidly with a heavy burden; to walk on the outer edge of a ship, and even outside of it, on the oars, while the men were rowing it; to use both hands alike, and throw two darts at once; to play with three swords, with such correctness of eye and nerve that there would always be one in the air while the others were caught by the handles, were accomplishments of dexterity coveted even by their kings.<sup>1</sup> To hew well with the sword, to wrestle, to cast heavy weights, to run on skates, to sit firmly on horseback, to swim with vigor, to hurl the lance with skill, to manage the oar dexterously, were also their warrior's boasts. Vigor in archery was an object of emulation; and they proved their strength by sending a blunted spear through a raw bull's hide.<sup>2</sup> All these qualifications proceeded from the great actuating principle of the Northman's mind—the love of personal distinction and public admiration.

Such were the first Normans, who in the beginning of the tenth century settled themselves in Normandy; a country which from former devastations had become an unpeopled and ruined desert, abandoned to a wild vegetation, and uncultivated in every part. A barbarous people, thus located in a desolate country, might seem to promise a perpetuity of barbarism; but very different were the results. The wasted state of Normandy not only proved favorable to the growth of the Norman mind, by presenting no luxuries or corrupting influences to weaken it; but it made wisdom in the chief, and industry and constant exertion in his followers, indispensable to their existence. It compelled them to be an agricultural as well as a warlike people. The character of their chief was suited to the exigency; and Rollo, like Romulus, by his prudent regulations, laid the foundations of the improved character, and prepared the future triumphs of his rapacious countrymen. A steady observance of justice in his own conduct, and an inflexible rigor toward all offenders, gradually produced a love of equity and subordination to law among his people which mainly contributed to their

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<sup>1</sup> Snorre, *Olaf Saga*, vol. i, p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 19.

future eminence; while the adoption of Christianity as his national religion powerfully accelerated all his legislative exertions, by enlightening both himself and his countrymen, and gradually awakening their moral sensibilities. It is related of him that, on returning from the chase, while stopping for his midday repast in the forest on the banks of the Seine, near Rouen, he hung up his golden bracelets on the branch of an oak while eating. These bracelets remained there for three years, unguarded and untouched, such was under his reign the respect of property, or perhaps also the dread of his justice.<sup>1</sup> He was reputed the sternest enemy of robbers, and the most vigorous justiciary of his time in any part of France; and the popularity of his name, spreading far and wide, encouraged many artisans and laborers of the neighboring districts to emigrate, and to establish themselves in the dominions of Duke Rollo, or *Rou*, as he was called in French.

As he and his men were all bachelors, they married Frankish women; and the children, of course, being brought up mainly by their mothers, in course of time spoke all the kinds of French then current in that country, so that within two or three generations the difference of language which had at first marked the line of separation between the invaders and the natives had almost ceased to exist, and it was by his importance alone, as belonging to the ruling class, that the Norman of Scandinavian descent was distinguished from the Gallo-Frank. Even at Rouen, and in the palace of the successors of Rollo, no other language was spoken at the beginning of the eleventh century than that called by the name of Romance or French. To this, however, the town of Bayeux was an exception, the dialect there preserved being a mixture of Frankish, Saxon, and Scandinavian, the city being originally a Saxon settlement, which had contrived to keep up almost intact its ancient ways and language.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Guillaume de Jumièges, Trad. Guizot, *Hist. des Normands*, vol. ii, ch. 17. The oak stood near a pond, which since has borne the name of *Mare de Rollon*.

<sup>2</sup> The Swabian *Lati* who, as we learn from the *Notitia*, were settled at Bajoccas (Bayeux), may have formed the nucleus of this settlement. In the year 843 the annalists mention the existence of a district in this neighborhood called *Otlinga Saxonica*, and Gregory of Tours speaks of the *Saxones bajocassini*. The term *Otlinga Saxonica*, which has elicited so many ingenious etymological guesses, does not mean the district where the Saxon language was spoken, but, as Grimm has suggested, it was the abode of Saxon nobles, *Adelings* or *Æthelings*.—*Gesch. der Deut. Sprach.*, p. 626. According to Dudo de St. Quentin, iii, 100, their



So, when new emigrants arrived from the north of Europe to visit their relatives in Normandy, and to obtain land, they established themselves, as a matter of choice, in the country about Bayeux, and thus kept up the use of their language in that neighborhood. It was for this reason, if we may believe one of the chroniclers, that the dukes of Normandy sent thither their children to learn to speak Danish as a matter of pride, or perhaps of policy.<sup>1</sup> The Danes and Norwegians maintained relations of alliance and of affection with Normandy so long as they found in a similarity of language a token of their ancient national consanguinity; but when the use of French became general throughout Normandy, the Scandinavians ceased to look upon the Normans as their natural allies by blood; they even ceased to give them the name of Normans, but called them Velskes or Welches,<sup>2</sup> by which name they designated indiscriminately the entire population of Gaul.

As the old ties of relationship gradually died out, the Normans became more and more French in feeling and in interest, and what was once called "the pirates' land" sank into the most loyal of the fiefs of France.

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language differed but little from the Scandinavian dialects, "qualem decet esse sororem." We have already observed elsewhere that the difference between the Low Dutch and Scandinavian dialects was much less in those days than at present. See page 172.

<sup>1</sup> Dudo de St. Quentin, referring to this subject, places the following words in the mouth of Duke William I: Quoniam quidem Rothomagensis civitas romana potius quam dacisca utitur eloquentia, et Bajocacensis fruitur frequentius dacisca lingua quam romana; volo igitur ut ad Bajocacensia deferatur quanto-cius mœnia, et ibi volo ut sit, Botho, sub tua custodia, et enutriatur et edoceatur cum magna diligentia, *servens loquacitate dacisca*, tamque discens tenaci memoria, ut queat sermocinari profusius olim contra Dacigenas. (Dudo S. Quantini, apud du Chesne, 112, D.)

Beneoit de Sainte-More makes substantially the same statement:

Si à Roem le faz garder  
Et norrir gaires longement,  
Il ne saura parler neient  
Daneis, kar nul ne l'i parole.  
Si voil qu'il seit à tele escole  
Où l'en le sache endoctriner  
Que as Daneis sache parler,  
Ci ne sevent riens fors romanz:  
Mais à Baiues en a tanz  
*Qui ne sevent si daneis non;*  
Et pur ceo, sir quens Boton,  
Voil que vos l'alez ensemble od vos;  
De lui enseigner corius  
Garde e maistre seiez de lui.—*Chron. des ducs de Norm.*

<sup>2</sup> *Contes populaires, préjugés, patois, etc., de l'arrondissement de Bayeux*, par Frédéric Pluquet, Rouen, 1834. On the name of *Welches*, given by all Teutonic tribes to conquered nations, see pages 20 and 484.

During the long reign of Richard I<sup>1</sup> the descendants of heathen Scandinavian pirates had all become French Christians. Even during the reign of Rollo, the clergy did them the justice to declare that after their conversion they showed but few traces of former paganism. Of course, men passing their lives on the high seas had but little time to study Scandinavian mythology, and what little they knew of it was readily forgotten under different influences. Still, under excitement, the old heathen was apt to come out again, and in more than one engagement the cry of *Thor aide* was heard for a long time after, instead of *Dieu aide*, which was the battle cry of the Normans in the eleventh century. By that time all traces of paganism had well nigh disappeared, except an unshaken faith in elves, mountain dwarfs,<sup>2</sup> werewolves,<sup>3</sup> and the like, which they had in common with the Britons, the Saxons, and all other Celtic and Teutonic nations in general.

<sup>1</sup> Rollo died in the year 926; William I died in the year 943; Richard I died in the year 1002; Richard II died in the year 1026; Robert I died in the year 1035; William II (the Conqueror) died in the year 1087.

<sup>2</sup> Mauger, a prelate of Rouen, who was charged with practising magic, was believed to own one of these hobgoblins, called *Thoret*, after *Thor*, and who could be neither heard nor seen, but was at the command of the prelate at any moment, day or night, and did the most awful things. It is thus referred to by Wace, in his *Roman de Rou*, v. 9713, and following:

Plusors distrent por vérité,  
Ke un deable aveit privé,  
Ne sai s'estait lutin u non,  
*Toret* se feseit apeler,  
E *Toret* se feseit nomer.  
E quant Maugier parler voleit,  
*Toret* appelout, si veneit.  
Plusors les poeient oïr,  
Mais nuz d'els nes poet véir.

<sup>3</sup> The werewolf was called in French *garwal*, *garul*, *garoul*, *garou*, *loup-garou*; and *bisclaveret* in Breton. This is the way Marie de France describes the thing:

*Bisclaveret* ad nun en Bretan  
*Garwal* l'apelent li Norman.  
Jadis le poët-hum oïr,  
E souvent souleït avenir,  
Hunes plusurs *garwal* devindrent,  
E es boscages meisun tindrent.  
*Garwal* si est beste salvage;  
Tant cum il est en cele rage,  
Humes devure, grant mal fait,  
Es granz forest converse e vait.

In some parts of France they called it *garulf*, *gerulf*, whence the Low Latin *gerulphus*, found in the following passage of Gervais de Tilbury, quoted by du Cange: "Vidimus enim frequenter in Anglia per lunationes homines in lupos mutari, quod hominum genus *gerulphos* Galli nominant, Angli vero *were-wolf* dicunt; *were* enim anglisce virum sonat, *wolf* lupum."—*Otia imperial.*, pars. i.

As in England, so in France, the conversion of the northern heathens was, at first at least, a matter of diplomatic arrangement rather than of sincere conviction, so we must not expect any great fervor at first among the chiefs and principal nobles in the observance of the new doctrines; but no sooner had the religious movement spread to the people than it was welcomed with an almost passionate fanaticism. Every road was crowded with pilgrims. monasteries rose in every forest glade, and Normandy, which had now become the principal center of religion and of science, soon boasted of its schools of Rouen, Caen, Fontenelle, Lisieux, Fécamp, and a countless number of minor renown. Often it was far away from the noise and bustle of city life, in the deep solitudes of dense forests, that could be found an asylum devoted to study and religious meditation. Thus arose, in an island of the Seine, the famous abbey of Jumièges, surrounded by its forests, its meadows, and its silence. The abbey of Bec, more celebrated still, and of which we may still see the ruins near the small town of Brionne, in the midst of a high forest by the side of a brook, was the seat where once taught the Italian monk Lanfranc, one of the most learned men of the age, and after him the Piedmontese Anselm, a man still more eminent, and his pupil. In the course of a few years their teaching had made Bec the most famous school of Christendom, before they successively filled the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. The whole mental activity of the time seemed concentrated in the group of scholars who gathered around them, and who, spreading their knowledge to other seminaries of learning, caused the Normans of the eleventh century to become the most polished and best educated nation of Europe, and their schools to be the resort of students from all the surrounding countries.

It was, however, not always this thirst for knowledge, or the new form of religious faith only, which drove Norman pilgrims in flocks to the shrines of Italy and the Holy Land. Often the old Norse spirit of adventure turned the Pilgrims into Crusaders, and at one time the flower of the Norman knighthood, impatient of the stern rule of their dukes, followed Roger de Toesny against the moslem of Spain, or even enlisted under the banner of the Greeks, in their war with the Arabs, who had conquered Sicily. The Crusaders became conquerors under Robert Guiscard, a knight who had left his home with a single

follower, but whose valor and wisdom soon placed him at the head of his fellow-soldiers in Italy. Attacking the Greeks, whom they had hitherto served, the Norman knights wrested Apulia from them in an overthrow at Cannæ; Guiscard himself led them to the conquest of Calabria and the great trading cities of the coast, while thirty years of warfare gave Sicily to the followers of his brother Roger. The two conquests were united under a line of princes to whose munificence art owes the splendor of Palermo and Monreale, and literature the first outburst of Italian song. Normandy, still seething with vigorous life, was stirred to greed and enterprise by this plunder of the south, and the rumor of Guiscard's exploits roused into more ardent life the daring ambition of its nobles and their duke. Constantly surrounded by danger, and always on the alert, their warlike energies had never had leisure to abate, and from their perpetual exertions the Normans, whether at home or abroad, had become everywhere distinguished for their indomitable valor and their great skill in war.

We thus see in the Scandinavian settlers in Gaul, after they had put on the outward garb of their adopted country, a people restless and enterprising above all others, adopting and spreading around them all that they could make their own, in their new land and everywhere else—a people in many ways highly gifted, greatly affecting and modifying every country in which they settled, and so identifying themselves with its interests as to gradually lose themselves among the people of the land. In this respect, as in many others, the expeditions of the Normans in Gaul may be looked upon as continuations of the Danish expeditions in England. The people were by descent the same, and both were led by the same old spirit of war and adventure. Their national character remained largely the same in both countries; but even as the Danes in England in course of time became English, so the Normans, in contact with what remained of Roman civilization, became French in religion, in language, in law, and in society, in thoughts and feelings in all matters. The change was as rapid as it was thorough and effective. The early part of the tenth century was the time of the settlement of the Northmen in Gaul; by the end of it, any traces of heathen faith, or of Scandinavian speech, remained only here and there as mere survivals. The new creed, the new speech, the new social system had taken

such deep root that the descendants of the Scandinavian settlers were better fitted to be the armed missionaries of all these things than the neighbors from whom they had wrested their new possessions. With the zeal of new converts, they set forth on their new errand very much in the spirit of their heathen forefathers. The same spirit of enterprise which brought the Northmen into Gaul seems to carry the Normans out of Gaul into every corner of the world. Their character is well painted by a contemporary historian of their exploits.<sup>1</sup> He sets the Normans before us as a race specially marked by cunning, despising their own inheritance in the hope of winning a greater, eager after both gain and dominion, given to imitation of all kinds, holding a certain mean between lavishness and greediness—that is, perhaps uniting, as they certainly did, these two seemingly opposite qualities. Their chief men, he adds, were specially lavish through their desire of good report. They were, moreover, very skillful in flattery, given to the practice of fine speaking, so that the very boys were orators and natural debaters; a race altogether unbridled, unless held firmly down by the yoke of justice. They could endure toil, hunger, and cold, whenever ill-fortune sent them; they were fond of hunting and hawking, and delighted in the pleasure of horses, and of all the weapons and garb of war. But if the Norman was a born soldier, he was also a born lawyer. It is the excessive litigiousness, the fondness for law, legal forms, legal processes, which has ever been characteristic of the Norman people. Even Norman lawlessness in some sort took a legal shape. In the worst days of Norman history, the robber-baron could generally give elaborate reasons for every act of wrong that he did. For the rest, strict observers of form in all matters, the Normans attended to the forms of religion with special care. No people were more bountiful to ecclesiastical bodies on both sides of the Channel; and strict attendance to re-

<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey Malaterra, i, 3. “Es quippe gens astutissima, injuriarum ultrix, spe alias plus lucrandi, patrios agros vilipendens, quæstus et dominationis avida, cujuslibet rei simulatrix, inter largitatem et avaritiam quoddam medium habens. Principes vero delectatione bonæ famæ largissimi, gens adulari sciens, eloquentiis in studiis inserviens in tantum, ut etiam ipsos pueros quasi rhetores attendas, quæ quidem, nisi jugo justiciæ prematur, effrenatissima est; laboris, inediæ, ælgoris, ubi fortuna expedit, patiens, venationi accipitrum exercitio inserviens. Equorum, cæterorumque militiæ instrumentorum, et vestium luxuria delectatur. Ex nomine itaque suo terræ nomen indiderunt *North*, quippe Anglica lingua aquilonaris plaga dicitur. Et quia ipsi ab aquilone venerant terram ipsam etiam *Normanniam* appellarunt.”

ligious observances, as well as a wide bounty to religious foundations, may be set down as national characteristics of the Normans.

Such were the people among whom Edward, son of Ethelred and Emma, sister of Richard II, Duke of Normandy, had spent the days of his youth before ascending the throne of England, and who, from the joint effects of situation, exigencies, wise legislation, Christianity, and natural energy, had so much improved within one hundred and fifty years, after they had quitted the Baltic, as to be described in the following manner by a historian of the country which they had most afflicted: "Their dukes," he says, "as they were superior to all others in war, so they as much excelled their contemporaries in their love of peace and liberality. All their people lived harmoniously together, like one great body of relations, like one family, whose mutual faith was inviolable. Among them, every man was looked upon as a robber who, by falsehood, endeavored to overreach another in any transaction. They took assiduous care of their poor and distressed, and of all strangers, like parents of their children; and they sent the most abundant gifts to the Christian churches in almost every part of the world."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Glaber Rodolphus, c. v, p. 8.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND.

FROM the time of Rollo's settlement in Normandy, the communications of the Normans with England had become more and more frequent and important for the two countries. The success of the invasions of the Danes in England in the tenth century, and the reigns of three kings of the Danish line, had obliged the princes of the Saxon race to take refuge in Normandy, the duke of which, Richard I, had given his daughter Emma in marriage to their grandfather Ethelred II. At the end of the Danish rule in England, a national message was sent to Prince Edward in Normandy, to announce to him that the people had elected him king, upon condition that he should bring but few Normans with him. Edward obeyed, and came attended by very few followers. On his arrival he was proclaimed king, and crowned in the cathedral of Winchester, A. D. 1042. On handing him the crown and scepter, the bishop made him a long speech upon the duties of royalty, and the mild and equitable government of his Anglo-Saxon predecessors. As he was unmarried, he selected for his queen Edith, daughter of the powerful and popular man to whose influence especially he owed his kingdom—Godwin, the father of Harold, who ere long was to play a part as short as it is memorable in the history of England. The withdrawal of the Danes, and the complete destruction of their dominion, by awakening patriotic thoughts, had rendered the old Anglo-Saxon customs dearer to the people. They desired to restore them in all their pristine purity, freed from all that the mixture of races had added to them of foreign matter. This wish led them to revert to the times which preceded the great Danish invasion, to the reign of Ethelred, whose institutions and laws were sought out with a view to their establishment. Their restoration took place to the utmost extent possible; the name of King Edward became connected with it, and it was soon a popular saying that this

good king had restored the good laws of his father Ethelred.

Every Dane in any way connected with the former government had been expelled; but the English, restored to liberty, did not drive from their habitations the laborious and peaceable Danes who, swearing obedience to the common law, were content to exist simply as cultivators or citizens. The Saxon people did not, by way of reprisal, levy extra taxes on them, or render their condition worse than their own. In the eastern, and especially in the northern provinces, the children of Scandinavians continued to exceed in number those of the Anglo-Saxons; hence these provinces were distinguished from the midland and southern by a remarkable difference of idiom, manners, and local customs, but not the slightest resistance was raised to the government of the Saxon king. Social equality soon drew together and fused the two nations, formerly hostile. This union of all the inhabitants of the English soil, proved formidable to foreign invaders, who stayed their ambitious projects, and no northern kings ventured on disturbing the peace that England was now enjoying. These kings, on the contrary, sent messages of peace and friendship to the peaceable Edward. "We will," said they, "allow you to reign unmolested over your country, and we will content ourselves with the land which God has given us to rule."

Fortune now seemed favorable to the Anglo-Saxons; but, under this outward appearance of prosperity and independence, the germs of fresh troubles and national ruin were silently developing themselves. Edward, half a Norman by birth, and brought up from his infancy in Normandy, had returned almost a stranger to the land of his forefathers; the language of his youth had been that of a foreign people; he had grown old among other men and other manners than the manners and men of England; his friends, his companions in pleasures and hardships, his nearest relatives, and the husband of his sister, all dwelt across the sea. He had sworn to bring with him only a small number of Normans; and but few in fact accompanied him, but many arrived afterward; those who had loved him when in exile, or assisted him when in poverty, eagerly beset his palace. He could not restrain himself from welcoming them to his home and his table, nor even from preferring them to those formerly unknown to him, but to whom he was indebted for his home, his table, and



his royal dignity. The irresistible strength of old affections led him so far astray from the path of prudence as to confer the high dignities and great offices of the country on men born on other soil, and without any real affection for England. The fortresses of the island were placed in the keeping of Norman captains; Norman priests obtained English bishoprics, and became chaplains, councilors, and trusted confidants of the king.

A number of persons styling themselves relatives of Edward's mother crossed the straits, and were sure to be well received. No one who solicited in the Norman tongue ever met with a refusal. This language even banished from the palace the Anglo-Saxon, which was become an object of ridicule to the foreign courtiers, and no flattering discourse was any longer addressed to the king but in Norman French. Such of the English nobility as were most ambitious tried to speak the new and favorite language of the court, and even in their own mansions stammered French as being that fittest for a man of birth and education; they changed their long Saxon mantles for the short cloaks of the Normans; in writing they imitated the lengthened form of the Norman letters; and instead of signing their names to civil acts, they suspended to them seals of wax, in the Norman manner. Every one of the national customs, even in the most indifferent things, was abandoned to the lower orders.

But the people who had shed their blood that England might be free, and who were little struck by the grace and elegance of the new fashions, imagined that they beheld the government by foreigners revived under a mere change of appearances. They cursed the fatal marriage of Ethelred with a Norman woman, that union, contracted to save the country from a foreign invasion, but from which there now resulted a new invasion, a new conquest, under the mask of peace and friendship.<sup>1</sup>

Among those who came from Normandy and France to visit King Edward, the most considerable was William,

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<sup>1</sup> We find the trace, perhaps indeed the original expression of these national maledictions, in a passage of an ancient historian, in which the singular turn of idea and the vivacity of the language seem to reveal the style of the people: "The Almighty must have formed, at the same time, two plans of destruction for the English race, and have desired to lay for them a sort of military ambuscade; for he let loose the Danes on one side, and on the other carefully created and cemented the Norman alliance; so that if by chance we escaped from the open assaults of the Danes, the bold cunning of the Normans might still be in readiness to surprise us."—Henry Huntingdon, *Hist.*

Duke of Normandy, bastard son of Robert, the late duke, whose violent temper had acquired for him the name of *Robert le Diable*. In his journey through England, A. D. 1051, he might have believed that he was still in his own territories. The fleet which he found at Dover was commanded by Normans; at Canterbury Norman soldiers composed the garrison of the fort; elsewhere other Normans came to salute him in the dress of captains or of prelates. Edward's favorites came to pay their respects to the chief of their native country; and, to use the language of that day, "thronged round their natural lord." William appeared in England more like a king than Edward himself; and it was, probably, not long before his ambitious mind conceived the hope of becoming so without difficulty at the death of that prince, so much the slave of Norman influence. Indeed, such thoughts could not fail to arise in the breast of the son of Robert; however, according to the testimony of a contemporary, he kept them perfectly secret, and never spoke of them to Edward, believing that things would of themselves take the course most to the advantage of his ambition.<sup>1</sup> Nor did Edward, whether or not he thought of those projects, and of his having some day his friend and cousin for a successor, converse with him on the subject during his visit, yet he received him with great tenderness, and loaded him with all sorts of presents and assurances of affection.

At the death of Godwin, which took place in 1054, his eldest son, Harold, succeeded him in the command of all the country south of the Thames. He distinguished himself by his military talents, fully paid to the king that respectful and submissive deference of which he was so jealous, and thus added rapidly to his renown and popularity among the Anglo-Saxons. Some ancient recitals say that even Edward loved him, and treated him like his own son; at least he did not feel toward him the kind of aversion mixed with fear with which Godwin had inspired him; nor had he any longer a pretext for detaining, as guarantees against the son, the two hostages whom he had received from the father. Toward the close of the year 1065 Harold, the brother of the one and the uncle of the other of these hostages, thinking the moment

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<sup>1</sup> De successione autem regni, spes adhuc aut mentio nulla facta inter eos fuit.—*Hist. Ingulf. Croyland apud rer. anglic. Script.*, vol. i, p. 65.

favorable for obtaining their deliverance, asked the king's permission to go and claim them in his name from William, and bring them home to England. Edward, without any reluctance to part with the hostages, was alarmed, however, at Harold's intention of going into Normandy. "I will not restrain thee," said he, "but if thou departest it will be without my consent; for thy journey will certainly bring some misfortune upon thyself and upon our country. I know Duke William, and his crafty spirit. He hates thee, and will grant thee nothing, unless he sees some great advantage therein; the only way to make him give up the hostages would be to send some other person than thee."<sup>1</sup>

Harold, brave and full of confidence, did not act upon this advice; but setting out, as if on a journey of pleasure, he embarked at one of the ports of Sussex, and repaired to Rouen. Duke William received the Saxon chief with great honors, and an appearance of frankness and cordiality; he told him that the two hostages were free at his mere request, and he might return with them immediately, but that, as a courteous guest, he ought not to be in such haste, but to stay at least for a few days, to see the towns and the amusements of the country. Harold went from town to town, and from castle to castle, and with his young companions took part in military jousts. Duke William made them *chevaliers*, that is, members of the high Norman military order, a sort of warlike fraternity, into which every man of wealth who devoted himself to arms might be introduced, under the auspices of some old member, who, with due ceremony, presented to him a sword, a baldrick plated with silver, and a lance decorated with a streamer.<sup>2</sup> The Saxon warriors received from

<sup>1</sup> *Chronique et Normandie; Recueil des hist. de la France*, tom. xiii, p. 223; Wace, *Roman de Rou*, tom. ii, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> The institution of a superior class among those who devoted themselves to arms, and of a ceremonial, without which no one could be admitted into that military order, had been introduced into and propagated throughout all the west of Europe by the Germanic nations who had dismembered the Roman empire. This custom existed in Gaul; and, in the Roman tongue of that country, a member of the high military class was called a *cavalier* or *chevalier*, because at that time, throughout Gaul and on the Continent in general, horsemen formed the principal strength of armies. It was otherwise in England: perfection in equestrian skill was not at all considered in the idea entertained in that island of an accomplished warrior. The two only elements of the English idea were youth and strength; and the Saxon tongue gave the name of *cniht*, that is to say, *young man*, to the warrior who by the French, the Normans, the southern Gauls, and also the Germans, was designated *horseman*.

their sponsor in chivalry presents of fine arms and horses of great value. William then proposed that they should try their new spurs by following him in an expedition which he was undertaking against his neighbors of Brittany.

Harold and his friends, foolishly eager to acquire a renown for courage among the men of Normandy, displayed for their host, at the expense of the Britons, a prowess which was one day to cost them and their country very dear. During the whole war, Harold and William had but one tent and one table. On their return they rode side by side, amusing each other on the way with friendly discourse. One day William turned the conversation upon his early intimacy with King Edward. "When Edward and I," said he to the Saxon, "lived like brothers under the same roof, he promised that, if ever he became king of England, he would make me heir to his kingdom. Harold, I wish that thou wouldst assist me to realize this promise; and be sure that if, by thy aid, I obtain the kingdom, whatever thou shalt ask, I will grant it thee."<sup>1</sup> Harold, though surprised at this unexpected excess of confidence, could not refrain from answering by some vague promises of adhesion thereto; and William resumed in these terms: "Since thou consentest to serve me, thou must engage to fortify the castle at Dover, to sink in it a well of fresh water, and to give it up to my troops; thou must also give me thy sister, that I may marry her to one of my chiefs; and thou thyself must marry my daughter Adela; moreover, I wish thee, at thy departure, to leave me one of the hostages which thou claimest, as a surety for the fulfilment of thy promise; he shall remain in my keeping, and I will restore him to thee in England when I shall arrive there as king."<sup>2</sup> On hearing these words, Harold perceived all his danger, and that into which he had unconsciously drawn his two young relatives. To escape from his embarrassment, he complied in words with all the Norman's demands; and he who had twice taken up arms to drive away the foreigners from his country promised to deliver up to a foreigner the principal fortress in that same country, reserving to himself to break this unworthy engagement at a future day, while purchasing his safety, for the moment, with a falsehood.

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. de Normandie; Recueil des hist. de la France*, tom. xiii, p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> *Eadmeri, Hist. nov.*, lib. i, p. 5.

William pressed him no further at that moment; but he did not long leave the Saxon at peace on this point.

In the town of Avranches, others say in that of Bayeux, Duke William convoked a great council of the lords and barons of Normandy. The day before that fixed for the assembly William had caused to be brought, from all the places around, bones and relics of saints, sufficient to fill a great chest or cask, which was placed in the hall of council and covered with cloth of gold.<sup>1</sup> When the duke had taken his seat in the chair of state, holding a drawn sword in his hand, crowned with a circlet of gems, and surrounded by the crowd of Norman chiefs, among whom was the Saxon, two small reliquaries were brought and laid upon the golden cloth which covered the cask of relics. William then said, "Harold, I require thee, before this noble assembly, to confirm by oath the promises which thou hadst made me, that is, to assist me in obtaining the kingdom of England after King Edward's death, to marry my daughter Adela, and to send me thy sister, that I may give her to one of my followers." The Englishman, once more taken by surprise, and not daring to deny his own words, approached the two reliquaries with a troubled air, laid his hand upon them, and swore to execute to the utmost of his power his agreement with the duke, if he lived, and with God's help. The whole assembly repeated, "*May God be thy help!*"<sup>2</sup> William immediately made a sign, on which the cloth of gold was removed, and discovered the bones and skeletons, which filled the cask to the brim, and which the son of Godwin had sworn upon without knowing it. The Norman historians say that he shuddered, and his countenance changed at the sight of this enormous heap.<sup>3</sup> Harold soon after departed, taking with him his nephew, but was compelled to leave his young brother behind him in the power of the Duke of Normandy. William accompanied him to the seaside, and made him fresh presents, rejoicing that he had by fraud and surprise obtained from the man in all England most capable of frustrating his projects a public and solemn oath to serve and assist him. When Harold, on his return to his native country, presented himself before

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<sup>1</sup> Tut une cuve en fist emplir,  
Pois d'un paele les fist covrir,  
Ke Heraut ne sout ne ne vit.—*Roman de Rou*, tom. ii, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, tom. ii, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> *Chron. de Norm.*; *Recueil des hist. de la France*, tom. xiii, p. 223.

King Edward, and related all that had passed between Duke William and himself, the king became pensive, and said to him: "Did I not forewarn thee that I knew this William, and that thy journey would bring calamity on thyself and on our nation? Heaven grant that these misfortunes may not happen during my life!"<sup>1</sup> These words and this sadness may seem to prove that Edward had really, in his youthful and thoughtless days, made a foolish promise to a foreigner of a kingdom which did not belong to him. It is not known whether, after his accession, he had nourished the ambitious hopes of William by words; but, in default of express words, his constant friendship for the Norman had, with the latter, been equivalent to a positive assurance, and a sufficient reason for believing that Edward continued favorable to his views and wishes.

An oath sworn upon relics, whether forced or voluntary, called down the vengeance of the church if violated; and in such a case, in the opinion of all Christendom, the church struck legitimately. Therefore, whether from a secret presentiment of the perils with which England was threatened by the spirit of ecclesiastical revenge, combined with the ambition of the Normans, or from a vague impression of superstitious terror, a great dejection of mind overcame the English nation. Sinister reports were circulated; men feared and were alarmed without any positive cause for alarm. They dug up old predictions, attributed to saints of former times. One of them had prophesied misfortunes such as the Saxons had never suffered since they left the banks of the Elbe.<sup>2</sup> Another had foretold an invasion by a people of an unknown tongue, and the subjection of the English people to masters from beyond the sea. All these rumors, hitherto unheeded or unknown, forged perhaps at that very moment, were eagerly received, and kept the minds of the people in expectation of some great and unavoidable calamity.

The health of Edward, who was naturally of a weak constitution, and had, it would appear, become aware of his country's danger, declined from the period of these events. He could not disguise from himself that his

<sup>1</sup> Nonne dixi tibi . . . me Willelmum nosse ait?—Eadmeri, *Hist. nov.*, lib. i, p. 5, ed. Selden.

<sup>2</sup> Venient super gentem Anglorum mala, qualia non passa est ex quo venit in Angliam usque tempus illud.—Johan. de Fordun, *Scoticchronicon*, lib. iv, cap. xxxvi.

love of foreigners was the sole cause of the evils which seemed to threaten England; and his gloom on this account was greater than that of the people. In order to stifle these thoughts, and perhaps the remorse which preyed upon his mind, he gave himself wholly up to the details of religious observances; he made large donations to the churches and monasteries; and his last hour surprised him in the midst of these mournful and unprofitable occupations, A. D. 1066.<sup>1</sup> Lying on his couch, almost at the point of death, he was surrounded by Harold and his kindred, who prayed the king to name a successor by whom the kingdom might be governed securely. "Ye know," said Edward, "that I have left my kingdom to the Duke of Normandy; and are there not here among ye, those who have sworn to assure his succession?" Harold advanced, and once more asked the king on whom the crown should devolve. "Take it, if it is thy wish, Harold," said Edward; "but the gift will be thy ruin; against the duke and his barons thy power will not suffice." Harold declared that he feared neither the Norman nor any other foe. The king, vexed at this importunity, turned round in his bed, saying, "Let the English make king whom they will, Harold or another; I consent;" and shortly after expired. The very day after the celebration of his obsequies, Harold was proclaimed king by his partisans, amid no small public disquietude, and Eldred, Archbishop of York, lost no time in anointing him.

The commencement of the new reign was marked by a complete return to the national usages that had been abandoned in the preceding reign. Harold did not, however, drive from the kingdom, nor from their offices, the few Normans who were there in condescension toward Edward's old affections. These foreigners continued in the enjoyment of every civil right; but, instead of being grateful for this generous treatment, they employed themselves in intriguing at home and abroad for the foreign Duke of Normandy. From them it was that William received the message that informed him of Edward's death and of the election of the son of Godwin.

Immediately after receiving this important intelligence the duke sent a messenger to Harold, who addressed him in these words: "William, Duke of the Normans, sends to

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<sup>1</sup> About a century after his death the title of *Confessor* was conferred on him by Pope Alexander III, which had a similar meaning to that of *Saint*.

remind thee of the oath which thou hast sworn to him with thy mouth and with thy hand upon good and holy relics." "It is true," replied the Saxon king, "that I took an oath to William; but I took it under constraint. I promised what did not belong to me; a promise which I could not in any way perform. My royal authority is not my own; I could not lay it down against the will of the country; nor can I, against the will of the country, take a foreign wife. As for my sister, whom the duke claims, that he may marry her to one of his chiefs, she has died within the year." The Norman ambassador carried back this answer; and William replied by a second message, with reproaches, but expressed in mild and moderate terms, and entreating the king, if he did not consent to fulfil all the conditions he had sworn, at least to perform one of them, and to receive in marriage the young princess whom he had promised to make his wife. Harold answered that he would not fulfil that obligation; and, to give proof of this resolution, he married a Saxon woman. Upon this the final words declarative of rupture were pronounced. William swore that within the year he would come to exact all his due, and to pursue his perjured foe even to those places where he could hope to make the surest and the boldest stand against his vengeance.

As far as publicity could go in the eleventh century, the Duke of Normandy published what he called the injustice and bad faith of the Saxon, and the opinion of the mass of men on the Continent went for William against Harold. He also brought an accusation of sacrilege against his enemy before the pontifical court, and demanded that England should be laid under interdict by the Church, and declared to be the property of him who should first take possession, with the reservation of the pope's approval. He assumed the character of a plaintiff at law, requiring that justice should be done to him, and desirous that his adversary should be heard in answer. But Harold, refusing to acknowledge himself amenable to that court, was in vain cited to defend himself before the tribunal of Rome. Consequently a judicial sentence was pronounced by the pope himself,<sup>1</sup> according to the terms of which William, Duke of Normandy, had permission to enter England, and Harold and all his adherents were excommunicated by a papal bull, which was trans-

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<sup>1</sup> Pope Alexander II.



mitted to William by the hands of his envoy; and to it was, moreover, added the gift of a banner from the apostolic church, and a ring containing one of St. Peter's hairs, encased beneath a diamond of some price.

Before the bull, the banner, and the ring arrived in Normandy, contributions came from all parts for getting up the expedition; one subscribed for vessels, another for well-appointed men-at-arms, and many promised to march in person. The priests gave their money, the merchants their stuffs, and the country people their provisions. But when the consecrated objects arrived from Rome, their sight excited double eagerness: every one brought what he could; and mothers sent their sons to enlist for the salvation of their souls. William had his proclamation of war published in the neighboring countries, and offered good pay and the plunder of England to every able-bodied man who would serve him with spear, sword, or cross-bow. A multitude came, by all roads, from far and near, from the north and from the south. Some arrived from the province of Maine and from Anjou, from Poitou and from Brittany, from France and from Flanders, from Aquitaine and from Burgundy, from Piedmont and from the banks of the Rhine. All the adventurers by profession, all the outcasts of Western Europe, came eagerly and by forced marches. Some were cavaliers or warlike chiefs, others were simply foot-soldiers and sergeant-at-arms, as they were then called. Some asked for pay in money; others only for their passage and all the booty they could make; many wished for land among the English, a demesne, a castle, or a town; while others would be content with some rich Saxon woman in marriage. Every wish, every project of human covetousness presented itself. William rejected no one, says the Norman chronicle, but promised favors, duly registered, to every one according to his ability.

The place of meeting for the vessels and the warriors was at the mouth of the Dive, a river that flows into the sea between the Seine and the Orne. For a month the winds were contrary, and kept the Norman fleet in port; but at daybreak of the 27th of September, the sun, which until that morning had been obscured by clouds, arose in full splendor, while a fine easterly breeze blew from the shore. The camp was immediately broken up, every preparation for immediate embarkation was made with zeal and with no less alacrity, and a few hours before sunset the entire

fleet weighed anchor. Four hundred ships with large masts and sails, and more than a thousand transport-boats manœuvred to gain the open sea, amid the noise of clarions and the wild shout proceeding from sixty thousand warriors. Unfortunately for the English their vessels, which had so long been cruising off the coast of Sussex, had just before returned to harbor for want of provisions, so that William's troops landed, without encountering any resistance, at Pevensey, near Hastings, on the 28th of September, 1066. The archers landed first, the cavaliers next, and after them the workmen of the army—pioneers, carpenters, and smiths—who unloaded on the shore, piece by piece, three wooden castles, framed and prepared beforehand. The duke came ashore last of all. In setting his foot upon the sands he made a false step, and fell upon his face. A murmur immediately arose; and some voices cried, "God preserve us! This is a bad sign!" But William rising, exclaimed, "What is the matter with ye? What astonishes ye? I have seized on this land with both my hands; and, by the splendor of God, as much as there is of it, it is ours."<sup>1</sup> This quick repartee instantly prevented their being discouraged by so ill an omen. The army marched upon the town of Hastings; near that place an encampment was formed, and two of the wooden castles were erected and furnished with provisions. Bodies of soldiers overran all the neighboring country, plundering and burning houses. The English fled from their dwellings, concealed their furniture and cattle, and flocked to the churches and churchyards, which they thought the most secure asylum from enemies who were Christians like themselves. But the Normans made but little account of the sanctity of places, and respected no asylum.

Harold was at York, when a messenger came in great haste to tell him that William of Normandy had landed and planted his standard on the Anglo-Saxon territory. He immediately marched toward the south with his army, publishing, as he passed along, an order to all his chiefs of counties to put all their fighting men under arms and lead them to London. One of those Normans who had been allowed to remain in England, and who now played

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<sup>1</sup> Seignors, par la resplendor Dé,  
La terre ai as dous mainz seizie . . .  
Tote est nostre quant qu'il i a.

*Roman de Rou*, tom. ii, p. 152.

the part of spies and secret agents of the invader, sent word to the duke to be on his guard, for that in four days the son of Godwin would have round him one hundred thousand men. Harold, too quick in his movements, did not wait four days. He could not master his eagerness for coming to an engagement with the foreigners, especially when he learned the ravages of every description which they were committing round their camp. The hope of sparing his countrymen some misery, and perhaps the desire of making a sudden, an unexpected attack upon the Normans, determined him to march toward Hastings with forces only one quarter as numerous as those of the Duke of Normandy.

But William's camp was carefully guarded against a surprise, and his posts extended to a considerable distance. Detachments of cavalry gave notice, by their falling back, of the approach of the Saxon king. Harold's design of assailing the enemy unawares being thus prevented, he was obliged to moderate his impetuosity. He halted at the distance of seven miles from the camp of the Normans, and, all at once changing his tactics, intrenched himself, in order to wait for them, behind ditches and palisades.

On the ground which afterward bore, and still bears, the name of *Battle*, the Anglo-Saxon lines occupied a long chain of hills, fortified with a rampart of stakes and osier hurdles. In the night of the 13th of October, William announced to the Normans that the next day would be the day of battle. The priests and monks, who had followed the invading army in great numbers, being attracted, like the soldiers, by the hope of booty, assembled together to offer up prayers and sing litanies, while the fighting men were preparing their arms. The soldiery employed the time which remained to them after this first care in confessing their sins and receiving the sacrament. In the other army the night was passed in quite a different manner; the Saxons diverted themselves with great noise, singing their old national songs, and emptying around their watch-fires their horns of beer and wine.

In the morning the bishop of Bayeux, brother, on the mother's side, of Duke William, celebrated mass in the Norman camp, and gave a blessing to the soldiers; he was armed with a hauberk under his pontifical habit; he then mounted a large white horse, took a baton of command in his hand, and drew up the cavalry into line. The

army was divided into three columns of attack: in the first were the soldiers from the county of Boulogne and from Ponthieu, with most of the adventurers who had engaged personally for pay; the second comprised the auxiliaries from Brittany, Maine, and Poitou; William himself commanded the third, composed of the Norman chivalry. The duke mounted a Spanish charger; from his neck were suspended the most venerated of the relics on which Harold had sworn, and the standard consecrated by the pope was carried at his side. At the moment when the troops were about to advance, the duke, raising his voice, thus addressed them:

“Remember to fight well, and put all to death; for if we conquer we shall all be rich. What I gain, you will gain; if I conquer, you will conquer; if I take this land, you shall have it. Know, however, that I am not come here only to obtain my right, but also to avenge our whole nation for the felonies, perjuries, and treacheries of these English. Come on, then, and let us, with God’s help, chastise them for all these misdeeds.”<sup>1</sup>

The army was soon within sight of the Saxon camp, near Senlac, to the northwest of Hastings. The priests and monks then retired to a neighboring height to pray and to witness the conflict. As soon as the archers came within bowshot they let fly their arrows, and the cross-bowmen their bolts; but most of the shots were deadened by the high parapet of the Saxon redoubts. The infantry, armed with spears, and the cavalry, then advanced to the entrances of the redoubts, and endeavored to force them. The Anglo-Saxons, all on foot around their standard planted in the ground, and forming behind their redoubts one compact and solid mass, received the assailants with heavy blows of their battle-axes, which, with a back-stroke, broke their spears and clove their coats of mail. The Normans, unable either to penetrate the redoubts or to tear up the palisades, and fatigued with their unsuccessful attack, fell back upon the division commanded by William. The duke then commanded all his archers again to advance, and ordered them not to shoot point-blank, but to discharge their arrows upward, so that they might fall beyond the rampart of the enemy’s camp. Many of the English were wounded, chiefly in the face,

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<sup>1</sup> *Chron. de Normandie; Recueil des Hist. de la France*, tom. xiii, p. 232; *Roman de Rou.*, tom. ii, pp. 187-190.

in consequence of this manœuvre; Harold himself lost an eye by an arrow, but he nevertheless continued to command and to fight. The close attack of the foot and horse recommenced, to the cry of "Notre Dame! Dieu aide! Dieu aide!" But the Normans were driven back at one entrance of the Saxon camp, as far as a great ravine covered with grass and brambles, in which, their horses stumbling, they fell pell-mell, and numbers of them perished. There was now a momentary panic in the army of the invaders: the report spread that the duke was killed, and at this news they began to flee. William threw himself before the fugitives and barred their passage, threatening them and striking them with his lance; then uncovering his head, "Here I am," he exclaimed; "look at me; I live, and with God's help I will conquer."

The horsemen returned to the redoubts; but, as before, they could neither force the entrance nor make a breach. The duke then bethought himself of a stratagem to draw the English out of their position, and make them quit their ranks. He ordered a thousand horse to advance and immediately to take flight. At the sight of this feigned rout the Saxons were thrown off their guard; and all set off in pursuit, with their axes suspended from their necks. At a certain distance, a body of troops, posted there for the purpose, fell on their flank; the fugitives then turned round, and the English, surprised in the midst of their disorder, were assailed on all sides with spears and swords, which they could not ward off, both hands being occupied in wielding their heavy axes. When they had lost their ranks the gates of the redoubts were forced, and horse and foot entered together; but the combat was still fierce, pell-mell, and hand to hand. William had his horse killed under him. King Harold and his two brothers fell dead at the foot of their standard, which was torn up and replaced by the banner sent from Rome. The remains of the English army, without a chief and without a standard, prolonged the struggle until the close of day, so that the combatants on each side could recognize one another only by their language.

Having, says an ancient historian, rendered all which they owed to their country, the remnant of Harold's companions dispersed, and many died on the roads, in consequence of their wounds and the day's fatigue. The Norman horse pursued them without relaxation, and gave quarter to no one. They passed the night on the field of

battle; and on the morrow, at dawn of day, Duke William drew up his troops, and had the names of all the men who had followed him across the sea called over from the roll, which had been prepared before his departure from Normandy. Of these a vast number, dead and dying, lay beside the vanquished on the field. The fortunate survivors had, as the first profits of the victory, the spoils of the dead. In turning over the bodies, the corpse of King Harold was found under a heap of slain, but so much disfigured by wounds that it could hardly be recognized.

These events are all related by the chroniclers of the Anglo-Saxon race in a tone of dejection which it is difficult to transfuse. They call the day of battle a day of bitterness, a day stained with the blood of the brave. "England, what shall I say of thee?" exclaims the historian of the church of Ely; "what shall I say of thee to our descendants? That thou hast lost thy national king, and hast fallen under the domination of foreigners; that thy sons have perished miserably; that thy councilors and thy chieftains are vanquished, slain, or disinherited." Long after the day of this fatal fight patriotic superstition still saw traces of fresh blood upon the ground where it had taken place; they were visible, it was said, on the heights northwest of Hastings when a slight rain had moistened the soil.

Immediately after his victory, William made a vow to build an abbey on the spot, dedicated to the Trinity and Saint Martin, the patron of the warriors of Gaul. The vow was soon accomplished, and the high altar of the new monastery was raised on the very spot where the standard of King Harold had been planted and torn down. The outer walls were traced at once around the hill, which the bravest of the English had covered with their bodies, and the whole extent of the adjacent land, upon which the famous scenes of the battle had taken place, became the property of this abbey, which was called in the Norman language *L' Abbaye de la Bataille*.<sup>1</sup>

The Norman army now advanced toward London by the great Roman way, called by the English Wæthlinga-street, referred to in a former chapter as a common limit in the partitions of territory between the Saxons and the

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<sup>1</sup> The Bayeux Tapestry, and Guy's *Carmen de Bello Hastingensi*, are especially to be consulted by those who wish to study all the circumstances of the great battle.

Danes.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, small bodies of troops were approaching on several points, and traversing in various directions the counties of Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire, plundering and burning the towns and hamlets, and butchering the men whether with arms or without. William did not go on to London, but stopped at the distance of a few miles, and there, having received the keys of the city, he sent forward a strong detachment of soldiers with instructions to build a fortress for his residence in the center of the town.

While this work was proceeding with rapidity, the Norman council of war were discussing in the camp near London the means of promptly completing the conquest so successfully begun. The familiar friends of William said that, in order to render the people of the yet unconquered provinces less disposed to resistance, the chief of the conquest must, previous to any ulterior invasion, take the title of King of the English. This proposal, which was, doubtless, the most agreeable to the Duke of Normandy, met with the general approbation of his chiefs, and they unanimously resolved therefore, that, before the conquest was pushed any further, Duke William should cause himself to be crowned King of England by the small number of Saxons whom he had succeeded in terrifying or corrupting.

Christmas-day, which was then approaching, was fixed on for the ceremony. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Stigand, was invited to come and impose hands, and to crown him, according to the ancient custom, in the church of the Monastery of the West, in English *West-mynster*, nigh to London. Stigand refused to go and give his benediction to a man who was stained with blood, and the invader of the rights of another. But Eldred, Archbishop of York, with greater worldly discretion, seeing, say the old historians, that it was necessary to conform to the times, consented to perform the important ceremony; and it was he who, accompanied by a few priests of both nations, and in presence of the counts, barons, and the chiefs of the army, to the number of two hundred and sixty, received, all trembling, from him whom they saluted king, the oath to treat the Anglo-Saxon people as well as they had been treated by the best of the kings whom they had elected in former times.

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<sup>1</sup> See page 155.

On that very day the city of London had cause to know the value of such an oath from the mouth of a foreign conqueror. An enormous war-tribute was imposed on the citizens, and their hostages were imprisoned. Commissioners were sent through the whole extent of country in which the army had left garrisons. They made an exact inventory of all estates, public and private, registering them with great care and minuteness. Inquiry was made into the names of all the English who had died in battle, or who had survived their defeats, or whom their domestic affairs had, contrary to their desire, detained from joining the standards of their country. All the possessions of these three classes of men, whether in lands, or revenues, or chattels, were confiscated. The children of the first were declared disinherited forever. The second were likewise permanently dispossessed. Lastly, those men who had not taken part in the battle were also stripped of everything for having intended to fight; but by special favor, after many years of obedience and devotion to the foreign power, not they, but their sons, might obtain from the bounty of the new masters some portion of the paternal inheritance. Such was the law of the Conquest, according to the credible testimony of a prelate who was nearly a contemporary, and who himself was descended from the Norman invaders.<sup>1</sup>

The immense produce of this universal spoliation served for rewards to the adventurers who had enlisted under the standard of the Norman duke. In the first place, their chief, the new king of the English, kept as his own share all the treasure of the ancient kings, the gold vessels and ornaments of the churches, and everything rare and precious that could be found in the shops. William sent a part of these riches to Pope Alexander, together with Harold's standard, in return for the holy standard which had triumphed at Hastings; and all the churches abroad in which psalms had been sung and tapers burned for the success of the invasion, received in recompense crosses, chalices, and stuffs of gold. When the king and the priests had taken their share, the warriors had theirs, according to their rank and the conditions of their engagement. Those who, at the camp on the river Dive, had done homage to William for lands which were then to be con-

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<sup>1</sup> Ricardus Nigellus, Richard Lenoir or Noirot, bishop of Ely in the twelfth century.



quired, received those of the dispossessed English. The barons and knights had extensive domains, castles, townlands, and even entire towns, allotted to them; the meaner vassals had smaller portions. Some took their pay in money; others who had stipulated beforehand for Saxon wives, received also strict attention; and, according to the Norman chronicle, William caused them to take in marriage noble ladies, the heiresses of great possessions, whose husbands had been slain in battle.

The man who had crossed the sea with the quilted sock and black wooden bow of the foot-soldier now appeared, to the astonished eyes of the new recruits who had come after him, mounted on a war-horse and bearing the military baldrick. He who had arrived as a poor knight soon lifted his banner—as it was then expressed—and commanded a company, whose rallying-cry was his own name. The herdsmen of Normandy and the weavers of Flanders, with a little courage and good fortune, soon became in England men of consequence, illustrious barons; and their names, ignoble and obscure on one shore of the strait, became noble and glorious on the other. The servant of the Norman man-at-arms, his lance-bearer, his esquire, became *gentilhomme* in England; they were men of consequence and consideration when placed in comparison with the Saxon, who had himself once enjoyed wealth and titles, but who was now oppressed by the sword of the invader, who was expelled from the home of his fathers, and had not where to lay his head. This natural and general nobility of all the conquerors increased in the same ratio as the authority or personal importance of each. In the new nobility, after the style and kingly title of William, was classed the dignity of the governor of a province, as *count* or *earl*; next to him that of his lieutenant, as *vice-count* or *viscount*; and then the rank of the warriors, whether as *barons*, *knights*, *esquires*, or *sergeants-at-arms*, of unequal grades of nobility, but all reputed noble, whether by right of their victory or by their foreign extraction.

All the portion of territory occupied by William's garrisons was in a short time crowded with citadels and fortified castles. All the native population within it were disarmed, and compelled to swear obedience and fidelity to the new chief imposed on them by the lance and the sword. Such was the yoke the English race received, as the standard of the three lions progressively advanced

over their fields, and was planted in their towns. Famine, like a faithful companion of the conquest, followed its footsteps. From the year 1067 it had been desolating those provinces which alone had, up to that period, been conquered; but in 1070 it spread through the whole of England, and appeared in all its horror in the newly-conquered territories. The inhabitants of the province of York, and the country to the north of it, after feeding on the flesh of the dead horses which the Norman army had abandoned on the roads, devoured human flesh. More than one hundred thousand people, of all ages, died of want in these countries. "It was a frightful spectacle," said an old annalist, "to see on the roads, in the public places, and at the doors of the houses, human bodies a prey to the worms; for there was no one left to throw a little earth over them." This distress of the conquered country was confined to the natives, for the foreign soldier lived there in plenty. For him there were in the fortresses vast heaps of corn and other provisions, and supplies were purchased for him abroad with gold taken from the English. Moreover, the famine assisted him in the complete subjugation of the vanquished; and often, for the remnants of the meal of one of the meanest followers of the army, the Saxon, once illustrious among his countrymen, but now wasted and depressed by hunger, would come and sell himself and all his family to perpetual slavery. Then was this shameful treaty inscribed on the blank pages of an old missal, where these monuments of the miseries of another age, in characters nearly effaced by the worm of time, are to be traced even at this day, and simply furnish a theme for the sagacity of antiquaries.

The whole country of the Anglo-Saxons was now conquered, from the Tweed to the Land's End, and from the sea of Gaul to the Severn (A. D. 1070); and the English population was subdued in every part of the island, and overawed by the presence of the army of their conquerors. There were no longer any free provinces, any masses of Englishmen united in arms or under military organization. A few separate bands, the remnants of the Saxon armies or garrisons, were to be met with here and there; soldiers who were without leaders, or chiefs without followers. The war was continued only by the successive pursuit of these partisans; the most considerable among them were solemnly judged and condemned; the rest were placed at the discretion of the foreign soldiers, who made

them serfs on their acquired estates, or frequently subjected them to massacre, under such circumstances of barbarity that an ancient historian, alluding to the same, refused to enter into details, these being either inconceivable or hazardous to relate. Such of the vanquished as had any means left for expatriating themselves repaired westward to the ports of Wales, or to those of Scotland, where they embarked, and went, as the old annals express it, to roam through foreign kingdoms, exhibiting their sorrows and miseries in a state of exile. Holland, Denmark, Norway, and the countries where the Teutonic dialects were spoken, were in general the destination of the emigrants. Some of the English fugitives, however, were seen to direct their course to the south of Europe, and crave an asylum among nations of entirely different origin and speaking a different language.

From the time that the conquest began to prosper, not young soldiers and warlike chiefs alone, but whole families, men, women, and children, emigrated from every remote district of Gaul, to seek their fortunes in England. To the people on the other side of the Channel the island was like a newly-discovered land, to which colonists repair, and which is appropriated by the first or by every comer. The bishoprics and abbeys of England were employed, as heretofore the wealth of the rich and the liberties of the poor had been, to pay off the debts of the conquest. A crowd of adventurers came over from Gaul to pounce upon the prelacies, the abbacies, the archdeaconries, and deaneries of England, which, without any obstacle, were given to clerks from every other land. The prelate of foreign extraction then delivered, before a Saxon auditory, his homilies in the French tongue; and on their being attentively listened to, either in astonishment or from fear, the foreigner would assume pride on the unction of his persuasive discourses, which so miraculously charmed the ears of the barbarians.<sup>1</sup> The contempt which the clergy of the conquest professed for the natives of England was even greater than that of the soldiers, and all that had been anciently venerated in England was, by the new comers, looked upon as vile and despicable.

But violence done to the popular conviction, whether true or false, rational or superstitious, is often more pow-

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<sup>1</sup> Qui, licet latine rel gallice loquentem illum minime intelligerent, tamen intendentes ad illum, virtute verbi Dei . . . . ad lacrimas multoties compuncti. —Petri Blesensis Ingulfi, *Continuat.*, apud *rer. Anglic. Script.*, vol. i, p. 115.

erful in stimulating the courage of the oppressed than the loss even of liberty and property. The insults lavished upon the subjects of ancient worship, and the sufferings of the Saxon clergy, together with some degree of fanatical hatred of the religious innovations of the conquest, strongly agitated the public mind, and became the motive causes of a great conspiracy, which extended over all England (A. D. 1071). To arrest this danger, William adopted the same means which he had already, more than once, found to answer his expectation, namely, promises and lies. He invited, by messages, the chiefs of the insurgents to his residence, where he received them with the utmost kindness, affecting toward them an air of mildness and good faith. A lengthened discussion was then held on their respective interests, which was terminated by an agreement. All the relics of the Church of St. Alban's had been brought to the place of conference. A missal was laid upon these relics, and opened at the gospel; and William, placing himself in the situation in which he had himself so memorably placed Harold, swore by the sacred bones and the holy gospels to observe inviolably the good and ancient laws which the holy and pious kings of England, especially King Edward, had formerly established. The English, being well pleased with this concession; replied to William's oath by taking that oath of fidelity and peace which it had been the custom to take to the Saxon kings, and dispersed, satisfied and full of hope; they then, quitting the royal presence, severally went their way, and broke up that great association which they had just formed for the deliverance of their country.

These good and ancient laws, these laws of Edward, the renewed promise of observing which had the power of allaying the spirit of insurrection, were not a particular code, no settled system of written regulations; but these words simply implied that mild and popular administration of the laws and government which had existed in the time of the national kings. After the Danish dominion, the English people, in their request addressed to Edward, had asked for the laws of Ethelred, that is, for the abolition of the odious laws of conquest; to ask under the Norman dominion for the laws of Edward, was only expressing the same desire; but it was a fruitless hope, and one which, in despite of his promises, the recent conqueror could not satisfy. In vain might he, in good faith, have restored every legal practice of the olden time; if

he had maintained, to the letter, this rule of practice through the medium of his foreign justices, the laws so observed would not have secured to the people the same benefits; for it was not the non-observance of their ancient laws which rendered the situation of the English people so disastrous, it was the ruin of their independence and their existence as a nation. Neither William nor his successors showed any great hatred for the Saxon legislation, whether criminal or civil; they allowed it to be observed in many transactions, but this was not attended with any material advantage to the Saxons. They allowed the rate of fines for theft and murder committed upon an Englishman to vary, as before the conquest, according to the division of the great provinces.<sup>1</sup> They allowed the Saxon accused of murder or pillage to justify himself, according to the ancient custom, by the ordeal of red-hot iron or boiling water; while a Frenchman, accused of the same crime by a Saxon, vindicated himself by duel, or simply by his oath, according to the law of Normandy. This difference of legal proceedings, evidently to the disadvantage of the conquered population, did not disappear till after the lapse of a century and a half, when the decretals of the Roman church forbade judgments by fire and water in all countries. Moreover, among the old Saxon laws there were some which must have been especially favorable to the conquest, such as that which rendered the inhabitants of each district responsible for every offence committed within it, of which the offender remained undetected; a law admirably convenient, in the hands of the foreigner, for creating and perpetuating terror. Such

<sup>1</sup> Thus, for instance, section viii of these laws says:

Si home occit alter, et il seit conusaunt, e il deive faire les amendes, durad de sa *mainbote* al seignor, pur le franc home x solz, et pur le serf xx solz. La *were* del *thein* xx livres en *Merchenelae*, e xxv livres en *Westsaxenelae*, e la *were* del vilain c solz en *Merchenelae* e ensement en *Westsaxenelae*.

TRANSLATION INTO MODERN FRENCH.—Si un homme en tue un autre, et qu'il reconnaisse le fait, et doit payer les amendes, il donnera pour sa *mainbote* au seigneur, pour l'homme libre dix sous et pour le serf vingt sous. La *were* du *thain* est de vingt livres dans la loi des Merciens et de vingt-cinq livres dans la loi de Westsex, et la *were* du vilain est de cent sous dans la loi des Merciens ainsi que dans la loi de Westsex.

The *mainbote* or *manbote* was a *bote*, that is, "a penalty" or "compensation" to the lord for any of his men killed. If a serf, the loss was considered greater than in case of a free man, on which he had only certain signorial rights, whereas the former was his personal property. Hence the difference in the rates of compensation. *Were* is an abbreviation of *weregeld* from *wer*, "a man," and *geld*, "money"; in Latin, *hominis pretium*. *Thein* or *thain* is the Anglo-Saxon *thane*.

laws as these it was to the interest of the conqueror to maintain; and as to those which related to transactions between individuals, the upholding of them was a matter of indifference to him. In this view, therefore, he performed the promise which he had made to the Saxon confederates, without at all troubling himself as to whether they understood that promise in a different sense. He sent for twelve men out of each province, who came to him in London, and declared on oath what were the ancient customs of the country. What they said was digested into a sort of code, in the French idiom of that day, the only legal language recognized by the government of the conquest. The Norman heralds were then sent about, and proclaimed by sound of horn, in the towns and villages, "The laws which King William granted to all the people of England, the same which King Edward, his cousin, had observed before him."<sup>1</sup>

The laws of Edward were published; but the days of Edward did not return. The English burgess no longer enjoyed his municipal freedom, nor the countryman his territorial franchise; thenceforward, as before, every Norman had the privilege of killing an Englishman, without being criminal, or even sinning in the eyes of the church, provided he thought him concerned in rebellion. On the contrary, by a peculiar application of the laws, the Englishman was, as it were, obliged to watch over the safety of the Norman, as will be seen from the following law, which had for its object the repression of assassination of members of the victorious nation. It was couched in these terms: "When a Frenchman is killed or discovered slain in any *hundred*,<sup>2</sup> the inhabitants of the hundred shall seize and bring up the murderer within eight days; otherwise they shall pay, at their common cost, a fine of forty-seven marks of silver."<sup>3</sup>

An Anglo-Norman writer of the twelfth century<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ces sont les leis et les custumes que li reis William grentat a tut le puple de Engleterre apres le conquest de la terre. Ice les meismes que li reis Edward sun cosin tint devant lui.—*Leges Willhelmi regis*. See page 270.

<sup>2</sup> *Shires, hundreds* and *tens* of families are territorial divisions and local circumscriptions, as old in England as the establishment of the Saxons and the Angles. The custom of counting the families as simple units, and aggregating them in tens and hundreds to form districts and cantons, was known to all nations of Teutonic origin.

<sup>3</sup> De murdre.—Ki Freceis occist, e les hommes del *hundred* ne l'prengent et amenant a la justise dedenz les oit jours pur mustrer pur qui il l'a fait, sin rendront le murdre xlviij mars.

<sup>4</sup> *Dialog. de Scaccario, in notis ad Matth. Paris.*

makes the following exposition of the motive of this law: "In the early days of the new order of things which followed the conquest, such of the English as were suffered to live were continually laying ambushes for the Normans, and murdering all whom they found alone in desert or solitary places. In revenge for these assassinations, King William and his barons inflicted on the subjugated the most refined punishments, the most exquisite tortures; but these chastisements had scarcely any effect. It was then decreed that every district or hundred in which a Norman should be found dead, without any individual being suspected of committing the assassination, should nevertheless pay a heavy sum of money to the royal treasury. The salutary fear of this punishment, inflicted upon all the inhabitants in a body, must, it was considered, insure the safety of passengers, by inducing the men of the place to denounce and give up the guilty person, who alone, by his crime, occasioned an enormous loss to the whole neighborhood." The men of the hundred in which the Frenchman was found dead had no other means of escaping this pecuniary loss than that of destroying every outward mark that could prove the corpse to be that of a Frenchman; for then the hundred was not responsible, and the Norman judges did not make their official inquest. But the judges foresaw this artifice, and frustrated it by a strange legal fiction or presumption. Any man found assassinated was considered French, unless the hundred judicially proved that he was of Saxon birth; which proof must be given before the king's justice, on the oath of two men and two women, the nearest of kin to the deceased. Without these four witnesses, the fact of the deceased being an Englishman—his *Anglaiserie* or Englishry (as the Normans expressed it)—was not sufficiently established, and the hundred had to pay the fine. More than three centuries after the invasion, as the antiquarians testify, this inquest was held in England on the body of every assassinated man; and, in the legal language, it was still called *presentment of Englishry*.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the benefit the Anglo-Saxons derived from the concession which had appeared to them of so gratifying a nature. The vain expression, "*the laws of King Edward*," was all that thenceforward remained to this na-

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<sup>1</sup> *Présentement d'Anglétcherie* (see Blackstone). This law was not abrogated until the year 1341, by a statute of Edward III.

tion of its ancient existence; for the condition of every individual in it had been changed by the Norman conquest. From the greatest to the least, every individual of the conquered people had sunk below his former condition. The chief had lost his power, the rich man his wealth, the free man his independence; and he who, according to the hard custom of the time, had been born a slave in another's house, became the serf of a foreigner, and no longer obtained those little indulgences which the habit of living together, and the community of language, induced on the part of his old master. The English towns and villages were farmed out by the foreign counts and viscounts to contractors, who made the most of them as private property, without exercising any administrative functions. The king speculated in like manner on the great cities and immense lands composing his domains. "He let his towns and manors," say the chronicles, "at the very highest price; then, if some other contractor came and offered more, the farm was granted to him; and if, after all, a third came and bade higher, it was definitively adjudged to this last. He adjudged to the highest bidder, giving himself no concern about the enormous cruelties committed by his provosts in levying the poll-tax from the poor people. The king and his barons were avaricious to excess, and if they saw the slightest thing left to the poor, they would do anything to get possession of it."

At the commencement of the year 1080, having reduced to a regular, if not a lawful, order the turbulent and varying results of the conquest, William, anxious to settle the new state of things on a fixed and permanent basis, caused a great territorial inquest to be made, and a universal register to be prepared, of all the mutations of property effected in England by the conquest. He wished to know into what hands, through the whole extent of the country, the manors of the Saxons had passed; and how many Saxons still kept their inheritances, by virtue of private treaties concluded with himself or with his barons; how many acres of land there were in each rural domain; what number of acres sufficed for the maintenance of a man-at-arms, and how many men-at-arms there were in each county or shire of England; what was the gross amount of the products of the cities, towns, villages, and hamlets; and what was the exact property of each earl, baron, knight, and sergent-at-arms; how much land each one



had, how many tenants in fee, how many Saxons, oxen, and ploughs.

By virtue of King William's orders, a certain number of persons chosen from among the administrators of justice and the keepers of the king's exchequer, went through all the counties of England, holding, in every place of any note or importance, their council of inquiry. They summoned before them the Norman viscount of each province, or Saxon shire, to whom the Saxons, in their own tongue, still applied the ancient title of *shire-reve* or sheriff. They called together, or ordered the viscount to call together, all the Norman barons of the province, who came and stated the precise limits of their possessions and territorial jurisdiction. Then some of the commissioners of this inquest, or else certain deputies delegated by them, visited every extensive domain and every district or hundred as the Saxons termed it. Therein they everywhere made the French men-at-arms of each lord, and the Saxon inhabitants of each hundred, declare upon oath how many freeholders and how many farmers there were on each manor; what portion each man held in perpetuity, on lease, or at will; the names of the actual tenants, the names of those who had possessed the same before the conquest; and the divers mutations of property which had occurred since the conquest; so that, say the records of the time, three declarations were required as to each estate; viz., what it was in King Edward's time, what when King William made grant of it, and what at the time of the actual inquisition. Below each return this formula was inscribed: "Sworn to by all the French and all the English of the hundred."

In each township it was inquired what imports the inhabitants had paid to the former kings, and what the town produced to the officers of the conqueror; it was also ascertained how many houses had been destroyed by the war of the conquest, and for building the fortresses; how many the conquerors had taken themselves; and how many Saxon families, reduced to extreme indigence, were unable to pay anything. In the cities the oaths were administered by the high Norman authorities, who called together the Saxon citizens in their old council chamber, now become the property of the king or of some foreign baron. In places of less importance the oaths were taken from the royal prefect or provost, the priest, and six Saxons, or six *villains* of each township, as the Normans called

them. This inquisition occupied six years, during which the great rent-roll, or, to use the old term, *terrier* of the Norman conquest was completed. This roll, digested for each province mentioned in it, was modelled on a uniform plan. The king's name was placed at the head, with a list of his domains and revenues in the county; then followed the names of the chief and inferior proprietors, in the order of their military ranks and their territorial wealth. The Saxons who, by special favor, had been spared in the great spoliation, were found only in the lowest schedule; for the small number of that race who still continued to be free proprietors or *tenants-in-chief of the king*, as the conquerors expressed it, were such only for slender domains; they were inscribed at the end of each chapter under the name of "thanes of the king," or by some other designations of domestic service in the royal household. The rest of the names of Anglo-Saxon form that are scattered here and there through the roll belong to farmers holding, by a precarious title, a few fractions, larger or smaller, of the domains of the Norman earls, barons, knights, sergeants, and bowmen.

Such is the form of the authentic book, preserved to the present day, in which the whole of the conquest was registered, so that the remembrance of it might never be effaced. It was called by the Normans the Great Roll, the Royal Roll, or the Roll of Winchester, because it was kept in the treasury of Winchester cathedral. The Saxons called it by a more solemn name, *Domesday-book*, or book of the last judgment; perhaps because it contained the irrevocable sentence of the alienation of their estates. Some of the dispossessed Saxons ventured to present themselves before the commissioners of the inquest, and laid before them their lawful claims; a few obtained the insertion of their names in the register, with terms of humble supplication which no Norman ever employed. These men declared that they were poor and wretched, and appealed to the clemency and the mercy of the king. Those among them who, after much servile crouching, succeeded in preserving some slender portion of their patrimony, were obliged to pay for this favor by degrading and fantastic services, or received it under the no less humiliating title of alms. Sons are inscribed in the roll as holding the lands of their fathers as an alms. Free women keep their fields as an alms. Another woman is left in the enjoyment of the estate of her husband, on condition of her feeding

the king's dogs. And a mother and a son receive their ancient inheritance as a gift, on condition of their offering up daily prayers for the soul of the king's son Richard.

Many particular facts, relating to this period of English history, have been minutely described in the brilliant narrative of Augustin Thierry, from which most of the preceding details have been borrowed, not as in themselves worthy of any special notice, but for the purpose of assisting the reader to picture to his imagination the various scenes of the conquest, and to give to the facts of the greatest importance their genuine historical coloring. "Let the reader dwell upon them," says the author, "let him image old England once more peopled with the invaders and the vanquished of the eleventh century; let him figure to himself the different positions of the actors in that mortal contest, their jarring interests, their diverse languages, the exultation and insolence of the former, the abject wretchedness and despair of the latter, and all the agitation and violence which are the necessary accompaniments of a war of destruction between two great masses of mankind. It is by collecting in his mind all the facts of this nature, that the reader will be able to form a just idea of the condition of England immediately after the Norman conquest, and of its effect upon the country's language.

In order to take a correct view of this new state of things he must figure to himself, not a mere change of political rule, not the triumph of a lucky competitor over one unable to hold his own, but the intrusion of a nation into the bosom of another people whom it had come to destroy, and whose scattered fragments it admitted into the new social system merely in the status of personal property, or, to use the language of ancient deeds and records, of "a clothing to the soil."<sup>1</sup> He must not picture to himself, on the one hand, William, the king and despot; on the other, simply his subjects, high and low, all inhabiting England, and consequently all English; he must bear in mind that there were two distinct nations, the old Anglo-Saxon race mixed up with Danes, and the Norman invaders, dwelling intermingled on the same soil; or rather he might contemplate two countries, the one possessed by Normans, wealthy and exonerated from capitation and public burdens; the other, that is the Saxon, enslaved and

<sup>1</sup> *Vestura, fructus quilibet agro hærentes.*—Ducange, *Gloss. verbo vestura.*

oppressed with heavy taxes; the former full of spacious mansions of walled and moated castles; the latter scattered over with thatched cabins and dilapidated hovels; the one peopled with the happy and the idle, with soldiers and courtiers, with knights and nobles; the other with men in misery and condemned to labor, with peasants and artisans. In the one, he beholds luxury and insolence; in the other, poverty and envy; not the envy of the poor at the sight of the opulence of those born to high station, but that malignant envy, though justice be on its side, which the despoiled can not but feel in looking upon the spoilers. Lastly, to complete the picture, these two lands are in some sort interwoven with each other; they meet at every point, and yet they are more distant, more completely separated, than if the ocean rolled between them. Each has its language, and speaks a language foreign to the other. French is the court language, used in all the palaces, castles and mansions, in the abbeyes and monasteries, in all places where wealth and power offer their attractions, while the ancient language of the country is heard only at the firesides of the poor and the serfs. For a long time these two idioms were propagated almost without intermixture, the one being the mark of noble, the other of ignoble birth."<sup>1</sup>

Comparing the various conquests of which we read in the history of nations, and viewing them in their main features only, we may classify them under three different heads. Sometimes one population has been overwhelmed by or driven before another as it might have been by an inundation of the sea, or at the most a small number of the old inhabitants of the invaded territory have been permitted to remain on it as the bondsmen of their conquerors. This appears to have been the usual mode of proceeding of the barbarous races, as we call them, by which the greater part of Europe was occupied in early times, in their contests with one another. The land was cleared by driving away all who could fly, and the universal massacre of the rest. This primitive kind of in-

<sup>1</sup> Augustin Thierry.—More than two hundred years after the conquest, an English chronicler thus notices the difference of races in his time:

. . . The folc of Normandie,  
Among us woneth yet, and schulleth ever mo. . . .  
Of the Normannes beth thys hey men, that beth of thys lond  
And the lowe men of Saxons. . . .

Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*.

vasion and conquest belonged properly to the night of barbarism, but in certain of the extreme parts of the European system something of it survived down to a comparatively late date. Much of the manner in which Britain was wrested from its previous Celtic occupants by the Angles and Saxons, in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era, would lead us to think that the enterprise of these invaders was both originally conceived and conducted throughout in this spirit. Nay, for some centuries after this we have seen the Danes, in their descents and inroads upon all parts of the British territories, still acting in the same style. But, ever since the time of the settlement of the barbarous nations in the more central provinces of the old Roman empire, another kind of conquest had come into use among them. Corrupted and enfeebled as it was, the advanced civilization which they now encountered seems to have touched them as with a spell, or rather, it could not but communicate to its assailants something of its own spirit. A policy of mere destruction was evidently not the course to be adopted here. The value of the conquest lay mainly in preserving, as far as possible, both the stupendous material structures and the other works of art by which the soil was everywhere covered and adorned, and the living intelligence and skill, of which all these wonders were the product. Hence the second kind of conquest, in which, for the first time, the conquerors were contented to share the conquered country, usually, according to a strictly defined proportional division, with its previous occupants. But this system, too, was only transitory. It passed away with the particular crisis which gave birth to it; and then arose the third and last kind of conquest, in which there is no general occupation of the soil of the conquered country by the conquerors, but only its dominion is acquired by them.

The first of the three kinds of conquest, then, has for its object and effect the complete displacement of the ancient inhabitants. It is the kind which is proper to the contests of barbarians with barbarians. Under the second form of conquest the conquerors, recognizing a superiority to themselves in many other things, even in those whom their superior force or ferocity has subdued, feel that they will gain most by foregoing something of their right to the wholesale seizure and appropriation of the soil, and neither wholly destroying or expelling its ancient

possessors, nor even reducing them to a state of slavery, but only treating them as a lower caste. This is the form proper and natural to the exceptional and rare case of the conquest of a civilized by a barbarous people. Finally, there is that kind of subjugation of one people or country by another which results simply in the overthrow of the independence of the former, and the substitution in it or over it of a foreign for a native government. This is generally the only kind of conquest which attends upon the wars of civilized nations with one another.

The Norman conquest of England seems to have been a mixture of the three forms here described. The age of both the first and the second kind of conquest was apparently over; but circumstances over which William himself remained ultimately without control changed the original plan of annexation into a course of utter subjugation. The lack of faith in the man whom the English people had chosen as their king, and the violation of his sworn oath, had given William the immense advantage of having with him in his enterprise the approval and sanction of the Church; nor were there probably wanting many Englishmen who held his claim to be fully as good in law and justice as that of his native competitor. On his very death-bed Edward had said to Harold and his kinsmen: "Ye know full well, my lords, that I have bequeathed my kingdom to the Duke of Normandy, and are there not those here whose oaths have been given to secure his succession"? So William claimed the English crown as his by right; he firmly asserted himself to be the true and lawful successor of Edward, a king whose title had been acknowledged by the English Witenagemot, the supreme council of the nation; and in taking the style of Conqueror he probably meant nothing more, at first, than that he had made good his right by force, and, if need be, meant to maintain that right by force.

But such was the magnitude of the enterprise, and such its first success, that whatever might have been the personal views of the Conqueror in reference to the matter, he had at once to deal with two overwhelming results, which were exactly the same as would have been produced by an absolute colonization. The first was the natural demand on the part of William's followers or fellow-soldiers for a share in the profits and advantages of their common enterprise, which would probably in any case have compelled him eventually to surrender his new

subjects to spoliation; the second was the equally natural restlessness of the latter under the foreign yoke that had been imposed upon them, by which they only the more strongly invited and facilitated the process of their general reduction to poverty and ruin.

Still, whatever may have been the disorders attending the course of conquest during the first few years after the invasion, the Normans did not settle in England as the Saxons and the Danes had done before them. The power established by the former was not one of barbarism and destruction, but one of civilization, which, from the first moment of actual contact, communicated to what remained of native civilization something of new life. At the date of the conquest the country was undoubtedly, in regard to everything intellectual, in a very backward state. Ordericus Vitalis, almost a contemporary writer, and himself a native of England, though educated abroad, describes his countrymen generally as a rustic and almost illiterate people. The last epithet may be understood as chiefly intended to characterize the clergy, for the great body of the laity at this time were everywhere illiterate. Thus, soon after the conquest, the king took advantage of the general illiteracy of the native clergy to deprive great numbers of them of their benefices, and to supply their places with foreigners. His real or his only motive for making this substitution may possibly not have been that which he avowed; but he would scarcely have alleged what was notoriously not the fact, even as a pretence.

The Norman conquest introduced a new state of things in this as in most other respects. That event made England, as it were, a part of the Continent, where, not long before, a revival of letters had taken place scarcely less remarkable, if we take into consideration the circumstances of the time, than the next great revolution of the same kind in the beginning of the fifteenth century. In France, indeed, the learning that had flourished in the time of Charlemagne had never undergone so great a decay as had befallen that of England since the days of Alfred. The schools planted by Alcuin, and the philosophy taught by Erigena, had both been perpetuated by a line of the disciples and followers of these distinguished masters, which had never been altogether interrupted. But in the tenth century this learning of the West had met and been intermixed with a new learning originally from the East, but obtained directly from the Arab con-

querors of Spain. The Arabs had first become acquainted with the literature of Greece in the beginning of the eighth century, and it instantly exercised upon their minds an awakening influence of the same powerful kind as that with which it again kindled Europe seven centuries afterward.

There is no trace of this new literature having found its way to England before the Norman conquest. But that revolution immediately brought it in its train. "The Conqueror himself patronized and loved letters. He filled the bishoprics and abbeys of England with the most learned of his countrymen, who had been educated at the University of Paris, at that time the most flourishing school in Europe. He placed Lanfranc, the celebrated abbot of the monastery of St. Stephen at Caen, in the see of Canterbury. Anselm, an acute metaphysician and theologian, his immediate successor in the same see, was called from the government of the abbey of Bec, in Normandy. Herman, a Norman, bishop of Salisbury, founded a noble library in the ancient cathedral of that see. Many of the Norman prelates, preferred in England by the Conqueror, were polite scholars. Godfrey, prior of St. Swithin's at Winchester, a native of Cambray, was an elegant Latin epigrammatist, and wrote with the cleverness and ease of Martial; a circumstance which, by the way, shows that the literature of the monks at this period was of a more liberal cast than that which we commonly attribute to their character and profession. Geoffrey, also, another learned Norman, came over from the University of Paris, and established a school at Dunstable, where, according to Matthew Paris, he composed a play, called the 'Play of St. Catharine,' which was acted by his scholars, dressed characteristically in copes borrowed from the sacristy of the neighboring abbey of St. Albans, of which Geoffrey afterward became abbot.

"The king himself gave no small countenance to the clergy, in sending his son Henry Beauclerc to the abbey of Abingdon, where he was initiated in the sciences under the care of the abbot Grimbold, and Faritius, a physician of Oxford. Robert d'Oilly, constable of Oxford Castle, was ordered to pay for the board of the young prince in the convent, which the king himself frequently visited. Nor was William wanting in giving ample revenues to learning. He founded the magnificent abbeys of Battle and Selby, with other smaller convents. His nobles and



their successors co-operated with this liberal spirit in erecting many monasteries. Herbert de Losinga, a monk of Normandy, bishop of Thetford in Norfolk, instituted and endowed with large possessions a Benedictine abbey at Norwich, consisting of sixty monks. To mention no more instances, such great institutions of persons dedicated to religious and literary leisure, while they diffused an air of civility, and softened the manners of the people in their respective circles, must have afforded powerful incentives to studious pursuits, and have consequently added no small degree of stability to the interests of learning."<sup>1</sup>

To this it may be added, that most of the successors of the Conqueror continued to show that regard for learning of which he had set the example. Nearly all of them had themselves received a learned education. Besides Henry Beauclerc, Henry II, whose father Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou, was famous for his literary acquirements, had been carefully educated under the superintendence of his uncle, the Earl of Gloucester; and he appears to have taken care that his children should not want the advantages he had himself enjoyed; for at least three of them—Henry, Geoffrey, and Richard—are noted for their literary as well as their other accomplishments.

Few nations, in any period of history, have been more distinguished than the Normans by a taste for magnificent buildings. At the period of their establishment in Neustria, what is called the later Romanesque architecture had already taken its ultimate form and character; and in this style, which they adopted and continued to practice for more than two hundred years, many examples remain to attest their proficiency as early as the tenth century. But in the early part of the eleventh century, which was to them a period of comparative peace and tranquillity, when they began to enjoy the benefits of permanent security in their possessions, the Normans appear to have been seized with a mania for building splendid edifices of all kinds. Their nobility emulated each other in erecting churches and monasteries in their domains, and the period immediately preceding the descent upon England is distinguished by the erection of the most magnificent buildings in this style now remaining in Normandy. The success of the Norman arms in England was imme-

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<sup>1</sup> *Preface to Warton's History of English Poetry.*

diately followed by the general diffusion of Norman arts; and when the land was parceled out among the Normans, much of it was at once appropriated to the endowment of Norman monasteries; and when, afterward, the sees were filled with Norman monks and bishops, edifices rivaling those of their continental dominions speedily rose in every part of the country. Such was the activity and zeal with which the Normans exerted themselves in securing their acquisitions by the construction of fortified castles, and in displaying their piety by the foundation of monasteries and the erection and restoration of ecclesiastical buildings that, before the end of the eleventh century, not only were their strongholds scattered over all the kingdom to its most remote parts, but, in addition to the numerous religious establishments originating from the munificence of the Normans, many of those already existing were re-founded, and the old buildings demolished for the purpose of restoring them on a more extensive scale. However rapaciously the Normans may have possessed themselves of the wealth of England, they certainly applied it with good taste, and, by a liberal expenditure, encouraged the arts and restored the forms of religion. "You might see," says William of Malmesbury, "churches rise in every village, and monasteries in the towns and cities, built in a style unknown before. You might behold the country flourishing with renovated sites, so that each wealthy man accounted that day lost to him which he neglected to signalize by some magnificent action."

Whatever judgment, therefore, may be formed as to the comparative qualities of the two races, the Normans, at the time of their conquest of England, were undoubtedly much further advanced than the Saxons in that sort of cultivation to which the name of civilization is commonly applied. They introduced into the country not only a higher learning but improved modes of life. They set an example of elegance and magnificence, to which the Saxons were strangers, in their festivities, in their apparel, and in their whole expenditure.<sup>1</sup> Instead of wasting the whole of their wealth in eating and drinking, their pride

<sup>1</sup> Although the feasts of the Norman nobles were distinguished by the rarity and costliness of every thing relating thereto, their daily mode of living was exceedingly simple, as attested by their common proverb which gives not only the number of their meals, but also the hours at which they were eaten:

*Lever a cinque, diner a neuf,  
Souper a cinque, coucher a neuf,  
Fait vivre d'ans nonante neuf.*

was to devote the greater part of it to works of permanent utility or embellishment, to the building of castles, churches, and monasteries. The art of architecture in England may be said to have taken its rise from them. By them also the agriculture of the country was improved, and its commerce extended. Under their government, after it was fairly established, the kingdom for the first time had its natural strength and resources turned to account, and came to be recognized as of any importance in the political system of Europe.

These eventual benefits, however, were purchased at a heavy immediate cost. No national revolution brought about by violence can take place without occasioning much misery to individuals, and also giving a severe shock, for the moment, to the whole fabric of the public interests. But the Norman conquest of England, from the manner and circumstances in which it was effected, swept the land with an uprooting and destructive fury, far transcending that of ordinary tempests of this description. It was much more than a mere transference of the dominion of the country into the hands of foreigners; along with the dominion nearly the whole property of the country was torn from its former possessors, and seized by the conquerors. A handful of aliens not only wielded the powers of the government, and recast at will the whole system of the national institutions, but the *Domesday-book*<sup>1</sup> is there to show how the natives were, for the most part, stripped of their estates as well as of their political rights, and driven forth to destitution and beggary. The distinction of this conquest was, that it was to an almost unexampled extent one of confiscation and plunder. It was not merely the establishment of a foreign prince upon the throne, but the surrender of the country to a swarm of

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<sup>1</sup> To the Saxon mind the word *Domesday* seems to have conveyed the idea of "day of final judgment, final doom; the day of irrevocable expropriation." But if this was its real meaning, the Latin for it would be *dies iudicii*, whereas in all the old chronicles we find it styled *liber iudicialis*, or *censualis*. The word is probably a corruption of *Domus Dei*, the name of the apartment in the king's treasury in Winchester Cathedral where the volumes were kept. The fact that *Domesday* is not a French word, but one of English invention, corroborates the supposition. Many words of foreign origin we find thus twisted and altered, until to the popular mind they convey some distinct meaning, which in this instance was certainly very expressive. It could not have come to the Norman mind, moreover, to apply an insulting English term to a document which to them was "the great Book of Record," the official register of real property, and which in their own language they called *le Rôle de Winchester; le Rôle Royal; le Grand Rôle*.

foreign robbers, who divided it among them like so much spoil, and, settling in all parts of it, treated the unhappy natives as mere thralls. The necessity of satisfying the claims of the troops of hungry and rapacious adventurers by whom he had been assisted in his enterprise, compelled the Conqueror thus extravagantly to overstretch and abuse even the hateful rights of conquest; and the system thus entered upon could only be maintained by a perseverance in the sternest and most grinding tyranny. It was impossible that the moderation with which William at first affected to treat the conquered people should be long kept up. His spoliations and incessant exactions could not fail to provoke a spirit of resistance, which was only to be reined in by the steadiest and most determined hand. After some time, accordingly, he seems to have thrown away all scruples, and, resigning himself to the necessities of his position and the current events, to have relinquished every view of governing his English subjects by any other means than force and terror. The consequence was the establishment of a system of government which, as regards the great body of the people, was certainly as iron a despotism as ever existed in any country calling itself civilized.

## CHAPTER VII.

## GROWTH AND DECLINE OF THE NORMAN FRENCH IN ENGLAND.

"IN no country," says Macaulay, "has the enmity of race been carried further than in England. In no country has that enmity been more completely effaced. The stages of the process by which the hostile elements were melted into a homogeneous mass are not accurately known to us; but it is certain that when John became king, in 1199, the distinction between Saxons and Normans was strongly marked, and that before the end of the reign of his grandson, in 1307, it had almost disappeared. In the time of Richard I, the ordinary imprecation of a Norman gentleman was: 'May I become an Englishman?' His ordinary form of indignant denial was: 'Do you take me for an Englishman?' The descendant of such a man, a hundred years later, was proud of the English name."

To understand this change, as well as many others we are about to notice, what is most necessary to bear in mind is the Norman power of adaptation to circumstances, the gift which in the end obliterated the race as a separate one in England as well as elsewhere, and merged it in the nation among whom they were living, first as a ruling power, and in course of time as equals. English history would be greatly misconceived if it were thought that an acknowledged distinction between Normans and English went on into the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, perhaps into the seventeenth. Long before the earliest of these dates the Norman in England had done his work, rudely and roughly, perhaps, but not the less calculated to preserve and strengthen the national life of the people, and that work done, he gradually lost himself in the greater mass of people who henceforth were to form a great and powerful nation.

Thus, although it was rather as a matter of policy that the Anglo-Normans adopted the name of "English" under Edward I during the war against Philip IV of France,

who had formed an alliance with the Scottish King Baliol, it was not the less a sort of concession to the native English element which they wished to propitiate. Still the distinction of race remained well marked by the difference of language. Robert of Gloucester, who wrote about the year 1300, distinctly states so in the following remarks:

“ ȝ þe Normans ne couþe speke þo, bote hor owe speche,  
 ȝ speke French as hii dude at om ȝ hor children dude also teche.  
 So þat heiemen of þis lond, þat of hor blod come,  
 Holdeþ alle þulke speche that hii of hom nome.  
 Vor bote a man conne Frenss, me telþ of him lute,  
 Ac lowe men holdeþ to Engliss ȝ to hor owe speche ȝute.  
 Ich wene þer ne beþ in al þe world contreyes none,  
 Þat ne holdeþ to hor owe speche bote Eng lond one.  
 Ac wel me wot uor to conne boþe well it is,  
 Vor þe more þat a man can, the more worþe he is.”<sup>1</sup>

Robert Holcot, writing in the early part of the fourteenth century, informs us that there was then no instruction of children in the old English, that the first language they learned was the French, and that through that tongue they were afterward taught Latin; and he adds that this was a practice which had been introduced at the conquest, and which had continued ever since.<sup>2</sup> About the middle of the same century, Ranulf Hygden, in his Polychronicon, says, as the passage is translated by Trevisa, “ This apayring [impairing] of the birthe tonge is by cause of tweye thinges; oon is for children in scole, aghenes [against] the usage and maner of alle other naciouns, beth [be] compelled for to leue her [their] owne langage, and for to constrewe her lessouns and her thingis a Frensche, and haveth siththe [have since] that the Normans come first into England. Also gentil mennes children beth ytaught [be taught] for to speke Frensche from the time that thei beth rokked in her cradel, and cunneth [can] speke and playe

<sup>1</sup> “ And the Normans could not then speak any speech but their own; and they spoke French as they did at home, and had their children taught the same. So that the high men of this land, that came of their blood, all retain the same speech which they brought from their home. For unless a man know French, people regard him little; but the low men hold to English, and to their own speech still. I ween there be no countries in all the world that do not hold to their own speech, except England only. But undoubtedly it is well to know both; for the more a man knows, the more worth he is.”—Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*.

<sup>2</sup> *Lect. in Labr. Sapient. Lect.*, ii, 4to, Paris, 1518; as referred to by War-ton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, i, 5.

with a childe brooche ; and uplondish [rustic] men wol likne hem self [will liken themselves] to gentilmen, and fondeth [are fond] with grete bisynesse for to speke Frensche, for to be the more ytold of." The teachers in the schools, in fact, were generally, if not universally, ecclesiastics ; and the conquest had Normanzed the church quite as much as the state. Immediately after that revolution great numbers of foreigners were brought over, both to serve in the parochial cures and to fill the monasteries that now began to multiply so rapidly. These churchmen must have been in constant intercourse with the people of all classes in various capacities, not only as teachers of youth, but as the instructors of their parishioners from the altar, and as holding daily and hourly intercourse with them in all the relations that subsist between pastor and flock. They probably in this way diffused their own tongue throughout the land of their adoption to a greater extent than is commonly suspected. We shall have occasion, as we proceed, to mention some facts which would seem to imply that in the twelfth century the French language was very generally familiar to the middle classes in England, at least in the great towns. It was at any rate the only language spoken for many generations after the conquest by the English kings, and not only by nearly all the nobility, but by a large proportion even of the inferior landed proprietors, most of whom also were of Norman birth or descent.

Thus, while the native speech of England was necessarily disintegrating for want of further culture, and in the mouth of the poor and the lowly had become so diversified in form and in utterance as to be hardly understood from one district to another, the language of the Normans, representing all the wealth, power, and higher intellect of the kingdom, was cultivated ever more with the increasing fortunes of those with whom it was vernacular, and who, though much inferior in numbers, were not the less the masters and rulers of the country. "First there were the descendants of the military forces by which the conquest was achieved and maintained. Then there was the vast body of churchmen spread over the land, and occupying every ecclesiastical office in it from the primary down to that of the humblest parish or chapel priests, besides half filling, probably, all the monastic establishments. There were all the officers of state, and inferior civil functionaries down to nearly the lowest grade.

Finally there were, with few exceptions, all the landholders, great and small, throughout the kingdom," all speaking French, and holding to it as a mark of distinction. It was certainly not among these people that the changes originated which were to transform the native speech of England. Their contempt for the conquered race evidently extended also to their language, and if they understood it at all, it is not likely that they would have used it at first among themselves, except in derision, perhaps, or from necessity in reference to matters and things essentially Saxon. That, in some remote districts, there may have been Normans who, even at an early period, became conversant with the local dialect of the people among whom they resided is quite probable; but that the great mass of the Normans knew little or nothing of the language for many generations is far more certain; and between the former and the latter there probably existed the same degrees of difference as in later times there was between the natives who spoke French well and those who were utterly ignorant of it.

Leaving out such of the wealthier among the Saxons as in Edward's time had already become acquainted with French, as the language of the court and fashion, it was probably among the working classes first, that foreign words and phrases found their way as a necessary means of intercourse with their Norman employers. Accustomed to labor and hardships, they were more easily reconciled to a state of things which at least had the advantage of giving work to those who were able and willing. The numerous castles, churches, and monasteries, with which the Normans covered the country on a scale of unexampled magnificence, called forth the services of a multitude of laborers and skilled mechanics, and no doubt many of the more intelligent contrived at once to learn something of the language of those of whom they sought to obtain employment. To shopkeepers, and all such as depended on Norman custom, some knowledge of French was, of course, indispensable; and though accent may have been broad at first, and grammar poorly applied, they must have managed to make themselves understood, as indeed it was their interest to do, in order to secure success in business. In course of time there may have been even considerable progress made in this respect among this class of people, especially among such as had been at school where French was then the only medium of in-



struction. Thus, in course of time, we see even native poets composing their verses in French when they wrote for honor or profit; and there is good reason to believe that by the end of the twelfth century many natives spoke French as well as English, and that, in the larger towns at least, all except the lowest were well conversant with all French terms relating to matters of general interest or bearing on the details of their business.

But this familiarity with foreign terms for which there were, perhaps, no equivalents in the native tongue, and the constant use thereof in their intercourse with their employers or customers, introduced a habit among the English people of mixing up both elements in a manner which proved fatal not only to the native Saxon but eventually, also, to the foreign French. Whoever has resided for any length of time abroad, even without becoming very conversant with the foreign language, unconsciously uses many foreign terms to designate objects of daily use and local geographical names, which, introduced either from necessity or affectation, or, perhaps, even in derision, impart to his language something quaint which, without absolutely corrupting it, is at once noticed by those who, remaining at home, speak their language without any such adulterations. A longer residence among foreigners, and more intimate relations with them, are apt to leave much deeper traces, not only in the vocabulary, but also in the phraseology and pronunciation of those who have become familiar with other sounds and other forms of language. The Normans, placed in like position, could not escape like influences resulting from their contact with the English, and we may even believe that the first germs of corruption of Norman French in England originated among those Frenchmen who remained in England during the reign of Edward as naturalized English subjects.<sup>1</sup>

The invading army of William, sixty thousand strong, was at first composed of men from all parts of France and the neighboring countries; but as recruits were afterward more especially raised in Normandy, it soon followed that the greater part of the French population in England was of Norman descent. The wonderful success of these people, their boundless wealth, and, above all, that love of

<sup>1</sup> That their number was considerable, appears from a passage in the Laws of William. "Omnis Francigena qui tempore Eadwardi propinqui nostri fuit in Angliâ particeps consuetudinem Anglorum, quod ipsi dicunt *an hote et an scote* persolvat secundum legem Anglorum."

glory, which made every Norman mind restless till it had acquired personal advancement and personal distinction, drew from France the most eminent poets and minstrels to celebrate their brilliant achievements at home and abroad. Thus revived among them their ancient taste for letters, for a time interrupted by their military preoccupations; and the French language, which had received its earliest development among the Normans of Gaul, continued to be cultivated in England with an ardor and perseverance which caused the Anglo-Norman compositions, at one time, to take the lead in French literature, and gave the language a uniformity<sup>1</sup> which, even long after its decline, remained superior to that of France itself.

This decline, which commenced in the spoken language, was first observable in the foreign accent which the sons of the Normans contracted by dint of hearing English spoken around them, or by themselves speaking the Anglo-French jargon, which served as a medium of communication with those of the lower classes. In the king's palace and the mansions of the higher nobles, of course, no other language but French was heard, and at first this was probably the case with all Normans throughout the country, who for a time distrusted the presence of English servants around them. But this jealousy died out gradually; many Normans had English wives, and the latter's influence must have evidently introduced some of their countrymen and women who, reconciled to the existing state of things, were anxious to obtain good situations with Norman families. This must have been the case especially in country residences, where the Norman population was more disseminated; and there is no doubt that after some two or three generations many a bright Norman boy, with what he had learned from his mother, and what he had picked up in the nursery and in the stable, spoke English as well as French, in spite of paternal authority and prejudice. This was undoubtedly the first step toward the decline that followed. Laying, as in English, the stress on the first part of the word, its immediate consequence was the contraction of words and the omission of certain vowel sounds which in French are pronounced. From the year 1250 this corruption begins

<sup>1</sup> Ubi nempe mirandum videtur quomodo nativa propria Anglorum lingua pronunciatione ipsa fit tam diversa, cum tamen Normannica lingua, quæ adventicia est, univoca maneat penes cunctos.—Hygden, *Polychron. ap. rer. Anglic. Script.*, p. 210.

to affect Anglo-Norman orthography very visibly, and becomes more and more frequent as we approach the fourteenth century, when instances like the following constantly occur, even in public acts and official documents.<sup>1</sup>

Thus we find—

<i>captaine</i>	for	capitaine	<i>traveiler</i>	for	travailler
<i>governeyn</i>	“	gouvernement	<i>perilouse</i>	“	périlleux
<i>sovereyne</i>	“	souverain	<i>counsel</i>	“	conseil
<i>rendes-vos</i>	“	rendez-vous	<i>montaine</i>	“	montagne
<i>vole-vos</i>	“	voulez-vous	<i>compaignie</i>	“	compagnie
<i>tresorer</i>	“	trésorier	<i>compainun</i>	“	compagnon
<i>officer</i>	“	officier	<i>people</i>	“	peuple
<i>manere</i>	“	manière	<i>suthdites</i>	“	susdites
<i>memorie</i>	“	mémoire	<i>se pleyment</i>	“	se plaignent, <sup>2</sup>
<i>adversarie</i>	“	adversaire			and many others.

But the contact of the Anglo-Norman with the native English had for result not only the modification of its pronunciation, but also another far more important one, which directly led to the fusion of the two languages—the introduction of English words.

In the very laws of William we find many words belonging to the old language of England. Such are—

Law I. *hamfare*. A violation of home protection by forcible entry into a man's house.

Law III. *sac*. The jurisdiction of the smaller courts.

Ibid. *soc*. Privilege granted by the king to a minister of justice.

Ibid. *tem*. A vouching to warranty.

Ibid. *infangenethef*. The right of the lord of a manor to apprehend and judge thieves taken within his jurisdiction, and to receive mulcts or money payments for their crimes.

Law V. *hengwite*. A fine for letting an offender escape from prison.

Law VIII. *manbote*. A compensation to the lord for slaying one of his men.

Ibid. *were*. A fine for slaying a man.

Law XII. *sarbote*. A fine for wounding a man, etc.

But we should not be surprised, for at the head of these laws we read: “These are the laws which King

<sup>1</sup> *Statutes at Large*; Bentley, *Excerpta historica*; Rymer, *Fœdera, litera et acta publica*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> We here give the modern French orthography and not that of the thirteenth century, it being our object to show, not the difference of spelling, but the contraction of words and the omission of certain vowel sounds or English pronunciation of the words in the column opposite.

William granted to all the people of England, the same which King Edward, his cousin, has observed before him." Being thus mainly a translation of the laws of Edward, and more particularly intended for his Saxon subjects, it is evident that these words, on account of their special meaning, were maintained from necessity; perhaps for the sake of popularity. However, as motives of this kind rarely occurred for the first two centuries after the conquest, we can not expect to find many such adulterations in the language of the proud and haughty Normans, until their interests, drawing them nearer to the people, urged them also to make use of their language, and thus it happens that only at the commencement of the fourteenth century we begin to meet with certain English words which, at first used only occasionally, become very numerous as we advance in the fifteenth century.

Perusing, for instance, the "Statutes at Large," we there find:

- A. D. 1327. *Swainmot*, name given to a court, the jurisdiction of which was to inquire into the oppression and grievances committed by the officers of the forest.
- A. D. 1350. *Catchpole*, a bailiff's assistant.
- A. D. 1363. *Villes de Upland . . . husbondrie . . .*

In such cases, the word introduced is generally preceded by *appelle*, *appelles*, *appelez*, *nommez*, *vulgarement nommez*, or other similar expressions; while many French words, and especially those adopted in English, already assume a form of orthography which indicates a perfect familiarity with English pronunciation.

Continuing these statutes, we read:

- A. D. 1388. *Ascuns rets*, appelez *stalkers*.
- A. D. 1397. *Le nouvelle keye*, autrement appelle le *wharf*.
- A. D. 1420. *Geines*, appellees *shethes* (sheaths).
- A. D. 1421. *Certains arbres*, appelez *pplers et wyllughes*.
- A. D. 1429. *Les regratours du file*, appelez *yernchoppers*.
- A. D. 1461. *La venelle*, appelle communement *Seint-Marty's lane*.
- A. D. 1463. *Notre dit souverain, seigneur le Roi*, ad ordeigne qe null merchant amesne, maunde, ne convoie ascuns de cestes *wares* desoutz escrites: laces, ribans, frenges de soie . . . *aundirons*, *gridirnes*, marteus, vulgarement nommez *hamers*, pinsons, *fire-tonges*, *drepynghannes* . . . *corkes*, *daggers*, *wodeknyves*, *botkyns*, *sheres* pour taillours . . . rasours, *shethes* . . . agules pour sacs, vulgarement nommez *vaknedles*

. . . *chauffyng-dishes, ladels, scomers . . . hattes . . . brusshes . . . blanc file de fer, vulgarement nome whitewire, etc.*

- A. D. 1468. Diverses draps lanutz (laineux) appelez *brode set clothes, streit set clothes, etc.*

Sometimes both words, French and English, stand side by side with each other, and with or without the conjunction *ou* :

- A. D. 1400. Port, *havene* ou *crike*.  
 A. D. 1439. Les tonnels, pipes, tercians et *hoggsheddes* de vin.  
 A. D. 1442. *Wharves* et *keyes*.  
 A. D. 1461. Fraternite, *gilde*, compaignie ou *felesheppe* (fellowship).  
 A. D. 1465. Signe ou *token*.  
 A. D. 1472. Destruction del vivere, *livelode* (livelyhood), etc.

And as we advance in the fifteenth century we find French and English almost indiscriminately used together, as :

- A. D. 1423. Carpenters, tilers, *thakkers* (thatchers).  
 A. D. 1427. Commission de *sewers*.  
 A. D. 1463. Divers *chaffres* et *wares*.  
 A. D. 1468. Grande escarcite de *bowe staves*.  
 A. D. 1472. *Fishgarthez, milledammes, molyns, lokkes, flodegates* et diversez autres distourbancez.  
 A. D. 1482. *Vadletz* et *husbondmen*, etc.

More than a century before this, in 1362, the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Edward III, a statute had been passed ordaining that all pleas pleaded in the king's courts should be pleaded in the English language, and entered and enrolled in Latin; the pleadings and oral arguments till then having been in French, and the enrollments of the judgments either in French or in Latin. The great and constant increase of commerce during the reign of this king, and the legal proceedings resulting therefrom, rendered it necessary to allow the use of English in pleadings before the civil courts, so that the parties, if not sufficiently conversant with French, should not remain unacquainted with the discussions. It was another concession, such as the English kings were in the habit of making to the native population, when in time of war they wanted their active co-operation in men and money; and the inveterate enmity which had sprung up between France and England may have had a good deal to do with the liberal disposition which animated the

king toward his English subjects on that occasion. Still, while English was thus acknowledged to be the real national language, all official documents continued to be drawn up in French, as before; and the statutes, which in the year 1275 were passed in French, with only occasionally one in Latin, were almost exclusively drawn up in French during the entire reigns of Edward III and Richard II;<sup>1</sup> the letters and dispatches of these kings were always written in French, as we find them preserved by Robert of Avesbury; and even in the latter part of Edward's reign, Oxford scholars were confined in conversation to either French or Latin.<sup>2</sup>

The first great cause of the decline of Norman-French in England, and especially of French poetry, was the total separation of that country from Normandy by the conquest of Philip Augustus, A. D. 1204. The emigration of literary men, and poets of the language of *oui*,<sup>3</sup> to the court of the Anglo-Norman kings, became, from the time of that event, less easy and less frequent. Being no longer supported by the example and imitation of those who came from the Continent to show them the new modes of fine speaking, the Norman poets remaining in England lost, in the course of the thirteenth century, much of their former grace and facility of composition. The nobles and the courtiers being very fond of poetry, but disdain- ing to write verses or compose books,<sup>4</sup> the troubadours, who sang for the court and the castles, could find pupils only among the trading classes or the inferior clergy, who, being of English origin, spoke English in their habitual conversation. The effort which these men had to make, in order to express their ideas and feelings in a language which was not that of their infancy, detracted from the perfection of their works, and at the same time rendered them less numerous. At the end of the thirteenth century most of those who, in the towns or in the cloisters, felt a taste and a talent for literature, endeavored to treat in English most of the historical or imaginative subjects which had hitherto been treated only in pure Norman.

<sup>1</sup> *Tracts on the Law and History of England* (1810), p. 393. D'Archery's French text may also be read in a more common book, Johnson's *History of Magna Charta*, 2d ed. (1772), pp. 182-234.

<sup>2</sup> *Si qua inter se proferant, colloquio Latino saltem Gallico perfruantur.—Statutes of Oriel College.* Oxford.

<sup>3</sup> See page 493.

<sup>4</sup> To this Richard I was an exception, as he spoke and wrote equally well the two languages of Gaul—the *Langue d'Oïl* and the *Langue d'Oc*.

A great many attempts of this kind made their appearance all at once toward the middle of the fourteenth century. Some of the poets of that period, and such as were most in favor with the higher classes of society, still wrote verses in French; others, contenting themselves with the approbation of the middle classes, composed for them in their own language; and others, combining the two languages in the same poem, changed them in every alternate couplet, and sometimes at every second line. At this time, the scarcity of good French books written in England was so great that the higher ranks of society were obliged to procure from France the romances and tales with which they diverted themselves in the long evenings, and the ballads which enlivened their banquets and other festive gatherings. But the war of rivalry, which at that time broke out between England and France, inspiring the nobility of both nations with reciprocal aversion, lessened in the eyes of the Anglo-Normans, the attractions of the literature imported from France; and obliged all "gentlemen" who were nice on the point of national honor to content themselves with the reading of works produced at home. Such of them as inhabited London and frequented the court still had opportunities of gratifying their taste for the poetry and the language of their ancestors; but the lords and knights who lived in retirement in their castles, and who had well nigh lost the use of French as their vernacular, were obliged to escape ennui by admitting to their presence English story-tellers and ballad-singers, whom they had hitherto disdained, as being fit to amuse none but citizens and villains.<sup>1</sup>

These authors for the commonalty were distinguished from those who, at the same period, wrote for the court and the superior nobility, by a great esteem for the laboring classes, peasants, millers, tavern-keepers, etc. The writers of French commonly treated the men of that class with the utmost contempt. Except in ridiculing them, they gave them no place in their poetical narratives in which all that passed was between *puissants barons et nobles dames, damoiselles et gentils chevaliers*. The English authors, on the contrary, took for the subjects of their "merry

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<sup>1</sup> Mani noble I have y-seighe  
That no freynche couthe seye.

(Romance of Arthur and Merlin, quoted by Walter Scott; *Introduction to Sir Tristram*, page xxx).

tales" plebeian adventures like those of "Piers Ploughman" and other stories of the kind, so abundant in the works of Chaucer. In his criticism on the idiom used exclusively by men of high birth, contrasting their Anglo-Norman dialect, antiquated and incorrect, with the polite and graceful French of the court of France, this author is often quite humorous and sarcastic. Thus, in his portraiture of a prioress of high blood, he says of her that she spoke French neatly and correctly as it was taught at the school of Stratford-Athbow, but that she was unacquainted with the French of Paris.<sup>1</sup>

Hygden, as we have seen, writing shortly before the issue of Edward's statute, tells us that in his day French was still the language which the children of gentlemen were taught to speak from their cradle, and the only language that was allowed to be used by boys at school; the effect of which was, that even the country people generally understood it and affected its use. The tone, however, in which this is stated by Hygden indicates that the public feeling had already begun to set in against these customs, and that, if they still kept their ground from use and wont, they had lost their hold upon any firmer or surer stay. Accordingly, about a quarter of a century or thirty years later, his translator Trevisa finds it necessary to subjoin the following explanation or correction: "This maner was myche yused tofore the first moreyn [before the first murrain or plague, which happened in 1349], and is siththe som dele [somewhat] ychaungide. For John Cornwaile, a maister of gramer, chaungide the lore [learning] in gramer scole and construction of [from] Frensch into Englisch, and Richard Pencriche lerned that maner teching of him, and other men of Pencriche. So that now, the yere of owre Lord a thousand thre hundred foure score and fyve, of the secunde King Rychard after the Conquest nyne, in alle the gramer scoles of England children leveth Frensch, and construeth and lerneth an [in] Englisch, and haveth thereby avauntage in oon [one] side and desavauntage in another. Her [their] avauntage is, that thei lerneth her [their] gramer in lasse tyme than children were wont to do; desavauntage is, that now children of gramer scole kunneth [know] no more Frensch than can

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<sup>1</sup> . . . . Frenssh she spak ful faire and fetisly  
after the scole at Stratford-atte-Bowe,  
for Frenssh of Parys was to hire unknowe.  
(*Prologue to Canterbury Tales*).



her lifte heele [knows their left heel]; and that is harm for hem [them], and [if] thei schul passe the see and travaile in strange londes, and in many other places also. Also gentilmen haveth now mych ylefte for to teche her [their] children Frensch."

This was written in 1383, and no doubt the statute of twenty years previous had greatly favored the development of the new national language. The statute itself, however, was drawn up in French,<sup>1</sup> and so statutes continued to be for more than a hundred years afterward; yet by authorizing the use of English in legal proceedings, for the convenience of those who were not conversant with French, its immediate result was an increased cultivation of the vernacular, which, being now placed on equal ground with the Norman idiom, began to be rapidly improved in the mouths of the better classes and in the works of the more eminent writers. Borrowing more than ever words and terms from the French vocabulary, and enriching itself with the spoils of its rival, it progressed in cultivation and popularity, and thereby in no small degree contributed to the decline of the latter. This decline was temporarily retarded by the conquest of Normandy and a part of France by Henry V, and the possession of these countries under Henry VI. The presence of Charles of Orleans at the court of England, and that of the other princes and nobles made prisoners at Azincourt, and of the poets in their suite, even contributed for a while to improve the Anglo-Norman dialect; but its use became more and more limited, and soon entirely confined to the court and the higher aristocracy. Business was now almost all conducted in English, and every civil case tried in that idiom throughout the whole land; still, such was the force of prejudice or routine, that in the proceedings instituted against nobles before the high court of Parliament, which tried charges of treason, or before the courts of chivalry, which decided in affairs of honor, the old official French continued to be employed up to a late date, and the sentences of all the tribunals were pronounced, and the registers and rolls known by the name of *records*, were drawn up in French. In general, it was the custom of the lawyers of all classes, even when pleading in English, to use on almost every occasion certain French phrases as: *Ah! sire, je vous jure; Ah! de par Dieu; A ce j'as-*

<sup>1</sup> See page 286.

*sente*, and other similar exclamations with which Chaucer never fails to interlard their discourses whenever he introduces lawyers in character in his verse. All this has now gone by, and belongs to past ages, except some dark terms which the law has retained, and of which few but the initiated know the exact meaning. Even at this time, in these United States, we have still courts of *oyer and terminer*; and *oyez*, generally pronounced *o yes*, is still the introductory cry of the official connected with the court, inviting silence and attention to the court's proceedings.

In Chaucer's time, that is, at the end of the fourteenth century, French was still the official language in England of all the political bodies and high personages whose existence was connected with the Norman conquest. It was spoken by the king, his bishops, the judges, and the earls and barons; and it was the language which their children learned from their earliest years. Still the position of the aristocracy, who had preserved it for three centuries and a half as a mark of nobility, amid a people speaking a language quite different, had not been favorable to its progress; and when compared with the French of the court of France at the same period, it was rather antiquated and incorrect in grammar and pronunciation. Some expressions were used which were peculiar to the provincial dialects of Normandy, and the manner of pronunciation, as far as can be judged from the orthography of the records, much resembled the French Canadian accent and pronunciation of the present day; and this accent, added to certain English intonation, arising from a growing familiarity with that language, made the Anglo-French of the period an idiom quite distinct from the French of Paris.

Bad as it was, the French of the nobles of England had at least the advantage of being spoken and pronounced in a uniform manner, while the new English tongue, composed as it was of Norman, Saxon, Dutch, and Danish words and idioms, joined by fortuitous combinations, varied in every province and in every town. This language, of which we will in turn examine the changes and the elements in another chapter, had become enriched by the successive addition of all the French barbarisms uttered by the English, and all the Saxon barbarisms uttered by the Normans, in their endeavors to understand each other. Every individual, according to his fancy, or the degree of knowledge he possessed of either language, borrowed

phrases and combined in an arbitrary manner whatever words first presented themselves to his memory. In general, each man sedulously introduced into his conversation the little French that he was master of, in order thereby to imitate the great, and have the appearance of a person of distinction.<sup>1</sup> This mania which, according to a writer of the fourteenth century, had extended itself even to the peasantry,<sup>2</sup> made it difficult to write the English of the period in a manner generally intelligible. Chaucer seems even to have been apprehensive that, owing to the great variety of dialects, his poems would not be relished out of London, and he prays God to grant his book the grace of being understood by all who choose to read it.<sup>3</sup>

It was in the first half of the fifteenth century that English, gradually gaining higher estimation as a literary language, at length entirely superseded French, except among the highest nobles, who, before they wholly abandoned the old idiom of their ancestors, continued to speak it at home and among themselves, at the same time reading with equal pleasure works written in either language. We find the mark of this equality, to which the language of the commonalty had risen, in the public acts which, from the year 1400 or thereabouts, are alternately and indifferently drawn up in French and English. The first bill of the lower house of Parliament that was written in the English language bears the date of 1485; it is not known how much longer the upper house retained the language of the aristocracy and of the conquest, but from the year 1488 no more French pieces are to be found in the printed collection of the public documents of England. There are, however, some letters written and wills drawn up in French by certain nobles, and some French epitaphs of later date, and even law reports are found written up in French until the year 1600. Various pages of the historians also prove that, until the end of the sixteenth century, the kings of England, and the great lords at their court, knew and spoke French well. Henry VIII proclaimed French the court language, and required a knowledge of it in every one who applied for office.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wherfor it is sayd by a comon proverb, Jack woude be a gentil man if he coude speke Frensche.—Trevisa's translation of Hygden's *Polychronium*.

<sup>2</sup> Quibus (nobilibus) profecto rurales homines assimilari volentes, ut per hoc spectabiliores videantur francigenari satagunt omni nisu.—Ranulph. Hygden, *Polychron.*, apud *rev. Anglic. Script.*, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> See page 341, note 2.  
<sup>4</sup> The first French grammar was published in London in 1530, under the auspices of Henry VIII, and is a work of considerable merit. Its title is:

This is the last instance of invidious class distinction made by the traditional use of French at the English court; since that time a correct knowledge thereof has been merely an accomplishment of individuals, and not one necessarily attached to high birth. French was no longer the first language lisped by the children of the English nobles, but became to them, like the ancient and the continental languages, an object of chosen study, and one of the criteria of a distinguished education.

Thus, four centuries after the conquest of England by the Normans, the difference of language, which, together with the inequality of civil condition, had marked the separation of the families sprung from the two races, had well nigh disappeared. The complete amalgamation of the two primitive idioms—a certain sign of the mixture of the two races—was perhaps accelerated in the fifteenth century by the long and sanguinary civil war of the houses of York and Lancaster, which, by ruining a great number of noble families, obliged them to form alliances with people of inferior condition; and thus the reign of Henry VII (1485–1509) may be considered as the period when the distinction of language and rank ceased to correspond in a general manner to that of races, and as the commencement of the state of society at present existing in England. The successor of Henry VII was the last king who placed at the head of his ordinances the old formula, “Henry, the eighth of that name since the conquest.”<sup>1</sup> But after him, the kings of England have retained the custom of using the old Norman language when they give the royal assent to acts of Parliament, or when formerly they used the veto, as: *Le roy le veult; le roy s'advisera; le roy mercie ses loyaux sujets accepte leur benevolence et ainsi le veult.* These formulas which seem,

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*L'Esclaircissement de la langue francoyse composé par maistre Jehan Palsgrave, Anglois natif de Londres, et gradué de Paris.* Shortly after, Gilles du Guez, a Frenchman residing in England, published another grammar of his *langue maternelle et naturelle*, as he calls it, and entitled: *An Introductory for to lerne to rede, to pronounce and to speke French trewly, compyled for the right high, excellent, and most virtuous lady, the lady Mary of Englande, daughter to our most gracious soverayn, lorde Kyng Henry the eight.* This last work, not so large as that of Palsgrave, but eminently practical, had three editions in a few years, and became the basis of the best French grammars that ever since have been published in England. The first French dictionary was also published in England in 1611, by Cotgrave.

<sup>1</sup> In the ancient acts the date was given both from the Christian era and the year of the conquest, in this wise: *L'an del incarnation 1233. del conquest de Engleterre centisme sexante setime.*

after a lapse of seven hundred years, to refer the royalty of England to its foreign origin have, nevertheless, not appeared odious to any one since the sixteenth century; on the contrary, it is a remarkable fact that from that time to this the language of France has always been much studied in England, and especially affected by those of the community who assume to themselves the privilege of leading the fashion.

## CHAPTER VIII.

SCRAPS FROM ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS, ILLUSTRATING THE  
ANGLO-NORMAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

FROM what has been said in the preceding chapter it is evident that, in order to form a just idea of the changes that can be traced to Norman influence, we must know something of the language whose contact has so deeply affected the native speech of England. The Normans spoke French; but the French they brought with them in the eleventh century resembled that of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as little as the latter resembled the French of the present day. A mere knowledge of modern French, therefore, would be of little avail to explain the elder forms of Norman French in England, and still less to account for the many Latin terms that subsequently have found their way into the English language. The literary or classical Latin, it must be observed, had its origin in the unwritten languages and dialects of Italy. When the former ceased to be a living language, the latter still survived, and, modified by contact with the idioms and dialects of Gaul, became there a new language, which shows itself independent of the Latin from the ninth century. It is therefore only by going back to the origin of the language, and by studying its history from the time of the Roman conquest of Gaul down through the Middle Ages, that we shall be able to understand correctly the nature of the changes which transformed Latin into French, and to determine the real share of the Anglo-Norman French in transforming the ancient speech of England into modern English. For this purpose we devote a special part of our work to this subject in Appendix, a previous perusal of which will not only secure a correct understanding of the following specimens of Anglo-Norman French, but also assist in the solution of many etymological problems, which will undoubtedly be noticed by the student as containing the key for the solution of similar problems in his own language.

## THE LORD'S PRAYER.

*From the Psalter of William the Conqueror.*

Li nostre pere ki ies ès ciels  
 saintefiez seit li tuens num's  
 Seit faite la tue voluntet  
 si cum en ciel e en la terre  
 avienget li tuns regnes  
 li nostre pan cotidian dun a nus oi  
 e pardunes a nus les detes essi cume nus pardununs a nos  
 deteurs  
 Ne nus mener en tentation  
 mais delivre nus de mal. Amen.

## LAWS OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

After the Oaths of Strasburg, found on page 600, and the poem on *Sainte Eulalie*, found on page 602, the eldest monument, written in Langue d'oll, and of which the age is clearly indicated, is the *Laws of William the Conqueror*, which were promulgated in 1069. This document is, by its antiquity, one of the most important as well as interesting, not only for the study of the language, but also for that of history and of Middle-Age jurisprudence. The entire code comprises sixty sections. As a specimen, we give here the introduction and the first three sections, as found in Fell's *Rerum anglicarum scriptores; Historia Ingulphi*, the original of which distinctly sets forth that the Laws as copied were in the very idiom in which they were promulgated, stating even the reason why the Normans used their own language and not the Anglo-Saxon.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tantum tunc Anglicos abominati sunt (*Normanni*) ut quancunque merito pollerent, de dignitatibus repellerentur; et multo minus habiles alienigenæ, de quacunque alia natione quæ sub cælo est, extitissent, gratanter assumerentur. Ipsum etiam idioma tantum abhorrebant quod *leges terra, statutaque anglicorum regum lingua gallica tractarentur*; et pueris etiam in scholis principia litterarum grammatica gallice, ac non anglice, tractarentur; modus etiam scribendi anglicus ommitteretur, et modus gallicus in chartis et in libris omnibus admitteretur.—*Hist. Ingulph.*, i, p. 70.

Attuli eadem vice mecum de Londoniis in meum monasterium leges æquissimi regis Edwardi quas dominus meus inclytus rex Wilhelmus authenticas esse et perpetuas, per totum regnum Angliæ inviolabiliter tenendas sub pœnis gravissimis, proclamarat, et suis justiciariis commendarat, *eodem idiomate quo edita sunt*; ne per ignorantiam contingat, nos vel nostros aliquando, in nostrum grave periculum, contraire, et offendere ausu temerario, regiam majestatem, ac in ejus censuras rigidissimas improvidum pedem ferre contentas (*sic*, contentas) sæpius in eisdem, hoc modo . . . etc.—*Ibid.*, p. 83.

The *Historia Monasterii Croylandensis* attributed to Ingulphus, a writer of the eleventh century, was for a long time accepted as genuine, and also regarded as one of the most valuable sources of historical information, inasmuch as it includes, in addition to the history of the monastery, much that relates to the kingdom at large. In proportion to the estimation in which this work was held, was the amount of error of which it was productive, it being since proved to be a composition of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The Laws of William, however, are admitted to be copied correctly.

## ORIGINAL TEXT.

Ces sount les leis et les cus-  
tumes que li reis William grentat  
a tut le puple de Engleterre  
apres le conquest de la terre.  
Ice les meismes que li reis Ed-  
ward sun cosin tint devant  
lui.<sup>1</sup>

Ço est a saveir :

## I.

Pais à saint Yglise.<sup>2</sup>—De quel  
forfait que home out fait en cel  
tens, e il pout venir a sainte  
yglise, out pais de vie e de mem-  
bre ; e se alquons meist main  
en celui qui la mere Yglise re-  
quireit, se ceo fust u evesqué, u  
abbete, u yglise de religiun, ren-  
dist ceo que il i avereit pris, e  
cent solz de forfait ; e de mere  
yglise de paroisse, xx solz ; e de  
chapele, x solz.

E qui enfraint la *pais le rei* en  
MERCHENELAE,<sup>3</sup> cent solz les

## TRANSLATION.

Ce sont les lois et les coutu-  
mes que le roi Guillaume assura  
à tout le peuple d'Angleterre,  
après la conquête du pays, cel-  
les-là mêmes que le roi Édou-  
ard, son cousin, maintint avant  
lui.

C'est à savoir :

## I.

Immunité de la sainte Église.  
—Quelque crime qu'un homme  
ait fait en ce temps, s'il peut se  
réfugier en sainte église, qu'il ait  
sûreté pour sa vie et pour la  
conservation de ses membres ;  
et si quelqu'un mit la main sur  
celui qui aurait eu recours à  
notre mère l'Église, que ce fût  
dans une cathédrale, ou dans  
une abbaye, ou dans une église  
de communauté, qu'il rende ce  
qu'il y aura pris, et qu'il paye  
cent sous d'amende ; si ce fut  
dans la principale église d'une  
paroisse, vingt sous, et dans une  
chapelle, dix sous.

Et qui enfreint la *paix du roi*  
est passible, dans la loi des Mer-

<sup>1</sup> Of William's cousin, Edward the Confessor, and of his revival of the ancient Anglo-Saxon laws, Beneoët de Sainte-More says :

Mult ama Deu e saint Iglise,  
E mult fist biens en mainte guise ;  
Ententis fu à povres genz ;  
Les leis e les viez testamenz  
Del ancien accostomance  
Mist en novele remembrance.

*Chron. des ducs de Norm.*, tom. iii, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Pais à saint Yglise*, in low Latin, *pax sancte Ecclesie*, originally meant the safety which the Church offered to criminals who sought a refuge at the foot of the altar, and later on, the immunity or privilege granted by the kings to the Church to give an asylum to criminals proceeded against by justice. *La pais le rei* meant the public safety resulting from the protection of life and property by royal authority, and in course of time it came to mean the royal protection itself, the royal safeguard, the laws and regulations by means of which order is maintained. In English, "the king's peace."

<sup>3</sup> *Merchenelae*, Anglo-Saxon, from *Mercna*, Mercian, and *lah*, law. *Lex Merciorum*.



amendes ; altresì de HEMFARE<sup>1</sup>  
e de aweit prepenesd.

## II.

Icez *plais*<sup>2</sup> a fierent a la couronne le rei.

Et se alquens, u quens, u provost mesfeist as homes de sa baillie, e de go fuist atint de la justice lu roi, forfait fust u duble de ce que altre fust forfait.

## III.

E qui en DANELAE<sup>3</sup> fruisse la pais le roi VII vinz liverez e III les amendez ; e lez forvaiz [le roi] qui a fierent al vescuente XL solz en MERCHANTELAE et L solz en WESTSEXENELAE.<sup>4</sup> E cil frads hoem qui aveit SAC,<sup>5</sup> e SOC,<sup>6</sup> e TOL,<sup>7</sup> e TEM,<sup>8</sup> e INFAN-

ciens, de cent sous d'amende ; de même pour HEMFARE et pour guet-apens.

## II.

Ces causes appartiennent à la couronne royale.

Et si quelqu'un, ou comte, ou prévôt, préjudicia aux hommes de sa juridiction, et que de ce il fût convaincu par la justice du roi, il fût puni au double de ce qu'un autre aurait été puni.

## III.

Et dans la loi les Danois, qui enfreint la *paix du roi* est passible de cent quarante-quatre livres d'amende ; et pour les cas royaux qui appartiennent au vicomte, quarante sous dans la loi des Merciens, et cinquante sous dans la loi de Westsex.

<sup>1</sup> *Hemfare*, Anglo-Saxon, from *hem*, *ham*, *heim*, home, dwelling ; see pages 190-193, and *fare*, aggression, from the verb *faran*, "to go; to go against." This word is thus explained in the laws of Henry I, section 80. *Hamsocna* est vel *Hamfare* si quis præmeditate ad domum eat ubi suum hostem esse scit, et ibi eum invadit. *Hemfare*, therefore, means "housebreaking;" "burglary," which itself is an old French word from *bourg*, "town," and *larrom*, "robber."

<sup>2</sup> *Plais* or *plaidis*. In the latter form the word occurs in the Oath of Strasbourg ; see page 601, Appendix, from the Latin *placitum* ; *placere*. Cases to be settled amicably, "*quod placet consentientibus*." They said *prendre plaid* as we now say *prendre un arrangement*.

<sup>3</sup> *Danelae*, Anglo-Saxon from *Dane* and *lah*. *Lex Danorum*.

<sup>4</sup> *Westsexenelae*, Anglo-Saxon from *West-Seaxe* and *lah*. *Lex Westsaxonum*.

<sup>5</sup> *Sac*, Anglo-Saxon *sac*, *sace*, *sache*, a case ; a lawsuit. *Sac* was the right vested in the lord to call up cases and to impose fines.

<sup>6</sup> *Soc*, Anglo-Saxon *soc*, *soca*, *soce*, *soche*, was the right vested in the lord to bring suit before his own court. *Soc est secta de hominibus in curia domini, secundum consuetudinem regni*. (Anc. MS., quoted by Spelmann.) *Soca* est quod si aliquis quærit aliquid in terra sua, etiam furtum ; sua est justitia, si inventum an non.—*Laws of Edward the Confessor*, sect. xxiii.

<sup>7</sup> *Tol* or *thol* was the lord's privilege of exemption from all duties of transfer, purchase, and sale. *Thol*, quod nos dicimus tolonium, est scilicet quod habeat libertatem vendendi et emendi in terra sua.—*Laws of Edward*, ch. xxiv. *Toll*, estre quitte de turnus ; c'est costume de marché.—*Formulæ angl. Thom. Madox*, p. 47.

<sup>8</sup> *Tem*, *team*, *them*, *theam*, in Anglo-Saxon, meant the right of a freeman over all the children born of serfs in his domain. Such children were called *serfs natifs*. *Theam* est regale privilegium quo qui fruitur habet villam et

GENETHEOF,<sup>1</sup> se il est inplaidé e seit mis en forfait en le counté, aïert al forfait a oes le vescuente XL ORES<sup>2</sup> en DENELAE, e de altre home qui ceste franchise *nen* ad XXXII ORES. De ces XXXII ORES, avrat le vescuente a oes le roi X ORES, e *cil* qui li plait avrat *deveined* vers lui XII ORES, et le seigneur en *ki fiu* il maindra X ORES. Ço est en DENELAE.

Et l'homme libre qui a SAC, et SOC, et TOL, et TEM, et INFANGENETHEOF, s'il est accusé et mis à l'amende en cour comtale, il appartient, pour amende, quarante ORES au vicomte, dans la loi les Danois, et pour tout autre homme qui n'a point cette franchise, trente-deux ORES. Sur ces trente-deux ORES, le vicomte retiendra dix ORES pour le roi; celui qui aura soutenu l'accusation contre le coupable aura douze ORES, et le seigneur dans le fief de qui demeurera le coupable, dix ORES. Ceci est dans la loi des Danois.

## HENRY I.

*Duke of Normandy and King of England.*

This prince, called *le Beau Clerc*, was the son of William the Conqueror, and a pupil of Lanfranc. He must have attained great proficiency under such a master to be named *clerc*, as, in the twelfth and thirteenth century, this title was synonymous with that of *learned*, in the same way as the word *clergie* then meant "science." Mathilda, of Scotland, his first queen, was celebrated by the historians for her love of poetry, and Adelaide of Leuven, his second wife, also patronized the Norman and Anglo-Norman poets; so that the love of those two queens for poetry, and the king's own taste for letters, made his court an asylum for the muses. Many manuscripts in the libraries of France and England bear the name of this prince as their author. Among others, there exists a poem of his called *Urbanus ou l'home poly*, in which he lays down certain rules of conduct and behavior for the higher classes. It is a kind of "Book of Etiquette" for the use of good society of that time, and forms a very interesting little work illustrating the manners of the age. One of its first precepts is that of speaking French, which he recommends as part of the accomplishments of a well bred gentleman.

Soiez debonere<sup>1</sup> et corteis;<sup>2</sup>  
taches surtout, parler franceis.

---

*propaginem*; id est potestatem habendi *nativos*, bondos et villanos in feudo aut manerio suo.—Rastall, art. *Theam*.

<sup>1</sup> *Infanganetheof* or *infangenethof*, in Anglo-Saxon, meant the right of the lord to judge and condemn a robber found on his domain in possession of the stolen goods. *Infangenethof* hoc est, latrones capti in dominio, vel in feodo vestro, et de suo latrocinio convicti, in curia vestra judicentur. (Will. Thorn, p. 2030.) The word is composed of *in*, *fangen*, "to catch," and *theof* or *thef*, "a thief."

<sup>2</sup> *Ore*, Anglo-Saxon *or*, "one of the native minerals." "Hit is eac berende on wegga *drum* arcs and isernes." It is fertile also in ores of lumps of brass and iron. (Alfred, *transl. of Bede*, lib. i, c. 1.) In William's time the *ore* was a coin of the value of about forty cents.

quar<sup>3</sup> molt<sup>4</sup> est langage alosée,<sup>5</sup>  
de gentilhome est molt amée<sup>6</sup>

1, débonnaire. 2, courtois. 3, car. 4, beaucoup. 5, estimé. 6, aimé.

#### GEOFFROI GAIMAR.

This *trouvère*, who wrote in the middle of the twelfth century, has left us many works in verse, the most remarkable of which are a history of the Anglo-Saxon kings, and one of the first two Anglo-Norman kings, forming a sequel to the preceding. The following extract, taken from the latter, gives some curious details of the functions of the *Jongleurs* in the army of William the Conqueror. Wace also speaks of them (see page 275), and both mention a certain Taillefer who was so distinguished by his talents that this prince granted him the honor of striking the first blow on the memorable day of Hastings. That a class of men who cultivated the arts of amusement as a profession were known and esteemed by the Normans, at the time of the conquest, is moreover proved by the evidence of the "Domesday-book" in which we find a certain Berdic possessed of a large tract of land in Gloucestershire, under the title of *Joculator regis*. The register, of course, does not explain the talents of this jocator or jongleur, but it may be fairly assumed that they were similar to those of the minstrel Taillefer, above mentioned and alluded to in the following extract. As the army was drawn up in battle array, he spurred his horse forward in front and began the song, famous throughout Gaul, of the exploits of Charlemagne and Roland. As he sang, he performed many marvelous feats of dexterity, throwing his lance high up in the air as if it were a small stick, catching it by the point before he cast it against the enemy, and repeating the same operation with his sword, so that those who beheld him considered him a conjuror. Having trained his horse to run with his mouth wide open, he at last made a sudden attack on the Saxons, who, apprehensive of being bitten by the furious animal, opened their ranks for a moment, but soon surrounded the brave jongleur who, overcome by the number, perished, giving by his death the signal of combat.

Moult<sup>1</sup> i<sup>2</sup> out<sup>3</sup> genz d'ambes parz,<sup>4</sup>  
de hardement<sup>5</sup> sont leoparz  
Un des Franceis donc se hasta,<sup>6</sup>  
devant les altres<sup>7</sup> chevalcha ;  
taillefer cil<sup>8</sup> est apelez,  
joglere<sup>9</sup> esteit<sup>10</sup> hardiz asez ;  
armes aveit e bon cheval,  
hardiz est e noble vassal.  
Devant les altres cil se mist,<sup>11</sup>  
devant Engleis merveilles fist :  
sa lance prist par le tuet<sup>12</sup>  
com<sup>13</sup> si co<sup>14</sup> fust un bastunet,<sup>15</sup>  
encontre mont<sup>16</sup> halt<sup>17</sup> la geta,<sup>18</sup>  
e par le fer receue<sup>19</sup> l'a ;  
traiz fez<sup>20</sup> issi<sup>21</sup> geta sa lance,  
la quarte feiz<sup>22</sup> moult pres s'avance,  
entre les Engleis la lanca,  
parmi<sup>23</sup> le cors<sup>24</sup> un en naffra ;<sup>25</sup>  
puis treist<sup>26</sup> s'espée,<sup>27</sup> arere<sup>28</sup> vint,

geta s'espée ke<sup>29</sup> il tint  
 encontre mont, puis la receipt.<sup>30</sup>  
 L'un dit at altre ki<sup>31</sup> co veit<sup>32</sup>  
 ke co esteit<sup>33</sup> enchantement  
 ke cil feseit devant la gent.  
 Quant treis feiz out geté l'espée,  
 le cheval od<sup>34</sup> gule<sup>35</sup> baiée<sup>36</sup>  
 vers les Engleis vint esleisé;<sup>37</sup>  
 alquanz<sup>38</sup> quident<sup>39</sup> estre mangé  
 par le cheval ki issi baiout.<sup>40</sup>  
 Le juleor<sup>9</sup> apris li<sup>41</sup> out.

1, Beaucoup. 2, y. 3, eut. 4, des deux cotés. 5, hardiesse. 6, hâta. 7, autres. 8, celui-ci. 9, jongleur. 10, était. 11, mit. 12, pointe. 13, comme. 14, ce. 15, baguette. 16, en l'air. 17, haut. 18, jeta. 19, reçu. 20, trois fois. 21, ainsi. 22, la quatrième fois. 23, à travers. 24, corps. 25, frappa. 26, tire. 27, son épée. 28, arrière. 29, que. 30, reçoit. 31, qui. 32, voit. 33, était. 34, avec. 35, gueule. 36, béante. 37, se ruer. 38, quelques-uns. 39, craignent. 40, baïllait. 41, lui.

#### ROBERT WACE.

Wace was born in the isle of Jersey. His father followed Duke William in the conquest of England, according to a roll preserved by Leland, in which his name figures as one of the chieftains who accompanied this prince on his expedition. The author informs us that he occupied the place of *clerc-lisant* under Henry I and Stephen, and that he has written many romances, of which two alone have been handed down to us. The first, which bears the date of 1155, is the *Roman du Brut d'Angleterre*, so called from the fabulous history of Brutus, great grandson of Eneas and first king of the Britons. It includes the history of the kings who reigned in Britain from nearly the epoch of the ruin of Troy to the year 689. This poem was afterward translated by Layamon into Early English (see page 393). The second work of Wace is a history in verse of the dukes of Normandy, improperly called *Roman de Rou.*, which he commenced in 1160 and finished in 1174. He states that he wrote in French for the instruction of those who did not understand Latin. The following is the author's version of the doings of Taillefer on the day of the battle of Hastings, referred to in the preceding extract. His style is clearer than that of his predecessor, and his diction more fluent and easy:

Taillefer, qui mult<sup>1</sup> bien chantout,<sup>2</sup>  
 sor<sup>3</sup> un cheval qui tost<sup>4</sup> alout,<sup>5</sup>  
 devant le duc alout chantant  
 de Karlemaigne et de Rollant  
 e d'Olivier e des vassals  
 qui morurent<sup>6</sup> en Rencevals.  
 quant il orent<sup>7</sup> chevalchié<sup>8</sup> tant  
 qu'as<sup>9</sup> Engleis vindrent apreismant,<sup>10</sup>  
 'sires', dist<sup>11</sup> Taillefer. 'merci,  
 jo vus<sup>12</sup> ai lungement servi,  
 tut<sup>13</sup> mun servise me devez ;  
 hui,<sup>14</sup> se vus plaist,<sup>15</sup> le me rendez.

pur<sup>15</sup> tut guerredun<sup>16</sup> vus requier  
 e si<sup>17</sup> vus voil<sup>18</sup> forment<sup>20</sup> preier :  
 otreiez<sup>21</sup> mei, que jo n'i faille,  
 le premier colp<sup>22</sup> de la bataille.  
 Li dus respondi 'jo l'otrei.'  
 e Taillefer puinst a desrei,<sup>23</sup>  
 devant tuz<sup>24</sup> les autres<sup>25</sup> se mist.<sup>26</sup>  
 un Engleis feri,<sup>27</sup> si l'ocist ;<sup>28</sup>  
 a terre estendu l'abati.<sup>29</sup>  
 puis<sup>30</sup> traist<sup>31</sup> s'espee, altre en feri.  
 pois a crié 'venez, venez !'  
 que faites vus ? ferez, ferez !'  
 dunc l'unt Engleis aviruné.<sup>31</sup>  
 al segunt<sup>32</sup> colp qu'il out<sup>33</sup> duné  
 ez vus<sup>34</sup> noise levee et cri,  
 e d'ambes parz<sup>35</sup> pople esturmi.<sup>36</sup>  
 Normant a assaillir entendent  
 e li Engleis bien se deffendent.

1, très. 2, chantait. 3, sur. 4, vivement. 5, allait. 6, moururent. 7, eurent. 8, chevauché. 9, aux. 10, approchant. 11, dit. 12, vous. 13, tout. 14, aujourd'hui. 18, plait. 15, pour. 16, recompense. 17, aussi. 19, veux, 20, fortement. 21, accordez-moi. 22, coup. 23, piqua brusquement des deux. 24, tous. 25, autres. 26, mit. 27, ferit. 28, il le tua. 29, abattit. 30, puis. 31, environné. 32, second. 33, eut. 34, voilà. 35, de part et d'autre. 36, se mit en mouvement.

#### BENÉÔT DE SAINTE-MORE.

This *trouvère* flourished during the reign of Henry II, from whom he received an order to write, in French verse, the history of the Dukes of Normandy. This flattering command leads us to believe that he was already known, by his compositions, as a poet of distinguished talents. Wace had then been engaged for several years on the same work, but being indolent, had made slow progress. When, however, he heard of the royal command to Benéôt de Sainte-More, and knew that his own reputation was at stake, he hastened to resume his work, and, as he had already written as far as the life of Duke Richard II, he had no difficulty in completing his history of the Dukes of Normandy before Benéôt could finish his. The latter, however, far from being discouraged by the success of his rival, redoubled his zeal, and fulfilled in time the command of his sovereign. His work commences with the first invasion of the Normans under Hastings and ends with the death of Henry I. Though inferior to Wace's, it is by no means without merit. As a specimen of his style, we extract the following lines, in which, to extol the glory of William the Conqueror, who in one day, and by a single battle, obtained the crown of England, he recalls the useless efforts of the kings of Greece against a single city during ten years :

Agamemnon ne les Grezeis,<sup>1</sup>  
 ne bien plus de cinquante reis,<sup>2</sup>  
 ne porent<sup>3</sup> Troie en dix ans prendre ;  
 unkes<sup>4</sup> ni sorent<sup>5</sup> tant entendre :<sup>6</sup>  
 e<sup>7</sup> ici<sup>8</sup> dux<sup>9</sup> od<sup>10</sup> ses Normanz,

e od ses autres buens<sup>11</sup> aidanz,  
 conquist un reame<sup>12</sup> plenier,<sup>13</sup>  
 e un grant pople<sup>14</sup> fort et fier,  
 qui fu<sup>15</sup> merveille estrange et grant,  
 sol<sup>16</sup> entre prime<sup>17</sup> e l'annitant.<sup>18</sup>

1, Grecs. 2, rois. 3, parent. 4, jamais. 5, surent. 6, espérer. 7, et.  
 8, ce. 9, duc. 10, avec. 11, braves. 12, royaume. 13, entier. 14, peuple.  
 15, fut. 16, seulement. 17, six heures du matin. 18, le soir.

## EVRARD.

Evrard, monk of Kirkham, lived in Scotland about the middle of the twelfth century. He has left us a translation of the distichs of Cato into French verse, and is, in this language, the first known poet who wrote in *mixed rhymes*. He informs us that he was a canon of the order of St. Augustin in the abbey of Kirkham, and that when, in 1150, King David of Scotland founded the abbey of Holme Cultram, he created him its first abbot, in reward of his merits :

Catun<sup>1</sup> estoit<sup>2</sup> paen<sup>3</sup>  
 e ne saveit ren<sup>4</sup>  
 de crestienne lei;<sup>5</sup>  
 ne purtant<sup>6</sup> ne dist<sup>7</sup>  
 ren en sun<sup>8</sup> escrit<sup>9</sup>  
 encuntre<sup>10</sup> nostre fei.<sup>11</sup>

Partut<sup>12</sup> se concorde  
 e rens ne se descorde  
 a seint escripture;  
 amender purrat<sup>13</sup>  
 celi<sup>14</sup> ki<sup>15</sup> voudrat  
 y<sup>16</sup> mettre sa cure.<sup>17</sup>

1, Caton. 2, était. 3, paen. 4, rien. 5, loi. 6, pourtant. 7, dit. 8, son.  
 9, écrit. 10, contre. 11, foi. 12, partout. 13, pourra. 14, celui. 15, qui.  
 16, y. 17, attention.

## GUILLAUME HERMAN.

This poet wrote only on moral and religious subjects. His talent gained him the favor of the Empress Matilda, daughter of Henry I, and the esteem of the high dignitaries of the Church; at least, he states that many of his compositions were written at their solicitation. We have no personal account of this author, except that by mentioning the eminent personages for whom he wrote, he gives us to understand that he lived in the twelfth century. His works exhibit a good deal of genius, and oftentimes an elevated mind. The following extract is a good specimen of his style :

Cil<sup>1</sup> qui fist<sup>2</sup> home<sup>3</sup> de limon,  
 cil qui fist ce que nus<sup>4</sup> veon<sup>5</sup>  
 et ce que nus ne poum<sup>6</sup> veir,<sup>7</sup>  
 cil qui fait toner<sup>8</sup> et pluveir,<sup>9</sup>

cil qui fait la terre trembler,  
 qui fait les granz venz<sup>10</sup> assembler  
 et combatre là suz en l'air,  
 cil qui fait la foudre et l'éclair,  
 quidez<sup>11</sup> vus qu'il li fust grief<sup>12</sup>  
 quant il n'a ni fin ni chief<sup>13</sup>  
 que sa parole chair prist?<sup>14</sup>  
 Tutes<sup>15</sup> les choses que il fist,  
 ne fist il dunc<sup>16</sup> tut par parole  
 bestes,<sup>17</sup> peissum,<sup>18</sup> oisel<sup>19</sup> qui vole  
 tutes les choses que il fist,  
 furent faites quant il le dist.  
 Quant il dist : seit<sup>20</sup> jor,<sup>21</sup> il fu<sup>22</sup> jor,  
 une clarté sans tenebror.<sup>23</sup>  
 et a ceo<sup>24</sup> ne demeura gaires :<sup>25</sup>  
 seient,<sup>26</sup> dist il, dous<sup>27</sup> luminaires,  
 li<sup>28</sup> plus granz seit al jor doné,<sup>29</sup>  
 et li autres a l'obscurité.  
 Dunc<sup>30</sup> fu li soleus<sup>31</sup> que vus veez<sup>32</sup>  
 dont vuz estes enluminez,<sup>33</sup>  
 et la lune qui fait son curs<sup>34</sup>  
 et son cressant et son decurs<sup>35</sup>  
 il fis dunc tut et tut deffra<sup>36</sup>  
 a tel hore<sup>37</sup> com li<sup>38</sup> plaira.

---

1, celui. 2, fit. 3, homme. 4, nous. 5, voyons. 6, pouvons. 7, voir.  
 8, tonnez. 9, pleuvor. 10, vents. 11, croyez-vous. 12, difficile. 13, com-  
 mencement. 14, prft. 15, toutes. 16, donc. 17, bêtes. 18, poisson. 19,  
 oiseau. 20, soit. 21, jour. 22, fut. 23, ténèbres. 24, cela. 25, guère. 26,  
 soient. 27, deux. 28, le, 29, donné. 30, alors. 31, soleil. 32, voyez. 33,  
 éclairés. 34, cours. 35, déclin. 36, détruira. 37, heure. 38, lui.

#### GUICHARD DE BEAULIEU.

This author, who lived at the end of the twelfth century, was a monk of the priory of Beaulieu, a dependency of the abbey of St. Albans. His principal work is a poem, or rather a kind of sermon in verse, on the vices of his century. The author confesses that he himself has enjoyed all the pleasures which he is about to censure, and that it is from his own experience that he intends to speak. From this it has been supposed that he was one of those knights who, after a turbulent and worldly life, took the cowl to end their days in a monastery which they themselves had founded or endowed. He begins by stating to his readers that he will not address them in Latin, but in French, in order to be more generally understood. The idea of writing sermons in verse may perhaps seem a strange one; but it must be recollected that it was a general custom, at that time at least, with the Norman priests, on Sunday and festival days, to read to the people the lives of the saints in French verse, so that there was, after all, nothing strange in preaching the truths of the gospel in the same manner. The following lines, in which there is much charm in the simple and graceful *naïveté* with which the author portrays the birth of our Saviour, will give an idea of the poem referred to above :

Il n'ot<sup>1</sup> chastel ne tur,<sup>2</sup> ne il n'ot fermeté,<sup>3</sup>  
 ainz<sup>4</sup> est en une creche de viel antiquité,  
 pastors od<sup>5</sup> lur<sup>6</sup> almaille<sup>7</sup> orent<sup>8</sup> dedenz hanté ;<sup>9</sup>  
 ki<sup>10</sup> tut<sup>11</sup> le mund<sup>12</sup> gouverne povrement fud<sup>13</sup> enz<sup>14</sup> né.  
 il n'out<sup>15</sup> lit a tourneiz<sup>16</sup> ne lit a or geté,<sup>17</sup>  
 ne coverte<sup>18</sup> de martre ne d'ermin engulé.<sup>19</sup>  
 Celui ki tut gouverne et tut ad<sup>20</sup> ordiné<sup>21</sup>  
 en la creche vit il vilment envelopé.<sup>22</sup>  
 La reine des cielz<sup>23</sup> ki en sun cors<sup>24</sup> l'out porté  
 entre li<sup>25</sup> et Joseph, sun cher fiz<sup>26</sup> unt gardé  
 n'orent coilte<sup>27</sup> de lin ne de paile<sup>27</sup> roé.<sup>28</sup>  
 etc.

1, n'eut. 2, tour. 3, forteresse. 4, au contraire. 5, avec. 6, leur. 7, bétail. 8, eurent. 9, habité. 10, qui. 11, tout. 12, monde. 13, fut. 14, là dedans. 15, n'eut. 16, rouleaux. 17, moulé. 18, couverture. 19, teint en rouge. 20, a. 21, ordonné. 22, enveloppé. 23, cieux. 24, corps. 25, elle. 26, fils. 27, matelas. 27, manteau couverture. 28, orné de ronds.

#### RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION.

Richard was the son of Henry II. An ardent imagination, a chivalric mind, and extreme bravery obtained him the surname by which he is known in history. On his return from the East, where he had distinguished himself by the taking of the isle of Rhodes, and by other brilliant exploits, while trying to pass through Germany, disguised as a pilgrim, he fell into the power of the Archduke of Austria, his sworn enemy, who kept him a prisoner. The place of his detention was for a long time unknown, and the struggle of his proud and noble mind with adversity, the slowness of the negotiations when he was discovered, and the enormous ransom to be levied on his subjects already exhausted by war, all conspired to embitter his captivity and make him feel the misfortunes of a fettered king. But Richard loved letters, especially poetry, and it was while abandoning himself to the inspirations of sorrow that he composed the following *Servantois*, addressed to his English, Norman, Portevin, and Gascon barons, reproaching them for the tardy zeal they manifested for his deliverance, and their parsimony in furnishing the means. (Every piece of Provençal poetry, the subject of which was not connected with love, was called *servente*, *servantèse*, or *servantois*, in contradistinction to the amorous poetry of the troubadours, which was called *chevaleresque*.)

Ja nuls hom pres non dira sa rason  
 adrechament, si com hom dolens non ;  
 mas per conort deu hom faire canson ;  
 pro n'ay d'amis, mas paure son li don,  
 ancta lur es, si per ma rezenson  
 soi sai dos yvers pres.

Or sapchon ben miey hom e miey baron,  
 Angles, Norman, Peytavin e Gascon,  
 qu'ieu non ay ja si paure compaignon  
 qu'ieu laissasse, per aver, en prison,



non ho dic mia per nulla retraison,  
mas anquar soi ie pres.

Car sai eu ben per ver, certanament,  
qu'hom mort ni pres n'a amic ni parent,  
et si m laissan per aur ni per argent,  
mal m'es per mi, mas pieg m'es per ma gent,  
qu'apres ma mort n'auran reprochament,  
si sai mi laisson pres.

No m meravilh s'ieu ay lo cor dolent,  
que mos shener met ma terra en turment ;  
no li membra del nostre sacrament  
que nos feimes el Sans cominalment ;  
ben sai de ver que gaire longament  
non serai en sai pres.

*Envoy.* Suer comtessa, vostre pretz sobeiran  
sal dieus, e gard la bella qu'ieu am tan,  
ni per cui soi ja pres.

This piece, written in *Langue d'oc*, Richard's mother-tongue, differs considerably in form from the preceding, which are in *Langue d'oïl*. This difference will be readily perceived on an examination of the following translation :

Jamais nul homme prisonnier ne dira sa raison  
Franchement, sinon comme homme malheureux,  
Mais pour consolation doit-on faire chanson ;  
Assez j'ai d'amis, mais pauvres sont les dons ;  
Honte leur est, puisque pour ma rançon  
Je suis ici deux hivers prisonnier.

Maintenant sachent bien mes sujets et mes barons  
Anglais, Normands, Poitevins et Gascons,  
Que je n'ai jamais eu si pauvre compagnon  
Que je laissasse pour argent en prison ;  
Je ne le dis point pour vous le reprocher,  
Mais encore suis-je prisonnier.

Toutefois sais-je bien pour vrai, certainement,  
Qu'homme mort ou prisonnier n'a ami ni parent ;  
Et s'ils me laissent pour or et pour argent,  
Mal m'est pour moi, mais pire m'est pour mon peuple,  
Après ma mort ils en auront reproche,  
Si ici ils me laissent prisonnier.

Je ne m'étonne plus si j'ai le cœur dolent,  
Car mon seigneur<sup>1</sup> met ma terre en tourment ;

---

<sup>1</sup> Philippe-Auguste.

Il ne lui souvient plus de notre serment  
 Que nous fîmes au saint ensemble.  
 Bien je sais de vrai que guère longtemps  
 Je ne serai ici prisonnier.

*Envoi.* Sœur comtesse, que votre gloire supérieure  
 Dieu sauve! et qu'il protège la belle que j'aime tant,  
 Et par qui je suis déjà prisonnier.

#### MARIE DE FRANCE.

This authoress was born in France according to her own statement, and as her surname indicates, but we are ignorant of what province she was a native, and the reasons for which she resided in England. It is, however, generally admitted that Normandy was her birthplace, and that she quitted it with a number of Norman families, when Phillip Augustus made himself master of it in 1204. She wrote in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and is the first woman who is known to have composed French verses. She has left us a collection of lays and fables, the latter of which especially display great powers of mind and knowledge of the human heart, and are distinguished by a simple and artless narration, a delicacy in the moral, and a peculiar turn of style, which make it very doubtful whether La Fontaine has not imitated our authoress rather than the Athenian and Roman fabulists.

#### LA MORS<sup>1</sup> ET LI BOSQUILLON.<sup>2</sup>

Tant de loin que de prez<sup>3</sup> n'est laide  
 la mors. La clamoit<sup>4</sup> à son ayde  
 tosjours<sup>5</sup> ung<sup>6</sup> povre<sup>7</sup> bosquillon  
 que<sup>8</sup> n'ot<sup>9</sup> chevence<sup>10</sup> ne sillon :  
 "que ne viens, disoit, ô ma mie,<sup>11</sup>  
 finer<sup>12</sup> ma dolorouse vie!"  
 Tant brama<sup>13</sup> qu'advint;<sup>14</sup> et de voix  
 terrible: "Que veux-tu?"—"Ce bois  
 que m'aydiez à carguer,<sup>15</sup> madame!"  
 Peur et labeur n'ont mesme<sup>16</sup> game.<sup>17</sup>

1, mort. 2, bûcheron. 3, près. 4, appelait. 5, tous les jours. 6, un.  
 7, pauvre. 8, qui. 9, n'ent. 10, héritage. 11, amie. 12, finir. 13, désira.  
 14, arriva. 15, charger. 16, même. 17, voix.

#### ROBERT GROSSE-TESTE,

Bishop of Lincoln, in 1235, was regarded as one of the most learned prelates of his time. In addition to numerous works on theology, literature, and science, we have from him a poem on the sin of the first man and his redemption, in which work especially he displays a great deal of genius and facility of conception. His description of the happiness of man in the state of innocence is truly interesting. After the fall of Adam, he introduces before the throne of the Almighty, Justice and Truth, who ask the condemnation of the criminal, while

Mercy and Peace plead in his favor. The promise of a Redeemer in the Son of God, who offers to take the place of the culprit, satisfies and reconciles the four sisters.

The author states that he composed his poem for the benefit of those who did not understand Latin, and were desirous of being acquainted with the fundamental truths of religion. But as for this purpose he selected the French language, without even mentioning English, we may infer that toward the middle of the thirteenth century the former was generally known in England, since one of the most worthy pontiffs of the island uses it for the instruction of the people. The following extract will give an idea of the work in question. Mercy expresses herself thus before God the Father:

Entends a mei,<sup>1</sup> bel<sup>2</sup> douls<sup>3</sup> pere,  
 et te rends a ma priere,  
 por cel<sup>4</sup> dolent chetif prison<sup>5</sup>  
 que venir poet<sup>6</sup> a rancon.  
 Par promesse le trairent<sup>7</sup>  
 par mal trepasser le firent  
 la promesse lui falsèrent,<sup>8</sup>  
 falsite<sup>9</sup> tuz<sup>10</sup> tems quererent ;<sup>11</sup>  
 et jo<sup>12</sup> ta fille sui<sup>13</sup> ainsnée<sup>14</sup>  
 sur tutes tes ovres<sup>15</sup> nomée.  
 Ne direiz que ta fille feusse<sup>16</sup>  
 si tu de lui pitié ne eusse.  
 Merci par dreit<sup>17</sup> deist<sup>18</sup> aver<sup>19</sup>  
 et ta merci deit lui salver<sup>20</sup>  
 et ta tres dulce<sup>21</sup> piété  
 le deit mettre a salveté ;<sup>22</sup>  
 por<sup>23</sup> lui merci ades<sup>24</sup> crierai  
 tant que merci lui otiendrai.<sup>25</sup>

---

1, moi. 2, beau. 3, doux. 4, ce. 5, prisonnier. 6, peut. 7, attirèrent. 8, faussèrent, manquèrent. 9, fansseté. 10, tous. 11, cherchèrent. 12, je. 13, suis. 14, aînée. 15, œuvres. 16, fusse. 17, droit. 18, doit. 19, avoir. 20, sauver. 21, douce. 22, hors de péril. 23, pour. 24, toujours. 25, obtiendrai.

#### GAUTER DE BIBBLESWORTHE.

##### *Extract from his Anglo-Norman Grammar.*

The following extract is from a MS. of the commencement of the fourteenth century, bearing the title *Treytyx ke moun sire Gauter de Bibblesworthe fist a ma dame Dyonisie de Mounchensy par aprise de langage*. It is a kind of grammar, and is quite interesting in the *naïveté* of its definitions. The name of the author shows that he was of Saxon origin:

En les paupyr<sup>1</sup> sont les cyz<sup>2</sup> (*the hers of the eye lide*);  
 amount<sup>3</sup> les oys<sup>4</sup> sont les sourcyz<sup>5</sup> (*the browes . . .*).  
 vus<sup>6</sup> avetz<sup>7</sup> la levere<sup>8</sup> et le levere<sup>9</sup> (*a lippe and an hare*),  
 et la livere<sup>10</sup> et le livere<sup>10</sup> (*a pound and a boke*).  
 la levere si enclost<sup>12</sup> les dens ;<sup>13</sup>  
 le levere en boys<sup>14</sup> se tent<sup>15</sup> dedens ;

la livere sert en marchaundyse ;  
 le livere sert en seynt eglise,  
 et le livere nous aprent clergie.<sup>16</sup>

1, paupières. 2, cils. 3, dessus. 4, yeux. 5, sourcils. 6, vous. 7, avex.  
 8, lèvre. 9, lièvre. 10, livre. 12, renferme. 13, dents. 14, bois. 15, tient.  
 16, science.

## POLITICAL SONG.

*On the King's breaking his Confirmation of the Magna Charta.*

The following extract belongs to the kind of compositions alluded to on page 262, being a curious mixture of French and English. It is the prologue of a political song which appears to have been made toward the end of the year 1311, on the king's (Edward II) journey to the north, where he was joined by his lately banished favorite, Peter de Gaveston, and disregarded the charter which he had confirmed in the beginning of October of that year :

L'en puet fere et defere,  
 Ceo fait il trop sovent ;  
*It nis nouthur wel ne faire ;*  
*Therefore Engelond is shent.*  
 Nostre prince de Engleterre,  
 Par le consail de sa gent,  
*At Westminster after the feire*  
*Maad a gret parlement.*  
 La chartre fet de cyre ;  
 Jeo l'enteinte et bien le crey,  
*It was holde to neih the fyre,*  
*Ant is molten al away.*  
 Ore ne say mes qe dire,  
 Tout i va a Tripolay,  
*Hundred, chapitle, court, and shire,*  
*Al hit goth a devel way.*  
 Des plusages de la tere  
 Ore escotez un sarmoun,  
*Of iiij wise-men that ther were,*  
*Whi Engelond is brouht adoun.*  
 etc.

## TRANSLATION.

A person may make, and unmake,  
 it is what he too often does ;  
 it is neither well nor fair ;  
 on account of it England is ruined.  
 Our prince of England,  
 by the counsel of his people,  
 at Westminster after the fair  
 made a great parliament.

The charter he made of wax,  
 so I understand, and I readily believe it;  
 it was held too near the fire,  
 and is all melted away.  
 Now I know not what more to say,  
 all goes to Tripoli,  
 hundred, chapter, court and shire,  
 it all goes the devil's way.  
 Of the wisest men of the land  
 now listen to a discourse,  
 of four wise men that there were,  
 why England is brought down.  
 etc.

## HYMN TO THE VIRGIN. .

In French and Latin, in alternate lines; it belongs to the middle of the fourteenth century:

*En Mai ki fet flurir les prez,*  
 et pullulare gramina,  
*Et cist oysels chauntent assez,*  
 jocunda modulamina  
*Li amaunt ki aiment vanitez*  
 quærent sibi solamina  
*Je met ver wus mes pensers*  
 o gloriosa domina.

*En wus espair solaz truver*  
 propinatrix solaminum  
*Ki sovent soliez alegger*  
 gravatos mole criminum.  
*Surement poet il esperer*  
 medicinam peccaminum,  
*Ki ducement voet reclamer*  
 te lucis ante terminum.

## POLITICAL SONG.

This still more curious composition is another song of the times, and repeats the old cry against the oppression of the poor and honest by the rich, and the general corruption of the age. It forms a most astonishing medley of Latin, French, and English, and is of the same epoch as the preceding:

Quant honme deit parleir, VIDEAT QUÆ VERBA LOQUATUR;  
 Sen covent aver, NE STULTIOR INVENIATUR.  
 QUANDO QUIS LOQUITUR, bote resoun reste *therynne*,  
 DERISUM PATITUR, ant *tutel so shal he wynne.* .

En seynt eglise SUNT MULTI SÆPE PRIORES;  
*Summe beoth wyse, MULTI SUNT INFERIORES.*  
*When mon may mest do, TUNC VELLE SUUM MANIFESTAT,*  
 IN DONIS *also, SI VULT TIBI PRÆMIA PRÆSTAT.*  
 INGRATO BENEFAC, POST HÆC à peyne te verra;  
 Pur bon vin TIBI LAC NON DAT, NEC REM TIBI rendra.  
 SENSUM CUSTODI, QUASI mieu valt sen qe ta mesoun;  
*Thah thou be mody, ROBUR NICHL EST SINE resoun.*  
 LEX lyth down over al, FALLAX FRAUS FALLIT UBIQUE;  
*Ant loue nys bote smal, QUIA GENS SE GESTAT INIQUE.*  
 Wo walketh wyde, QUONIAM MOVET IRA POTENTES:  
*Ryht con nout ryde, QUIA VADIT AD INSIPIENTES.*  
 DUMMODO FRAUS SUPEREST, LEX nul nout lonen y londe;  
 ET QUIA SIC RES EST, *ryht may nout radlyche stonde.*  
 Fals mon freynt covenant, QUAMVIS TIBI DICAT "HABEBIS."  
 VIX DABIT un veu gaunt, *lene les mon POSTEA FLEBIS.*  
*Myn ant thyn DUO SUNT, QUI FRANGUNT PLEBIS AMOREM;*  
 Ce deus pur nus SUNT FACIENDA SÆPE DOLOREM.  
 Tresoun DAMPNIFICAT, ET PAUCIS EST DATA resoun;  
 Resoun CERTIFICAT, CONFUNDIT ET OMNIA tresoun.  
 Pees may nout wel be, DUM STAT PER NOMINA BINA;  
*Lord Crist, that thou se, PER TE SIT IN HIIS MEDICINA!*  
 INFIRMUS MORITUR, *thah lechcraft ligge bysyde;*  
 VIVUS DECIPITUR, *nis non that her shal abyde.*  
 Tels plusours troverez, QUI DE TE PLURIMA prendrount;  
 Au dreyn bien verrez, QUOD NULLAM REM TIBI RENDROUNT.  
 ESTO PACIFICUS, *so myh thou welde thy wyll;*  
*Also VERIDICUS, ant stond PRO TEMPORE stille.*  
 Pees seit en tere, PER TE, DEUS, ALMA POTESTAS!  
 Defendez guere, NE NOS INVADAT EGESTAS.  
*God Lord Almyhty, DA PACEM, CHRISTE BENIGNE!*  
*Thou const al dyhty, FAC NE PEREAMUS IN IGNE!*

## TRANSLATION.

When a man has to speak, let him consider what words he utters;  
 he ought to pay attention to them, lest he appear a fool.  
 When any one speaks, unless reason rest therein,  
 he is laughed at, and so he shall gain little.  
 In holy church there are often many who hold advanced situa-  
 tions;  
 some are wise, many are inferior.  
 When a man may do most, then he exhibits his will,  
 in gifts also, if he will he gives thee presents.  
 Do a kindness to an ungrateful man, and afterwards he will scarce-  
 ly look at you;  
 he will not even give you milk for good wine, nor will he make  
 you any return.

Take care of thy intellect, as of a thing which is worth more than thy house ;  
 although thou be moody, strength is nothing without reason.  
 Law lies down over all, false fraud deceives everywhere ;  
 and there is but little love, because people conduct themselves wickedly.  
 Woe walks wide, since anger moves those who are powerful ;  
 right can not ride, because it goes to the ignorant.  
 Now that fraud is alive, law will not dwell in the land ;  
 and since the matter is in that position, right may not easily stand.  
 The false man breaks his promise, although he say to thee, " thou shalt have it."  
 He will scarcely give an old glove, . . . thou shalt afterwards weep.  
 Mine and thine are two, which break the love of the people ;  
 these two for us will cause frequent grief.  
 Treason injures, and reason is given to few ;  
 reason makes sure, while treason confounds all things.  
 Peace may not well be, while it stands by two names ;  
 Lord Christ, do thou look to it, through thee may there be a medicine for these things !  
 The sick man dies, although the art of medicine lie by his side ;  
 the living man is deceived, there is none who shall abide here.  
 You will find many such as will take very much from you ;  
 in the end you will see well, that they will return you nothing.  
 Be pacific, so mayest thou possess thy will ;  
 also a teller of truth, and stand for the time still.  
 May there be peace in the land, through thee, God, kind power !  
 forbid war, lest want invade us.  
 Good Lord Almighty, give peace, O benignant Christ !  
 Thou canst do all things, hinder us from perishing in the fire !

STATUTE OF EDWARD III, A. D. 1362,

*Authorizing Pleas to be Pleaded in English and Enrolled in Latin.*

Item pur ce qe monstre est sovent foitz au Roi par Prelatz, Ducs, Counts, Barons et tout la communalte, les grantz meschiefs qe sont advenuz as plusours du realme, de ce qe les leyes custumes & estatuz du dit realme ne sont pas conuz communement en mesme le realme par cause qils sont pledez, monstrez, & juggez en la lange Franceis qest trop desconue en le dit realme, issint qe les gentz qe pledent ou sont empledez en les courtz le Roi, et les courtz d'autres, nont entendement ne connaissance de ce qest

dit pur eulx ne coultre eulx par lour sergentez & autres pledours ; & qe raisonablement lesdites leyes & custumes serront le plus tost apries, & conuz, & mieultz entenduz en la lunge usee en le dit realme, & par tant chescun du dit realme se purroit mieultz gouverner sanz faire offense a la leye, & le mieultz garder, sauver, & defendre ses heritages et possessions : & en diverses regions & pais, ou le Roi, les nobles, et autres du dit realme ont este, est bon gouvernement & plein droit fait a chescun, par cause qe lour leyes & custumes sont apries & usez en la lunge du pais ; le Roi desirant le bon gouvernement & tranquillite de son poeple, & de ouster & eschure les maulx & meschiefs qe sont advenuz & purront avenir en ceste partie, ad, pur les causes susdites, ordeigne et establi, del assent avant dit, qe toutes plees qe serront a pleder en ses courtz queconqes, devant les justicez queconqes, ou en ses autres places, ou devant ses autres ministres queconqes, ou en les courtz & places des autres seignurs queconqes, deinz le realme, soient pledez, monstretz, defenduz, responduz, debatuz, & juggez, en la lunge Engleise et qils soient entreez & enroullez en Latin, & qe les leyes & custumes du dit realme, termes & processés, soient tenuz & gardez come ils sont, & ont este, avant ces heures ; et qe per les auciens termes & formes de counter nul homme soit perdant, issint qe la matiere del action soit pleinement monstre en la demonstrance & en le brief. Et est acorde, de lassent avant dit, qe cestes ordeignances & estatuz de pleder commencent & tiegnent lieu al quinziesme seint Hiller' prochein avenir.

## TRANSLATION.

Item because it has been often shewn to the king by the prelates, dukes, earls, barons, and all the commonalty, of the great mischiefs which have happened to divers of the realm, because the laws, customs, and statutes of this realm be not commonly known in the same realm, for that they be pleaded, shewn, and judged in the French tongue, which is much unknown in the said realm, so that the people which do implead, or be impleaded, in the king's court and in the courts of others, have no knowledge nor understanding of that which is said for them, or against them, by their sergeants and other pleaders ; and that reasonably the said laws and customs the rather shall be perceived and known, and better understood in the tongue used in the said realm, and by so much every man of the said realm may the better govern himself without offending the law, and the better keep, save, and defend, his heritage and possessions ; and in divers regions and countries where the king, the nobles, and others of the said realm have been, good governance and full right is done to every person, because that their laws and customs be learned and used in the tongue used in the country ; the king, desiring the good governance and tranquillity of his people, and to put out and



eschew the harms and mischiefs which do, or may happen in this behalf by the occasions aforesaid, hath ordained and stablished, by the assent aforesaid, that all pleas which shall be pleaded in any courts whatsoever, before any of his justices whatsoever, or in his other places, or before any of his other ministers whatsoever, or in the courts and places of any other lords whatsoever within the realm, shall be pleaded, shewn, defended, answered, debated, and judged in the English tongue, and that they be entered and inrolled in Latin; and that the laws and customs of the said realm, terms, and processes be holden and kept as they be and have been before this time; and that by the ancient terms and forms of the declarations no man be prejudiced, so that the matter of the action be fully shewn in the declaration and in the writ. And it is accorded, by the assent aforesaid, that this ordinance and statute of pleading begin and hold place at the fifteenth St. Hillary next coming.

#### JOHN GOWER.

This poet was born about the year 1320, and died in 1402. He was a contemporary and intimate friend of Chaucer, with whom he shares the appellation of "Father of English Poetry." Gower wrote equally well in French and English, and some pretend that he was even more elegant and more poetical in his French works than in those which he composed in his native tongue. In fact, his first compositions were in French, and consist of a large number of ballads, which are truly charming, and it is doubtful whether the French poets of his time have written anything superior of the kind. His versification is always harmonious, and his language clear and elegant; while the wisdom of his remarks, and the solidity of his reflections, prove him to have been a man of good sense. One of his works, called *Speculum Meditantis*, terminates with the following lines, in which he, with too much modesty, apologizes for writing in French, which language he seems to consider as universal:

Al'universite de tout le monde  
 Johan Gower ceste ballade envoie;  
 et si jeo nai de francois la faconde,  
 pardonnez moi si jeo de ceo forsvoie;  
 jeo suis Englois; si quier par ceste voie  
 estre excuse.

The following is one of his ballads, written about the year 1370:

#### LE JOLI MOIS DE MAI.

Pour comparer ce jolif temps de Maij.  
 jeo le dirrai semblable a Paradis,  
 car lors chantoit et merle et papegai;  
 les champs sont verts, les herbes sont floris,  
 lors est Nature dame du pays  
 dont Venus poingt l'amant a tiel assai.  
*Rencontre amour nest qui poet dire Nai.*

Quant tout ceo voi, et que jeo penserai  
 coment Nature ad tout le mond suspris,  
 dont pour le temps se fait minote et gai,  
 et jeo des autres suis souvent horspris,  
 com al qui sanz amie est vrais amis,  
 nest pas mervaille lors si jeo mesmai.

*Qencontre amour nest qui poet dire Nai.*

En lieu de rose, urtie cuilleraï,  
 dont mes chapeals ferrai par tiel devis  
 qe tout ivie et confort ieo lerrai,  
 si celle soule en qui iai mon coer mis,  
 selonc le point qe iai sovent requis,  
 ne deigne alegger les grief mals qe iai,

*Qencontre amour nest qui poet dire Nai.*

Pour pite querre et pourchacer intris,  
 va ten balade ou ieo tenvoierai,  
 qoro en certain ieo lai tresbien apris,

*Qencontre amour nest qui poet dire Nai.*

#### PETER OF LANGTOFT,

A canon of the priory of St. Augustin of Bridlington in Yorkshire, has left us many works in French verse. He was an Englishman, and lived toward the end of the fourteenth century, when English had become a general medium of communication, which accounts for the truly barbarous French of the author, whose language is often so obscure as to be hardly intelligible. It is impossible to say what prosody he had studied, as he makes Alexandrines of any length, and writes without any apparent rule, principle, or taste, as will be seen in the following lines, with which he opens his *Hystoire des Bretons*. As a historical guide, his work is of no value whatsoever, and quoted here only to show the degeneracy of the Anglo-Norman French as compared with the Continental French of the same period :

Deus<sup>1</sup> le tot<sup>2</sup> puissant ke<sup>3</sup> ceel<sup>4</sup> e terre crea  
 Adam nostre pere home<sup>5</sup> de terre fourma;<sup>6</sup>  
 naturanmant purvist<sup>7</sup> quant il ordina<sup>8</sup>  
 ke home de terre venuz<sup>9</sup> en terre rentira.<sup>10</sup>  
 Cil<sup>11</sup> Deu<sup>12</sup> ly<sup>13</sup> beneye<sup>14</sup> ke ben<sup>15</sup> escotera<sup>16</sup>  
 coment Engleterre primes<sup>17</sup> comensa,<sup>18</sup>  
 e pur quei<sup>19</sup> primes Bretagne home<sup>20</sup> l'appela,  
 quant<sup>21</sup> Troye par bataille jadis fu<sup>22</sup> destrute,<sup>23</sup>  
 e li<sup>24</sup> Rai<sup>25</sup> Priamus fu tuez<sup>26</sup> en la lute.<sup>27</sup>

1, Dieu. 2, tout. 3, qui. 4, ciel. 5, homme. 6, forma. 7, pourvit. 8, ordonna. 9, venu. 10, rentrera. 11, ce. 12, Dieu. 13, le. 14, bénisse. 15, bien. 16, écouter. 17, d'abord. 18, commença. 19, pourquoi. 20, on. 21, quand. 22, fut. 23, détruite. 24, le. 25, roi. 26, tué. 27, lutte.

## PROVERBS.

The following Norman proverbs, probably imported at an early period from Normandy, and freely translated, are still in use in English :

Ki n'aime son mestier  
Ne son mestier lui.

*He who dislikes his business, is disliked by his business.*

Ki de fer velt ouvrer  
Si l'atende a chauffer.

*Strike while the iron is hot.*

Tuit voir ne sont a savoir.

*The truth is not always to be spoken.*

A chescun oysel  
Son nye li semble bel.

*Every bird likes his own nest.*

A tart ferme l'om l'estable, quant le cheval est perduz.  
*It is too late to shut the stable when the horse is gone.*

De debles vint, a debles irra.

*The devil will take his own.*

De juvene papelard veil deable.

*Young hypocrite, old devil.*

Ki me eyme, eym mon chen.

*Love me, love my dog.*

Ki tost done, deuz foiz done.

*He who gives quickly, gives twice.*

Tant va le pot al ewe q'il brise.

*The pitcher which goes often to the well, will come home broken at last.*

Several English forms and expressions, now obsolete in France, are of French derivation. Even the term "How do you do?" is of French origin.

Lors li dist la dame : *Comment*

*Le faites vous, biau tres doux sire?*—*Roman de Coucy*, v, 3490.

Et dist : chiere amie, *comment*

*Le faites vous ? nel'celez pas.*—*Idem.*, v, 5710.

*Comment* Gerars li biaux *le fait.*—*La Violette*, p. 40.

Adonc le duc Richard vint à luy, et luy demanda *comme il le faisait.*—*Chron. de Norm.*, printed at Rouen, A. D. 1487.

## WILL OF A GENTLEMAN OF YORKSHIRE,

*At the end of the Fourteenth Century.*

En le noun<sup>1</sup> de Dieu, et de notre Dame Saunte Marie, et en noun de teuz<sup>2</sup> lez sauntez<sup>3</sup> de Paradyse, Amen. Moi Brian de Stapylton devise<sup>4</sup> m'alme<sup>5</sup> a Dieu et a notre Dame Saunte Marie, et a touz lez Sauntz de Paradyse, et mon chautiff<sup>7</sup> corps d'estre enterre en la Priourie de le Parke decoste<sup>8</sup> ma compaigne,<sup>9</sup> que Dieu l'assoille,<sup>10</sup> et sur mon corps seit<sup>11</sup> un drape de blew<sup>12</sup> saye;<sup>13</sup> et ma volunte est au l'aide de Dieu d'avoire un herce ov<sup>14</sup> synke<sup>15</sup> tapirs, chescun<sup>16</sup> tapir de synk livres, et tresze<sup>17</sup> hommes vestuz<sup>18</sup> en bluw<sup>18</sup> ov tresze torchez, de queux<sup>19</sup> tresze torchez, si ne saioint<sup>20</sup> degastez,<sup>21</sup> jeo voile<sup>22</sup> que quatre demore<sup>23</sup> a le dit Priorie.

Item jeo devyse que j'ay un homme en mes armes et ma hewme<sup>24</sup> ene<sup>25</sup> sa teste,<sup>26</sup> et quy soit bien monte et un homme de bon entaille<sup>27</sup> de qil condicon que y sort.

Item jeo devyse que touz ceaux<sup>28</sup> qui a moy appendent meignialx<sup>29</sup> en ma maison, soient vestuz en bluw a mes costagez.<sup>30</sup> Et a touz les poores qils veignent<sup>31</sup> le jour de mon enterment jeo devise et voile que chescun ait un denier en ovre<sup>32</sup> de charrete,<sup>33</sup> et en aide de ma chitiffe<sup>34</sup> alme, et jeo voile que les sires mes compaignons, mes aliez<sup>35</sup> et mes voiseigneurz,<sup>36</sup> qui volliont<sup>37</sup> venir de lour<sup>38</sup> bone gre prier pour moy et pour faire honour a mon chettife corps qi pene<sup>39</sup> ne vault,<sup>40</sup> jeo oille<sup>41</sup> et chargez mes executour que y soient mesme cel jour<sup>42</sup> bien a eise<sup>43</sup> et q'il eient<sup>44</sup> a boiere<sup>45</sup> asseth,<sup>46</sup> et a cest<sup>47</sup> ma volunte parfournir<sup>48</sup> jeo devise ci<sup>49</sup> marcæ<sup>50</sup> ove l'estore<sup>51</sup> de maison taunke juiste seit.

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1, nom. 2, tous. 3, saints. 4, je dispose par testament. 5, mon âme. 7, chétif. 8, à coté de. 9, compaigne. 10, l'absolve. 11, soit. 12, bleu. 13, justaucorps. 14, avec. 15, cinq, cierges. 16, chaque. 17, treize. 18, vêtus. 19, desquelles. 20, soient. 21, consumées. 22, désire. 23, demeurant. 24, heaume. 25, sur. 26, tête. 27, qui a la faculté de succéder à un fief conditionnel. 28, ceux. 29, qui sont attachés à ma maison. 30, dépenses. 31, pauvres. 32, viennent. 33, œuvre. 34, charité. 35, chétif. 36, alliés. 37, voisins. 38, veulent. 39, leur. 40, peine. 41, vaut. 42, désire. 43, ce jour-là. 44, aise. 45, aient. 46, boire. 47, assez. 48, cette. 49, remplir. 50, six. 51, marcs. 52, provisions.

## CHAPTER IX.

## FUSION OF ANGLO-NORMAN FRENCH AND ANGLO-SAXON ENGLISH.

FROM the Norman conquest to the end of the reign of the seventh Norman sovereign, King John, is almost exactly a century and a half. The victory of Hastings was gained on the 14th of October, 1066, and John died on the 19th of October, 1216. What was the history of the vernacular language of England during that period is a question which, in the absence of all records referring to the matter, can only be answered, if indeed it can be answered at all, from an examination of such compositions of the time in the native tongue as have come down to us.

The principal literature produced in England during this entire period was in the French and Latin languages. In the latter were written most works on subjects of theology, philosophy, and history; in the former, most of those intended to amuse as well as to instruct, and addressed less to professional readers than to the court and the upper classes of Norman society, by whom they were seldom actually read, or even intended to be read, but only listened to while being recited or chanted by others. It is, however, impossible to determine whether the native English people understood the new language sufficiently to enjoy these songs or recitals; it is most probable that some of them soon mastered the imported tongue, while others, no doubt, remained for ever ignorant of it. But at all events, it was this French literature that for more than a century took the place of the old vernacular literature entirely. The employment of the Latin language in writing by monks, the secular clergy, and all persons of education, was universal not only in England, but throughout western Christendom, and just as much so after the conquest as before. But it was quite otherwise with the writing of French; that was altogether a new idea in England, and was indeed very unusual in France itself, where, up to the eleventh century, it had not been very extensively used yet for literary purposes. The great mass of

the oldest French literature that has been preserved was produced in England, or, at any rate, in the dominions of the king of England in the twelfth century.

To whatever portion of society in England an acquaintance with this French literature was confined, it is evident that it was for some time after the conquest the only literature of the day that, without addressing itself exclusively to the learned classes, still demanded some measure of cultivation in its readers or auditors, as well as in its authors. It was, in fact, the only popular literature that was not adapted to the mere populace. We might infer this even from the fact that, if any other ever existed, it has mostly perished. The various metrical chronicles, romances, and other compositions in the French tongue, a good many of which are still extant, are very nearly the only literary works which have come down to us from this age. And, while the mass of this literature that has been preserved is very considerable, we have distinct traces of much more which is now lost.

“How the French language should have acquired the position which it thus appears to have held in England for some time after the conquest is easily explained. The advantage which it derived from being the language of the court, of the entire body of the nobility, and of the opulent and influential classes generally, is obvious. This not only gave it the prestige and attraction of what we now call fashion, but, in the circumstances to which the country was reduced, would very speedily make it the only language in which any kind of regular or grammatical training could be obtained. With the native population almost everywhere deprived of its natural leaders, the old landed proprietary of its own blood, it can not be supposed that schools in which the reading and writing of the vernacular tongue was taught could continue to subsist. This has been pointed out already. But what we may call the social cause, or that arising out of the relative conditions of the two races, was probably assisted by another which has not been so much attended to. The languages themselves did not compete upon fair terms. The French would have in the general estimation a decided advantage for the purposes of literature over the English. The latter was held universally to be merely a barbarous form of speech, claiming kindred with nothing except the other half-articulate dialects of the woods, hardly one of which had ever known what it was to have any acquaint-

ance with letters, or was conceived even by those who spoke it to be fit to be used in writing except on the most vulgar occasions, or where anything like either dignity or precision of expression was of no importance; the former, although somewhat soiled and disfigured by ill usage received at the hands of the uneducated multitude, and also only recently much employed in formal or artistic eloquence, could still boast the most honorable of all pedigrees as a daughter of the Latin, and was thus besides allied to the popular speech of every more civilized province of western Christendom. The very name by which it had been known when it first attracted attention with reference to its literary capabilities was the Rustic Latin—*Lingua Romana Rustica*. Even without being favored by circumstances, as it was in the present case, a tongue having these intrinsic recommendations would not have been easily worsted, in a contest for the preference as the organ of fashionable literature, by such a competitor as the unknown and unconnected English.”<sup>1</sup>

The national tongue possessed, however, one great advantage with which it was impossible for the other to cope. This was the fact of its being the speech of the great body of the people; and as these far outnumbered the foreign population, so it was the English tongue which in course of time absorbed the Norman idiom, and not the Norman which absorbed the English. That in the process of assimilation the original form of language underwent great alteration there can be no doubt; that in the storm of national calamity the language itself ceased almost entirely to be either written or read is equally certain; but it remained the people's speech none the less, and that fact alone was sufficient to preserve the general character of the language, through all its vicissitudes, as we shall find it when, after a time, it began again to be employed in writing, although in an altered form.

The nature of the alterations which distinguished the written English, on its reappearance after the Norman conquest is twofold, and its transformation comprises two distinct processes, namely, 1, *the infusion of foreign words and phrases*; and, 2, *the loss of inflexions and the general breakup of grammatical forms*; and these, although going on simultaneously, require for the sake of clearness to be examined each by itself separately.

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<sup>1</sup> G. L. Craik, *Manual of English Literature*.

1. *Infusion of Norman Words and Phrases into the Native Saxon.*

The introduction of Norman words into the English vocabulary commenced many years before the conquest, as we have seen, and according to an English authority,<sup>1</sup> their number amounted at least to one hundred and fifty in the reign of Edward the Confessor. The account which a contemporary historian gives of this matter is, as has been explained elsewhere, that Edward, having been educated at the court of his uncle, Duke Richard II, and having resided in Normandy many years as a friend and relative of Duke William, had become almost a Frenchman; that upon his return from France, and his accession to the throne of England in 1043, he brought over with him a number of Normans whom he promoted to the highest dignities; that, under the influence of the king and his Norman favorites, many people began to lay aside their English fashions and to imitate the manners of the French, and that not only the nobility, but all who laid claim to education and good breeding commenced to speak French as an acknowledged mark of gentility.

The fashion, however, of speaking French, having been adopted only in compliance with the caprice of the reigning prince, would not probably have spread very far or lasted very long; but at the changes which followed soon after, in 1066, the language of the Norman conqueror became interwoven with the new political system, and the various establishments which were made for the support and security of the latter, all contributed to the diffusion and permanency of the former. To begin with the court. If we consider that the king himself, the chief officers of state, and by far the greater part of the nobility were all Normans, and could probably speak no language but their own, it is evident that French was the ordinary language of the court. The few Saxons who for some time were admitted there<sup>2</sup> must have had the greatest inducements to acquire the language, if they did not speak it already, not merely for the sake of understanding and answering insignificant questions in the circle, but because in that age affairs of the greatest importance were publicly trans-

<sup>1</sup> P. L. Kington Oliphant, *Sources of Standard English*, page 240.

<sup>2</sup> After the death of Edwin, in 1070, we do not read of any Saxon earl except Waltheof, and he was executed for misprision of treason about three years after.—Ordericus Vitalis, I, iv, p. 536.



acted in the king's court; and there they might be called upon to answer for what little property was left to them, and even for their lives. Thus, in an ecclesiastical synod, held in the presence of the king, in 1072, the venerable Bishop of Worcester, Wulstan, was obliged to defend the rights of his see by an interpreter, "a monk of very little eloquence," says the historian, "but who had a smattering of the Norman language,"<sup>1</sup> and it was only his "holy simplicity," as the same historian calls it,<sup>2</sup> which seems to have preserved him from the degradation which almost all the other English prelates underwent. This consideration, however, was only of temporary avail, for in 1095 another synod formally decreed to depose him as being "an idiot who did not know French."<sup>3</sup>

If we consider further that the great barons, to whom William distributed a large share of his conquests, when released from their attendance at the king's court, retired to courts of their own, where they in their turn were surrounded by a numerous train of vassals, chiefly their own countrymen, we may be sure that the French language traveled with them into the most distant provinces, and was used by them, not only in their common conversation, but in civil contracts, their judicial proceedings, and even in the promulgation of their laws.<sup>4</sup> The many churches and castles which the Normans built in different parts of the island must also have contributed very much to the propagation of the French language among the vast number of native laborers and mechanics employed in the work, as it may be well supposed that the foreigners in charge, architects, engineers, and their chief workmen and overseers, being unable to speak English, would carry on all their transactions in their own language.<sup>5</sup>

But the great alteration which, from political motives, was made in the state of the clergy at that time, probably operated more efficaciously than any other cause to give the French language a deep root in England. The Con-

<sup>1</sup> Ita data benedictione Monacho minimæ facundiæ viro, sed Normannicæ linguæ sciolo, rem perorans obtinuit.—William of Malmesbury I, iii, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Hic sancta semplicitas beati Vulstani, etc.—*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Quasi homo idiota, qui linguam Gallicanum non noverat, nec regis consiliis interesse poterat, ipso Rege consentiente et hoc dictante decernitur deponendus.—Matthias Paris, ad ann.

<sup>4</sup> The ancient earls had a power of legislation within their counties.

<sup>5</sup> Custodes in castellis strenuos viros ex Gallis collocavit, et opulenta beneficia, pro quibus labores et pericula libenter tolerarent distribuit.—Ordericus Vitalis, I, iv, p. 506.

queror seems to have been fully aware of the strength which the new government would derive from a clergy more closely attached to himself by a community of interests than the native English were likely to be. Accordingly, from the beginning of his reign, all ecclesiastical preferments, as fast as they became vacant, were given to his Norman chaplains; and, not content with availing himself of the ordinary course of succession, he contrived, upon various charges of real or pretended irregularities, to remove several of the English bishops and abbots, whose places were immediately supplied by foreigners. In short, in the space of a very few years, all the sees of England were filled with Normans, and the greater part of the abbeys in the kingdom were under governors of the same nationality.

It must not be supposed, however, as has been often repeated, that William so hated the language of the island that he determined to eradicate it, and to introduce the Norman in its place;<sup>1</sup> on the contrary, we know from a contemporary historian that he took great pains himself to acquire the language of his subjects.<sup>2</sup> In general a great deal too much has been attributed to the Conqueror, and many historians have ascribed to particular parts of his policy effects directly opposite to those which they were naturally calculated to produce. In fact, he must have remembered that the Franks, who conquered Gaul, and his own ancestors, who settled in Neustria, had not been able to substitute the Teutonic or Scandinavian for the Romance language in their dominions; or, if his knowledge of history did not go back so far, he must have known that his kinsmen who subdued Naples and Sicily did not aim at establishing their language in the conquered territory; that the measure was not at all necessary to the establishment of his power; and that such an attempt is in all cases no less impracticable than absurd, because the patient indocility of the multitude

<sup>1</sup> This supposition has been founded on a passage of Robert Holcot, in which he says that the Conqueror, "deliberavit quomodo linguam Saxoniam posset destruere, et Angliam et Normanniam in idiomate concordare." But Holcot wrote only in the fourteenth century, whereas none of the earlier historians impute to the king such a project. An extract of a contemporary, contained in the following note, teaches us quite the contrary.

<sup>2</sup> Anglicam locutionem plerumque satagit ediscere: ut sine interprete querelam subjectæ legis posset intelligere, et scita rectitudinis unicuique (prout ratio dictaret) affectuose deprimere. Ast a perceptione hujusmodi durior ætas illum compescebat, et tumultus multimodarum occupationum ad alia necessario adtrahebat.—Orderic. Vital., I, iv, p. 520.

must ultimately triumph over the caprice and tyranny of their armed preceptors. But, having conquered a kingdom, and being determined to retain his conquest, he introduced a code of laws which placed his power on a military basis; and he introduced it in the language in which it was to become familiar to that army to which he looked for his security. By requiring the study of French in the schools, he gave his subjects the means of understanding the laws which he expected them to obey. He enforced this perhaps tyrannically and harshly; but it is in no way proved that he acted with the view of making French the universal language of his subjects, or that he expected the children, on their return from school, to talk French in their own homes; he might with equal wisdom have supposed that they would converse in Latin, which they had an opportunity of learning in the same schools.

Still, whatever may have been the ultimate effects of the policy of William and his immediate successors on the degeneracy of the native English, it continued for a long time to maintain its ground, was generally spoken, and even employed in a few works of information for at least a century after the Norman conquest. This is incontestably proved by what is commonly called the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," which is continued to the death of Stephen, A. D. 1154, and in the same language. In the mean time, we may trace in this very document, though in a small degree, the influence of the Norman contact. Besides the neglect of several grammatical rules, French words, now and then, obtrude themselves, especially in the latter pages of this chronicle. Thus we find in—

- A. D. 1086. Se cing . . . . *dubbade*<sup>1</sup> his sunn Henric to ridere.  
 A. D. 1112. Rotbert de Bælesme he let niman and on *prisune* don.  
 A. D. 1135. *Pais* he makede vor men and dær . . . . Balduin  
*accordede.*  
 A. D. 1137. He hadde get his *tresor* . . . . *canceler* . . . . *prisun*  
*. . . . iustise . . . . martyrs . . . . carited . . . .*  
*rentes . . . . privileges . . . . miracles.*  
 A. D. 1138. He dide god *iustise* and makede *pais*.  
 A. D. 1140. *Candles* . . . . in *prisun* and *quarteres* . . . . *cuntesse*  
 in Anjou . . . . Alle sweren the *pais* to halden.  
 A. D. 1154. The eorl heold micel *curt* . . . . Wilhelm de Wattenile god *clerc* and god man. . . . The cing was underfangen mid micel *procession*.

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<sup>1</sup> *Dubbade*, according to Kemble, is the French verb *adouber* in the weak Anglo-Saxon form.

Truly, these are but rare instances, but we must remember that Peterborough, where this chronicle was compiled, was quite an English monastery; its endowments and its abbot were Saxon; and the political spirit it breathes in some passages is that of the indignant subjects of the Norman usurpers. If its last compilers, therefore, gave way to some innovations of language, we may presume that these prevailed more extensively in places less secluded, and especially in London.<sup>1</sup>

It would be difficult to fix the exact date of the commencement of the amalgamation of the Norman and Saxon idioms, but, from causes explained above, it evidently began soon after the conquest, and formed by degrees a jargon which was, for the first century at least, not applicable to any literary purpose, but only employed for common intercourse between the conquerors and the conquered. Without any precise data as regards the composition of this mixture, the author of "The Sources of Standard English" contrives, nevertheless, to give us a specimen of what it may have been, founded on documents which have come down to us. "We may imagine," he says, "a cavalcade of the new aristocracy of England, ladies and knights, men who perhaps fought at Hastings in their youth; these alight from their steeds at the door of one of the churches that have lately arisen throughout the land in a style unknown to Earl Godwin. The riders are accosted by a crowd of beggars and bedesmen, who put forth all their little stock of French: 'Lady Countess, clad in *ermine* and *sabeline*, look from your *palfrey*. Be *large* of your *treasure* to the *poor* and *feeble*; of your *charity* bestow your *riches* on us rather than on *jogelours*. We will put up our *orisons* for you, after the *manere* and *customs* of our *religion*. For Christ's *passion*, ease our *poverty* in some *measure*; that is the best *penance*, as your *chaplain* in his *sermons* says. By all the *Confessors*, *Patriarchs*, and *Virgins*, show us *mercy*.' Another speech would run thus: 'Worthy *Barons*, you have *honor* at *court*, speak for my son in *prison*. Let him have *justice*; he is no *robber* or *lecher*. The *sergeants* took him in the *market*; these *catchpoles* have wrought him sore *miscise*. So may Christ accord you *peace* at the day of *livreison*!' Not one of these forty French words were in English use before the battle of Hastings; but we find every one of them set down in

<sup>1</sup> For a description of this remarkable monument of the Anglo-Saxon language, see pages 381-383.

writing within a century after that date, so common had they then become in English mouths."<sup>1</sup>

One of the causes which favored the introduction of foreign words into the English vocabulary, and which may be fittingly also noticed here, was that produced by the change which the Norman conquest wrought in the English system of nomenclature in reference to proper names. "In this matter of nomenclature," remarks Dr. Freeman, "that is to say, in that part of our vocabulary which consists of proper names, the Norman conquest not only wrought a great and more lasting change than it did in anything else, but it wrought a more immediate change. The cause is plain. To adopt a foreign name is still easier than to adopt a foreign word; and of all kinds of words, proper names are those which are most thoroughly under the dominion of fashion. In all times and places, the names of kings and princes find their way among all classes of their subjects, and it is also thought to be a point of civility to give the godchild the name of his godfather. The change began at once. The Norman names became the fashion. The Englishman whose child was held at the font by a Norman gossip, the Englishman who lived on friendly terms with his Norman lord or his Norman neighbor, nay, the Englishman who simply thought it fine to call his children after the reigning king and queen, cast aside his own name and the names of his parents, to give his sons and daughters names after the new foreign pattern. When this fashion once set in, it took root. The Norman names gradually spread themselves through all classes, till even a villain was more commonly called by a Norman than by an English name. The great mass of the English names went out of use, a few only excepted."<sup>2</sup>

Although vanity and frivolity may have had something to do with this remarkable change in particular instances, it is hardly probable that any such worthless motives could have prevailed with the great bulk of the nation, and have induced a sad and oppressed people to leave off suddenly names that were dear to them by na-

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<sup>1</sup> They may be found in the *Saxon Chronicle* and in the *First Series of Homilies*.—*Early English Text Society; Standard English*, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Norman Conquest*, p. 559. Among women the loss of English names is even more complete than among men. Indeed, *Edith* and *Emma* are about all that remain in common use of the former, and *Alfred*, *Edgar*, *Edmund*, *Edward*, *Edwin*, and *Egbert* of the latter.

tional and family remembrances, in order to adopt those of a detested foreign oppressor. The cause of such a sweeping and universal change must be sought, it seems, in some far more powerful influence—probably that of the Norman clergy, who, introducing the continental custom, baptized the children with the names of patron saints. This custom, moreover, was not new in England, having been practiced to a great extent before the conquest among native churchmen, who exchanged their Saxon names for scriptural and saintly names at their ordination or monastic profession. Still the change was an important one, and may have had even a political bearing in breaking up, also, this connection with former traditions.

Besides this change in personal nomenclature, this introduction of a new set of Christian names, the Norman conquest also brought with it the novelty of family nomenclature, that is to say, the use of hereditary surnames. Until that time "one person, one name" was the rule throughout all England, even as in the early state of society, *Abraham* and *Moses* among the Jews, *Achilles* and *Ulysses* among the Greeks, were known to their respective contemporaries by the single names by which they are mentioned in Holy Writ, and in the poetry of Homer. But even early in the eleventh century, long before the invasion, it had become the practice among the members of the great Norman houses to take surnames, sometimes territorial, sometimes patronymic, which in course of time became hereditary. Thus, when Robert of Bruce and William of Percy found themselves the possessors of far greater estates in England than in Normandy, and their main interests were no longer Norman but English, and even when their descendants had lost their original connection with the place of Bruce or Percy, and the name no longer suggested the thought of the place, *Bruce* and *Percy* remained the hereditary surnames of their families. Many such English family names are found on the *Roll of Battel Abbey*. There was nothing like this in England before the conquest, but ever since then the practice has prevailed among English land-owners of taking their hereditary surnames from their estates in England.

Those who, not being possessed of any landed property, had no such surname to take, were in the habit of taking their father's name instead, and thus the son of *John* or *William* became *Fitz-John* or *Fitz-William* if he

was of Norman;<sup>1</sup> *Johnson* or *Williamson* if of English or Danish descent. But even as the territorial, so the patronymic surname lost its original meaning on becoming hereditary, and thus applied to women as well as to men. It may be interesting to notice to what a variety of diminutives and derivatives this class of English surnames gave rise. From *Henry* or *Harry*, for instance, with its regular derivative *Harrison*, we have *Harris*, *Herries*, *Hall*, *Halket*, *Halkin*; *Haws*, *Hawes*, and *Hawkins*. *Elias* produces *Ell*, *Ellson*, *Elkin*, *Elkinson*; *Ellice*, *Ellis*, *Ellison*; *Ellet*, *Elliott*, and *Elliotson*. From *David* we have not only *Davidge* and *Davidson*, but also *Davy*, *Davis*, *Davison*; *Davies*, *Dawes*, *Dawson*, and *Dawkins*. From *Hugh* we have *Hughes*, *Huggett*, *Huggins*, *Hugginsson*; *Hew*, *Hewson*, *Hewison*, *Hewett*, *Hewetson*, *Hewlet*, *Hewell*, and seemingly, also, *Whewell*. From *Nicholas* we have *Nichols* and *Nicholson* contracted into *Nixon*; also *Cole*, *Colet*, *Colley*, and *Collins*. From *Benjamin* came the diminutive *Benn* and its derivative *Benson*. From *Gregory*, *Gregg* and *Gregson*. From *Gilbert*, *Gibbs*, *Gibson*, *Gibbins*, and *Gibbon*. From *Matthew*, *Mathews*, *Mathison*, *Madison*, *Matsell*, and *Mattson*. From *Simon*, *Sim*, *Sims*, *Simmes*, *Simmons*, and *Simpson*. From *Timothy*, *Tim*, *Timms*, *Timmings*, and *Timpson*. From *Bartholomew*, *Batts*, *Bates*, *Bartlett*, and *Batson*. From *Richard*, in addition to *Richards* and *Richardson*, *Dick*, *Dickens*, *Dickinson*, and also *Dix* and *Dixon*. In the same way from *Alexander* we have *Sanders* and *Sanderson*; from *John*, *Jones* and *Johnson*, *Jack* and *Jackson*; from *Lawrence*, *Larry*, *Larkins*, and *Lawson*; from *Thomas*, *Thom*, *Thoms*, *Thompson*, and *Thompkins*; from *Walter*, *Watts*, *Watson*, and *Watkins*; and from *William*, *Williams*, *Williamson*, *Wills*, *Wilks*, *Wilkinson*, *Bill*, *Bilson*, *Wilson*, etc.

This primitive custom of making the father's Christian name the surname of the child, to distinguish him from other persons bearing the same appellation, and which in course of time and under various influences has led, in England, to changes and disguises so curious as to be often hardly recognizable, finds its origin in the highest antiquity. *Caleb the son of Jephunneh*, *Joshua the son of Nun*, are early examples; so also *Icarus the son of Dædalus*, *Dædalus the son of Eupalmus*; and it is worthy of observation that this primitive practice has descended to modern times in such designations as *William Fitz-Hugh*, *Stephen*

<sup>1</sup> *Fitz*, prefixed to Norman names, is a corruption of *filis*, in Latin *filius*.

*Isaacson*, and the like. Sometimes the adjunct expressed the country or profession, or other distinctive characteristic of the bearer, as *Herodotus of Halicarnassus*, *Polycles the Sculptor*, *Diogenes the Cynic*, *Dionysius the Tyrant*, etc.

The Romans had a very complete system of nomenclature. The whole commonwealth was divided into various *clans* called *gentes*, each of which was subdivided into several *families*. Thus in the *Gens Cornelia* were included the families of the *Scipiones*, *Lentuli*, *Cethegi*, *Dolabellæ*, *Cinnæ*, *Syllæ*, etc. It is doubtful, however, whether these *familie* were descended from a common ancestor, though they had religious rites in common. To mark the different *gentes* and *familie*, and to distinguish the individuals of the same race, they had usually three names, viz., the *prænomen*, the *nomen*, and the *cognomen*.

The *prænomen* denoted the *individual*, the *nomen* marked the *gens*, and the *cognomen* distinguished the *familia*. Thus in Publius Cornelius Scipio, *Publius* corresponded to our *John*, *Thomas*, *William*; *Cornelius* pointed out the *clan* or *gens*; and *Scipio* conveyed the information that the individual in question belonged to that particular family of the *Cornelii* which descended from the pious *Scipio* who, from his practice of leading about his aged and blind father, thus figuratively became his *scipio* or staff.

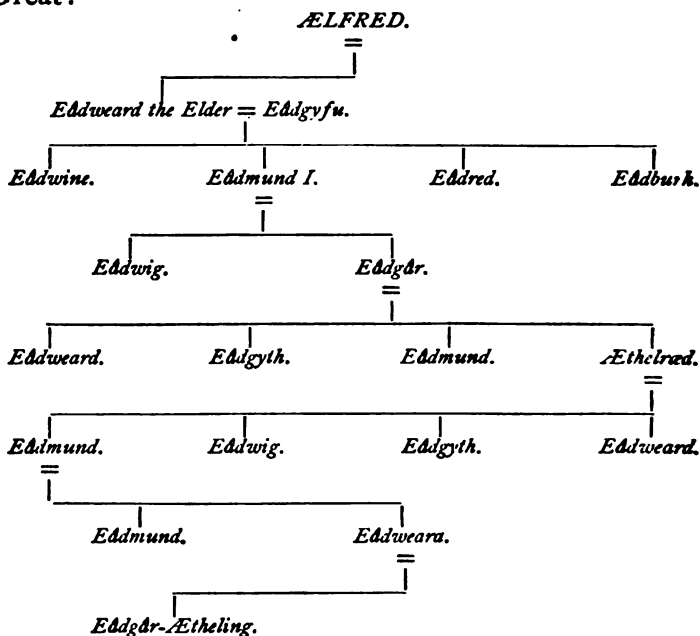
Persons of the highest eminence, particularly military commanders, sometimes received a fourth name, or *agnomen*, often commemorative of conquests, and borrowed from the proper name of the hostile country, as *Coriolanus*, *Africanus*, *Asiaticus*, *Germanicus*, etc. In general, only two of the names were used—frequently but one. In addressing a person, the *prænomen* was generally employed, since it was peculiar to citizens, for slaves had no *prænomen*.

Although the Anglo-Saxons had no regular system of family nomenclature resembling that of the Romans, or that which we now possess, there was nominally among them something like an attempt to show derivation and family relationship by the use of similar *personal* names. Thus in one family we find in succession, or simultaneously, *Wigmund*, *Wighelm*, *Wigláf*, *Wihstán*; or *Beornric*, *Beornhedh*, *Beornhelm*. Of the seven sons of Æthelfrith, king of Northumberland, five bore names compounded with *os*; *Oslaf*, *Oslác*, *Oswald*, *Oswin*, and *Oswidu*. In the succession of the same royal family we find the male names, *Os-*



*frith, Oswine, Osric, Osraed, Oswulf, Osbald, and Osbeorht,* and the female *Osthryth*; and some of these are repeated several times.

The following genealogical table shows how strongly this practice was adhered to by the progeny of Alfred the Great:



In a genealogy of the West Saxon kings we find the names of *Eadgar-Eadmunding, Eadmund-Eadwarding, Eadward-Ælfreding, Ælfred-Awolfing*, etc., of which the terminative syllable *ing*, as indicating clan, family, or tribe, has been explained elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

Personal characteristics were also used at an early date among the Anglo-Saxons to designate individuals. Thus Bede, speaking of the two missionary apostles of the old Saxons, says: "As they were both of one devotion, so they both had one name, for each of them was called *Hewald*, yet with this distinction, taken from the color of their hair, that one was styled *Black Hewald*, and the other *White Hewald*." From this it would appear that *White, Black, Red, Bald*, etc., were then common as second

<sup>1</sup> See page 192.

or descriptive names, as were also *Good, Cunning, Proud,* and the like. Sometimes, also, they were taken from the place of residence, with the particle *æt*, as *Eadmaer æt Burhham*, for instance. The names of *Atmere, Atwell, Attwood, Attwater, Attemore, Attegate, Attercliffe, Atterbury, Updyke, Upton, Underwood, Underhill,* and the like are of this description.

The precise period at which such second names became *stationary*, or, in other words, began to descend hereditarily from father to son, it would at this distance of time be impossible to show. Camden says, "about the year of our Lord 1000, surnames became to be taken up in France; and in England about the time of the conquest, or else a very little before, vnder King Edward the Confessor, who was all Frenchified. . . . This will seem strange to some Englishmen and Scottishmen, whiche, like the Arcadians, thinke their surnames as antient as the moone, or at the least to reach many an age beyond the conquest. But they which thinke it most strange (I speake vnder correction), I doubt they will hardly finde any surname which descended to posterity before that time: neither haue they seene (I feare) any deede or donation before the conquest, but subsigned with crosses and single names without surnames, in this manner: ✠ *Ego Eadredus confirmaui.* ✠ *Ego Edmundus corroborauit.* ✠ *Ego Sigarius conclusi.* ✠ *Ego Olfstanus consolidauit,*" etc.

However this may be, and whatever may be advanced in favor of an earlier adoption of family designations or surnames in particular cases, it is certain that the practice of making the second name of an individual stationary, and transmitting it to descendants, gradually came into common use during the eleventh and three following centuries. By the middle of the twelfth it began, in the estimation of some, to be essential that persons of rank should bear some designation in addition to the baptismal name. We have an instance of this in the wealthy heiress of the powerful baron Fitz-Hamon's making the want of a surname in Robert, natural son of King Henry I, an objection to his marriage with her. The lady is represented as saying:

It were to me great shame,  
To haue a lord withouten his twa name!<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Robert of Gloucester.

when the monarch, to remedy the defect, gave him the surname of *Fitz-Roy*; a designation which has been given at several subsequent periods to some of the progeny of the English kings.

The practice of borrowing family names from patrimonial estates became usual about the commencement of the eleventh century, as we have said, in Normandy and the contiguous parts of France. Chiefly of this kind are the names which appear in the *Great Roll of Battel Abbey*, a list of the principal commanders and companions in arms of William the Conqueror. Under the feudal system the great barons assumed as surnames the proper names of their seignories; the knights who held under them did the like; and these in turn were imitated by all who possessed a landed estate, however small. Camden remarks, that there is not a single village in Normandy that has not surnamed some family in England. The French names introduced at the conquest may generally be known by the prefixes *de, du, des, de la, st. or saint*, and by the suffixes *font, ers, fant, beau, age, mont, ard, aux, bois, ly, cux, et, val, court, vaux, lay, fort, ot, champ, and ville*; most of which are component parts of proper names of places, as one may convince himself by a glance at the map of northern France.

It would be a great mistake, however, in English persons bearing names of French origin to conclude, without further evidence, that they must needs be descended from some stalwart Norman who hacked his way to eminence and fortune through the serried ranks of the Saxons at Hastings. It should be remembered that, in the eight centuries that have elapsed since the conquest, there have been numerous settlements of the French in England; for instance, Queen Isabella of France, the consort of Edward II, introduced in her train many personages bearing surnames previously unknown in England; as *Longchamp, D'Evereux, D'Arcy, Savage, Molincux, D'Anvers*, and others, to say nothing of the various settlements of merchants, mechanics, artists, and refugees of all kinds who have sought and found, at all times, an "island home" in Great Britain.

A great many surnames occur in Domesday-book. Some of these are *local*, as *De Grey, De Vernon, D'Oily*; some *patronymical*, as *Richardus filius Gisleberti*; and others *official or professional*, as *Gulielmus Camerarius* (the chamberlain), *Radulphus Venator* (the hunter), *Gisleber-*

tus *Cocus* (the cook), etc., etc. "But very many," as Camden remarks, "occur with their Christian names only, as *Olaff, Nigellus, Eustachius, Baldricus*." It is to be observed that those with single names are "noted last in every shire, as men of least account," and as sub-tenants.

Although the practice of adopting hereditary surnames from manors and localities originated in Normandy, we are not therefore to conclude that every name with *de* prefixed is of Norman origin, for in course of time many families of Saxon lineage, upon acquiring wealth, copied the example of their conquerors in this particular. Often, moreover, this *de* was of no account whatever, and, instead of indicating the ownership of great landed estates, mainly referred to the town or district the person originally came *from*. When found with Dutch or Flemish names, it is always the definite article corresponding to the Norman *le* added to names, denoting trades and business occupations. The original Norman *de* invariably referred to territorial possessions, whether in England or on the Continent.

In some cases the Normans preferred the surname derived from their ancient patrimonies in Normandy; in others they substituted one taken from the estate given them by the Conqueror and his successors. In a few instances the particle *de* or *d'* is still retained; but, generally speaking, it was dropped from the surnames about the time of Henry VI, when the title *esquier* among the heads of families, and *gentylman* among younger sons, began pretty generally to be substituted. Thus, instead of *John de Alchorne, William de Catesby*, etc., the landed gentry wrote themselves, *John Alchorne of Alchorne, Esq., William Catesby of Catesby, Gent.*, etc.

As most people were not distinguished by the possession of landed estates, it is interesting to notice the sources from which English family names have been generally derived.

In the first place, for want of being able to use the prefix *de* in the sense of ownership, it was quite natural for people, in order to avoid confusion, to name the place they came from. This will account for such names as *Kentish, Devenish, Cornish*, though family names derived from counties in the British dominions came generally to be used without this termination, as *Cheshire, Kent, Cornwall, Devon, Durham, Dorset, Renfrew, Somerset, Montgomery*, etc. The same with surnames derived from towns and

cities, as *Bath, Hull, Lincoln, Lester, Winchester, Chichester, Warwick, Bedford, Carlisle, Hastings, Blackburn, Hampton, Huntingdon, Wells, Poole, Rugby, Grimsby, Halifax*, and others too numerous to mention. Thousands of English surnames are derived from villages and obscure towns, as *Battle, Barnham, Compton, Arlington, Deane, Clayton, Goring, Heathfield, Hartfield, Kingston, Preston, Sutton, Penhurst, Wadhurst, Waldron*, etc., etc. Numerous as are the surnames thus derived, those borrowed from manors, farms, and single houses, are very much more so; hence, the surnames of local origin in England may be counted by thousands. Most of them are descriptive, and their meaning can be readily understood.

One would suppose that, when almost every description of locality, whether county, town, village, manor, park, hill, dale, bridge, river, pond, wood, or green, when every imaginable modification of every Christian name had contributed to the family nomenclature of the English people, the few millions of families inhabiting the island would have all been supplied with surnames. But such was not the case, and having used local names and others describing the various features of the land as suitable family names, it is but natural that in course of time its products, and in fact every natural object, should be used for the same purpose. Thus, the following names of trees constantly occur as family surnames: *Alder, Ashe, Aspen, Brech, Birch, Box, Cherry, Chestnut, Crabtree, Elmes, Hazel, Hawthorne, Laurel, Maples, Oakes, Pine, Plumtree, Sickles, Thorne, and Willows*. In addition to these we have the names of *Almond, Barberry, Bramble, Brier, Beet, Budd, Bean, Broome, Clover, Cockle, Damson, Daisy, Fernc, Fennel, Flower, Flax, Furze, Hempe, Lily, Medlar, Melon, Nutt, Nettle, Peach, Plum, Primrose, Rose, Stock, Straw, Sage, Tarcs, Thistle, Weed, and Wood*.

From this to the animals that live in the field is but a step, and so we find the names of *Bear, Buck, Badger, Bull, Bullock, Boar, Beaver, Colt, Deer, Doe, Fox, Fawn, Hart, Hogg, Hare, Hound, Lyon, Lamb, Otter, Roebuck, Ram, Roe, Setter, Steed, Squirrel, Seal, Stagg, and Capel*,<sup>1</sup> also used as surnames.

Surnames derived from birds are full as numerous as those from quadrupeds. Thus we have *Bird, Blackbird,*

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<sup>1</sup> *Capel* is an old word, signifying a strong horse; hence Chaucer:  
"And gave him *caples* to his cartc."

*Bunting, Crane, Cock, Crowe, Capon, Drake, Duck, Dove, Daw, Egles, Fowle, Finch, Falcon, Grouse, Gander, Goose, Gosling, Gull, Goldfinch, Hawk, Heron, Jay, Kite, Linnet, Larke, Mallard, Nightingale, Peacock, Partridge, Pheasant, Pigeon, Parrot, Raven, Rooke, Ruff, Swan, Sparrow, Swallow, Starling, Stock, Swift, Teale, Thrush, Woodcock, Wren.* *Henshaw*, in old English *Hernshaw*, meaning "a young heron," is now obsolete.<sup>1</sup>

From fishes we have *Bass, Cod, Crabbe, Dolphin, Gudgeon, Haddock, Herring, Lamprey, Mullett, Perch, Pilchard, Plaice, Pike, Pickerel, Ray, Roach, Sharke, Sturgeon, Salmon, Sole, Smelt, Sprat, Seal, Trout, Tench, Whiting, Whale*, to which we may add *Fish* and *Fisk*, the latter being the elder form of the same word.

Minerals, of course, have not been forgotten, and figure among English surnames as follows: *Amber, Brass, Cristal, Clay, Coale, Copper, Dymond, Flint, Gold, Silver, Garnett, Gravel, Jewell, Sands, Steele, and Stone.*<sup>2</sup>

In addition to all these different classes of surnames, derived from Christian names, local names, names of beasts, birds, fishes, trees, plants, fruits, flowers, and metals, many, and indeed most others, are descriptive of the industrial occupations of the original bearer. The practice of using such words as family names began at an early date, and many of them still survive which were derived from crafts that have ceased to exist. Among such are *Archer, Fletcher,*<sup>3</sup> *Furbisher, Harper, Larbalestier,*<sup>4</sup> *Lorimer,*<sup>5</sup> *Massinger, Pointer, Lardner*, etc., in French; *Arrowsmith, Billman, Bowman, Butts,*<sup>6</sup> *Crowder,*<sup>7</sup> *Hawker, Hostler, Pikeman, Stringer, String-*

<sup>1</sup> "*He don't know a hawk from a handsaw*" is a proverb often applied to an ignoramus. For *handsaw* read *hernshaw*. The saying originally and primarily referred to ignorance of a favorite sport—that of falconry—when the said ignoramus could not discriminate between the hawk and *its prey*.

<sup>2</sup> *Coke* has nothing to do with charred coal; it is the old orthography of *Cook*:

"A *coke* they hadden with hem for the nones  
To boile the chickenes and the marie-bones,  
He coud-e roste and sethe and boile and frie,  
Maken mortrewes and wel bake a pie."—Chaucer, *Prologue*.

<sup>3</sup> *Fletcher*, from the French *fleche* "an arrow," in English "arrowsmith."

<sup>4</sup> Cross-bowman.

<sup>5</sup> A *lorimer* was "a maker of bits, bridles, and spurs."

<sup>6</sup> *Butts*, "marks for archery." In the days when

. . . . England was but a fling

Save for the "Crooked Stick" and the "Grey-Goose Wing,"

most parishes had a place set apart for this necessary sport, and the place is still indicated in many parishes by the name of "the Butts." A person resident near such a spot would very naturally assume the name of "John at the Butts."

<sup>7</sup> A *Crowder* or *Crowth* was one who played upon the *crowd*, an ancient

*fellow*, etc., in English. "Touching such as have their surnames of occupations," remarks Verstegan, "be they French or English names, it is not to be doubted but their ancestors have first gotten them by such trades, and the children of such parents, being contented to take them upon them, their after-coming posterity can hardly avoid them, and so in time cometh rightly to be said :

"From whence comes *Smith*, all be he knight or squire,  
But from the *Smith* that forgeth at the fire.

"Neither can it be disgraceful in any that now live in very worshipful estate and reputation that their ancestors in former ages have been, by their honest trades of life, good and necessary members of the commonwealth, seeing all gentry hath first taken issue from commonalty."

Some of the most unusual, as well as others of the most ordinary, English surnames are compounds of *Smith*. It is rather curious that, although the appellations of the *blacksmith* and the *whitesmith*, both very common avocations, do not occur as surnames, that of *brownsmith*, an obsolete calling, does. The *brownsmith* of five centuries since must have been a person of some consideration, when the far-famed *brown-bills* of the English yeomen struck terror into the hearts of their enemies. *Nasmyth* is probably a corruption of "nailsmith." The *spearsmiths* and *shoosmiths* were respectively makers of spears and of horse-shoes. *Goldsmiths* are numerous everywhere. *Arrowsmith* is not uncommon, but it must not be confounded with *Arsmith*, meaning in Anglo-Saxon, "a brazier," from *ar*, "brass." *Bucksmith* is doubtless a corruption of "buckle-smith."<sup>1</sup>

In the north of England a *sock* means a ploughshare; hence "socksmith," curiously corrupted to *Sucksmith* and *Sixsmiths*. *Smith* in Gaelic is *Gow*; hence *M'Gowan* is *Smithson*. The *Gows* were once as numerous in Scotland as the *Smiths* in England, and would be so at this time had not many of them, at a very recent date, translated the name to *Smith*.<sup>2</sup>

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stringed instrument, the prototype of the modern violin, called in Welsh *crwth*, and in Irish *cruit*. Spenser, in his *Epithalamion*, has—

"The pipe, the tabor, and the trembling *croud*."

<sup>1</sup> "Brydel bytters, blacke-smythes, and ferrars,

*Bokell-smythes*, horse leches and gold beters."—*Cocke Lorelle's Bote*.

<sup>2</sup> The root of this term is the Anglo-Saxon *smitan*, "to smite," and was therefore originally applied not merely to smiths alone, but also to wheelwrights, carpenters, masons, and *smiters* in general. It was, in fact, precisely among the

But leaving the *Smiths* and their relatives, let us notice the long list of English surnames derived from other trades and occupations. We have, then, the *Masons* and the *Carpenters*, the *Bakers* and the *Butchers*, the *Butlers* and *Taverners*, the *Carters* and *Wagners*, the *Saddlers* and *Girdlers*, the *Tylers* and *Slaters*, the *Cartwrights* and *Wheelwrights*, the *Plowrights* and *Wainwrights*, the *Woodgers* and *Colemans*, the *Boxers* and *Coopers*, the *Taylor* and *Drapers*, the *Plowmans* and *Thatchers*, the *Farmers* and *Shepherds*, the *Chapmans* and *Grocers*, the *Cowpers* (or *Coopers*) and *Cutlers*, the *Wheelers* and *Millers*, the *Tanners* and *Glovers*, the *Wrights* and *Joiners*, the *Salters* and *Spicers*, the *Hedgers* and *Ditchers*, the *Stayners* and *Gilders*, the *Moulders* and *Callenders*, the *Miners* and *Mariners*, the *Spaders* and *Harrowers*, the *Thrashers* and *Mowers*, the *Browkers* or *Brokers*, the *Pursers* and *Banckers*, the *Messengers*, *Ensigns* and *Sergents*, the *Beemans* and *Honeymans*, the *Pilots* and *Caulkers*, the *Drivers* and *Drovers*, the *Trappers* and *Ginmans*, the *Lawyers* and *Barristers*, the *Talkers* and *Laughers*, the *Bards* and *Rhymers*, the *Gardeners* and *Toilers*, the *Armorers* and *Furbishers*, the *Shipwrights* and *Brewers*, the *Pipers* and *Vidlers*, the *Horners* and *Drummers*, the *Bellringers* and *Hornblowers*, the *Cooks* and *Porters*, the *Hosters* and *Weavers*, the *Caterers* and *Cheesemans*, the *Colliers* and *Sawyers*, the *Turners* and *Potters*, the *Hoopers* and *Hookers*, the *Sellers* and *Salemans*, the *Plummers* and *Glaisyers*, the *Skinners* and *Woolers*, the *Paynters* and *Dyers*, the *Mercers* and *Bucklers*, the *Boardmans* and *Inmans*, the *Chandlers* and *Pedlars*, the *Rhymers* and *Readers*, the *Ropers* and *Corders*, the *Twinners*, the *Stringers*, etc., etc., including every craft, profession, trade, or occupation carried on in old England.<sup>1</sup>

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early English what *faber* was among the Romans—*any smith, forger, hammerer, maker, or mechanical workman*. The word occurs in the *Saxon Chronicle* in a warlike sense: "Angles and Saxons came to land, o'er the broad seas, Britain sought. Mighty *war-smiths* the Welsh o'er came!"

<sup>1</sup> The termination *er* is a masculine suffix, the feminine of which is *ster*; hence *Brewster*, *Baxter*, *Webster*, and *Spinster* are names which signify a woman (not a man) who brews, bakes, weaves, or spins. That the business of brewing was anciently carried on by women is evident from the following authorities: In Sir John Skene's *Borough Laws*, *Browsters* are described as "Wemen quha brewes aill to be sauld." "Gif *she* makes gude ail," says an old Scottish statute, "that is sufficient. Bot gif *she* makes evill ail *she* shall pay aucht shillinges or sall be put upon the cockstule, and the aill sall be distributed to the pure folke." In the *Customal of the town of Rye* we read, "if a *brūster*, free, hath made ale, and sell it in the foreign, in fairs, or in markets, and the lord of the soil will distress *her* against her will for the sale of the said ale, etc." Artificers were, by statute of 27, Edw. III, c. 5, 6, tied down to one occupation with an exception of *female* brewers, bakers, weavers, spinners, and other women employed upon



Names of the foregoing description, however mean in their origin, are now frequently found among the highest classes of society. The names *Collier* and *Salter*, for instance, are, or have been, in the British peerage, although those occupations were once considered so menial and vile that none but bondmen would follow them. "Some names of this sort have been changed in orthography to hide their original meanness, mollified ridiculously," says Camden, "lest their bearers should seem vilified by them. *Carteer*, *Smeeth*, *Tayleure*, *Cuttlar*, etc., are frequently met with as the substitutes of *Carter*, *Smith*, *Tailor*, and *Cutler*. Wise was the man that told my Lord Bishop that his name was not *Gardener* as the English pronounce it, but *Gardiner*, with the French accent, and *therefore a gentylman*."<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, many names of trades and occupations existed as French surnames in England as far back as the year 1200. Thus we have *Draper*, *Faber* or *Favre*, *Falconer* or *Faucuner*, *Forester* or *Foster*, *Marchant*, *Mercer*, *Parker*, *Porter*, *Spicer*, *Le barber*, *Le bouteiler*, *Le cutiler*, *Le cuper*, *Le gardiner*, *Le grosser*, *Le despencer* or *spencer*, *Le latimer* or *latiner*, *Le mascun* or *masun*, *Le peintur*, *Le taylur*, *Le turnur*, *Le walekur*, *Waliker* or *Walker*, which meant "fuller," and *Hellier* or *Helyar*, which in the dialect of Dorsetshire still means a "thatcher" or "tyler." Other names, which also seem to refer to some occupation or office, are less easily accounted for. Some of these are quite high-sounding, such as *Le roy*, *Royal* something, *Duke*, *Baron*, *King*, *Earle*, *Knight*, *Pope*, *Bishop*, *Priest*, *Dean*, *Monk*, etc., and must have been originally assumed and transmitted by persons who did not, in fact, hold the station which the name indicates. Camden's observation is that "the ancestors of persons of such names must have served such, or acted

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works in wool, linen, or silk embroidery, etc. When men began to invade those departments of industry by which women used to earn an honest livelihood, they retained the feminine appellations for some time, as men-milliners do now; but afterward masculine words drove the feminine ones out of the language, as men had driven the women out of the employments. *Spinster* still retains its genuine termination, and the language of the law seems to presume that every unmarried woman is employed in spinning.

<sup>1</sup> In our own times family names are often changed in accordance with testamentary injunctions accompanying bequests of property. Motives less weighty, though not less powerful, have now and then produced startling changes of the kind. Nor is the practice new, or confined to public characters. Swift, in the *Examiner*, No. 40, 1711, says, "I know a citizen who adds or alters a letter in his name with every plum he acquires; he now wants only the change of a vowel to be allied to a sovereign prince in Italy, and that, perhaps, he may contrive to be done by a mistake of the graver upon his tombstone."

such parts, or were Kings of the Beane, Christmas Lords, etc." Most probably such names were mere nicknames, given in sport, in scorn, or derision, by mothers, or nurses, or playmates; and which, adhering to individuals when surnames began to be hereditary, were handed down to posterity. The same with names descriptive of particular traits, manners, or bodily peculiarities. *Le Grand, Le Vert, Le Noir, Blancard, Grosse-Teste*, and others in French; *Green, Brown, White, Black, Reid,<sup>1</sup> Thin, Short, Small, Little, Broadhead, Woodhead, Addlehead, Blackhead, Whitehead, Whitelock, Lightfoot, Longshanks, Sheepshanks, Armstrong, Longfellow, Longman, Tallman, Prettyman, Doolittle, Hussey, Trollope, Longnose, Longness, Thickness, Sothin, Peckfat, Metcalf, Boyman, Hangitt, Noyes*, etc., in English, are family names which had no other origin.

As some surnames seem to flourish only in their native soil, and refuse to thrive when transplanted to another province, many of them, to take root in a new field, underwent considerable modifications in their character. The changes of names of English derivation, both in orthography and pronunciation, are chiefly confined to the vowel sounds, and may be attributed mainly to the broadening or narrowing tendencies of the various provincial dialects. But in the case of French surnames naturalized in England, their alteration in sound and orthography is sometimes so great as to render them, compared with the original form, utterly unrecognizable. The readiest corruption from the French is that which turns *ville* into *field*, as *Blomfield* from *Blondeville*, *Summerfield* from *Somerville*, and then again to *well*, as *Rosseville* to *Roswell*, *Bosseville* to *Boswell*. Simple *La Ville* has become *Larwell, Tuberville, Troublefield, and Botteville, Botfield*. Worse it was for *De Ville*, which became *Devil*, and for *De Ath* which was contracted into *Death*. *Mowbray* changed into *Mummery*, and *Molincux*, into *Mullnicks*. From *Butvillaine* they made first *Butwilliam*, and afterward shortened it to *Butlin*. *Mesnilwarin* became *Manwaring, Taille-boys, Tallboys, and Damprecourt, Dabscot*. Under such circumstances, no wonder that *Le Fevre* became *Fever, Phillipot, Filpot, Della Chambre, Deal*

<sup>1</sup> The very common surname, *Read, Reid, or Reed*, sometimes pluralized to *Reeds*, is an old spelling of *red*, and was primarily applied in reference to complexion. Chaucer speaks of "Floures both white and *rede*," and Sir John Maundeville, describing the Red Sea, says: "That see is not more *reed* than another see, but in some places thereof is the gravelle *reede*, and therefore men clepen it the *Rede Sea*."

*chamber, Scardeville, Scaredevil, De Boxhalle, Boxall.* Though between a nosegay and a pail there exists no analogy, *Bouquet* was turned into *Buckett*.

Some counties and districts have peculiar surnames which are rarely found beyond their limits. They generally belong to the local class of names, and the tenacity with which they cleave to the soil which gave them birth is something truly remarkable. Thus we can trace to many parts of England the original Danish names which were almost always those of early Danish settlements, such as *Althorpe, Estrop, Winthrop, Kirby, Grimsby, Ormsby, Holmes, Flatholm, Grasholm, Wostenholm, Ipswich, Aldrich, Berwick, Sedgwick, Thwaite, Hallthwaite, Ormathwaite, Whitbeck, Leebeck, Bradwell, Dingwell, Laxvoe, Westvoe, Protheroe, Gatesgill, Pickersgill, Hogarth, Applegarth, Walney, Ramsey, Nash, Kendal, Wexford, Hindhaugh, Lowestoft, Wilberforce, Stackpole,* etc.

Cornwall, from its peninsular form, has retained this peculiarity more than any other county; and as the names of places in this part are almost exclusively derived from Celtic roots, its family nomenclature differs materially from that of the rest of England.

“By Tre, Pol, and Pen,  
Ye shall know the Cornish-men,”

says an old ditty, and Camden has amplified it to—

“By Tre, Rhos, Pol, Llan, Caer, and Pen,  
You may know the most Cornish-men.”

We have already said elsewhere that *Tre* signifies “a town or dwelling”; *Rhos*, a “moor”; *Pwell*, a “pool”; *Llan*, a “church”; *Caer*, a “cairn”; and *Pen*, a “head or mountain.”<sup>1</sup>

As in Cornwall, so in Wales, surnames are almost all derived from localities, and until a comparatively recent period no surnominal adjunct was used among the Welsh beyond *ap*, or “son of,” as *David ap Howell, Evan ap Rhys, Griffith ap Roger, John ap Richard*, now corrupted into *Powell, Price, Prodger, and Pritchard*. To a like origin may be referred a considerable number of the surnames beginning with P and B now in use in England, among which may be mentioned *Price, Pumphrey, Parry, Probert, Probyn, Pugh, Penry; Bevan, Bithell, Barry, Benyon, and Bowers*.

<sup>1</sup> See pages 123 and 124.

A more ancient form than *ap* is *hab*. This or *vap* constantly occurs in charters of the time of Henry VI. It was not unusual, even but a century back, to hear of such combinations as *Evan-ap-Griffith-ap-David-ap-Jenkin*, and so on to the seventh or eighth generation, so that an individual carried his pedigree in his name.<sup>1</sup>

The great majority of Irish surnames are derived from the proper names of distinguished ancestors. Local surnames rarely or never occur. Even the names of clans or septs formerly in use were taken from the names of distinguished chieftains, and not from the districts they inhabited. In the early records of the country, certain terms expressive of descent are constantly employed to distinguish the various tribes. Up to the period of King Brian Boru, in the tenth century, the Irish people were distinguished by these tribe-names only. That monarch issued an edict that the descendants of the heads of tribes and families then in power should take name from them, either from the fathers or grandfathers, and that these names should become hereditary and fixed forever. It is not unlikely that at the first assumption of surnames some families went back several generations to select an illustrious ancestor on whom to build themselves a name. Indeed, some Irish families claim a royal descent which, if proved on authentic pedigree, would make their lineage more ancient than that of any crowned head in Europe.

A false impression prevails that in Ireland the "O" is more respectable than the "Mac," whereas no such distinction really exists, inasmuch as every family, whether of Firbolgic, Milesian, or Danish origin, is entitled to bear either prefix. A beggar may have been an "O," while several "Macs" have been sovereign princes. In Connaught the gentry of Milesian descent are called *O'Connor*, *O'Flaherty*, *O'Malley*, etc., while the peasantry, their collateral relatives, have disused the "O" and style themselves simply *Connor*, *Flaherty*, and *Malley*.

"O," prefixed to an Irish name, literally means *grandson*; but, in a more enlarged sense, "any male descendant," like the Latin *nepos*. "Mac" signifies *son*, or "male descendant." The former word is translated *nepos* by all

<sup>1</sup> The following curious description of a Welshman occurs 15 Hen. VII: *Morgano Philip* alias dicto *Morgano vap David vap Philip*. The church of Llangollen in Wales is said to be dedicated to *Sf. Collen-ap-Gwynnawg-ap-Clyndaug - ap-Cowrda-ap-Caradoc-Freichfras -ap-Llynn-Merim-ap-Einion - Yrth-ap-Cunedda-Wledig*.

the writers of Irish history in the Latin language, and the latter *filius*. The only difference, therefore, between the surnames with "O" and those with "Mac" is, that those who assumed the latter adopted the father's name or *patronymic*, while those who took the former chose the designation of the grandfather, the *papponymic*.<sup>1</sup>

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the Irish families increased, and their territories underwent subdivision by the rival chieftains of the same family, each chief assumed, for distinction's sake, some addition to the family surname; thus there were "the" Mac-Dermot, the head of his race, and his tributaries, Mac Dermot *Roe* or "the Red," and Mac Dermot *Gall* or "the Anglicized"; Mac Carthy *More* or "the Great," Mac Carthy *Reagh*, or "the Swarthy;" and again, O'Connor *Roe*, "the Red-haired," and O'Connor *Don*, "the Brown-haired." All these additional names were perpetuated by the representatives of each branch for a long period, and even now are not extinct. It is a popular error in Ireland, that *Don* is a title of honor borrowed from the Spanish, and signifying "Lord," because an O'Connor Don happens to be the chief of his family; whereas, as we have just seen, it is merely an hereditary epithet borrowed from a physical peculiarity of its original bearer.

The Irish families who lived under the English rule or near its pale, gradually conformed to the English customs and assumed English surnames, and their doing so was deemed to be of such political importance that it was thought worthy of the consideration of parliament. In the year 1465 an act was passed intituled, "an Act, that the Irish men dwelling in the counties of Dublin, Myeth, Uriell, and Kildare, shall goe appavelled like English men, and wear their beards after the English maner, swear allegiance, and take *English Surname*." This act directs every Irishman whom it concerns to "take to him an English

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<sup>1</sup> According to the following distich, the titles *Mac* and *O'* are not merely what the logicians call accidents, but altogether essential to the very being and substance of an Irishman:

"Per Mac atque O, tu veros cognoscis Hibernos,  
His duobus demptis, nullus Hibernus adest."

Which has been translated:

"By Mac and O,  
You'll always know  
True Irishmen they say;  
For if they lack  
Both O and Mac,  
No Irishmen are they."

Surname of one towne, as *Sutton, Chester, Trym, Skryne, Corke, Kinsale*; or colour, as *White, Blacke, Browne*; or arte or science, as *Smith* or *Carpenter*; or office, as *Cooke, Butler*; and that he and his issue shall use this name under payne of forfeiting of his goods yearely till the premises be done." Thus compelled, the Mac and O'Gowans became *Smiths*; the Shanachs, *Foxes*; and the Geals, *Whites*; the Mac Intyres, *Carpenters*; the Mac Cogrys, *L'Estranges*; and Mac Killy, *Cook*. Other families resisted this persecuting mandate and clung as resolutely to their *O's* and *Macs* as they did to everything else that could express their feeling of nationality.

In Scotland the Highlanders use the prefix *Mac* to their surname with the same meaning as the Irish; hence the *M' Donalds, M' Dougalls, M' Glashans, M' Alpins, M' Bains, M' Alisters, M' Gregors, M' Phersons, M' Leods, M' Nabs, M' Intoshes, M' Leans, M' Kenzies, M' Kays*, and others whose names are so prefixed. It will be remembered that at one time the Scots, an Irish sept, crossed over into Argyle, and gradually extended their dominion over the whole of the northwest of Scotland, encroaching here and there on the Cymry who held the lowlands, and who were probably the people who go by the name of Picts.<sup>1</sup> In the ninth century the monarchy of the Picts was absorbed by the Scots, which accounts for partial mixture of Gaelic and other Celtic names such as *Duncan, Dunbar, Douglas, Angus, Nairn, Currie, Guthrie, Laurie, Leslie, Paislee, Carnegie, Gillespie, Carlyle, Melrose, Monteith, Cameron, Galloway, Buchanan*, etc., most of which occur in the lowlands of Scotland, while the former prevail in the northern and western districts. Substantially, however, Scotch surnames are English, with some few dialectic peculiarities.

In addition to these there are some curious memorials of the influx of Anglo-Norman nobles into Scotland which took place during the reigns of David I and Malcolm Canmore. In ancient records the name of *Maxwell* is written

<sup>1</sup> The Welsh word *uchel*, "high," may be adduced to prove the Cymric affinities of the Picts. This word does not exist in either the Erse or the Gaelic languages, and yet it appears in the name of the *Ochil* Hills, in Perthshire. In Ayrshire, and again in Linlithgow, we find places called *Ochil-tree*; and there is an *Uchel-tre* in Galloway. The suffix in this case is undoubtedly the characteristic Cymric word *tre*, "a dwelling." Again, the Erse *bally*, "a town," occurs in two thousand names in Ireland; and, on the other hand, is entirely absent from Wales. In Scotland this most characteristic test-word is found frequently in the western district, while it never appears in eastern localities. The evidence of these names makes it impossible to deny that the Celts of the Scottish lowlands must have belonged to the Cymric branch of the Celtic stock.

in the Norman form of *Maccusville*. The name of *Robert de Montealt* has been corrupted into *Mowatt* and *Moffat*; and the families of *Sinclair*, *Fraser*, *Baliol*, *Bruce*, *Campbell*, *Colville*, *Somerville*, *Grant* (le Grand), and *Fleming*, are all, as their names bear witness, of continental ancestry. *Richard Waleys*, that is, "Richard the Foreigner," was the ancestor of the great Wallace, and has left his name at *Richardtun* in Ayrshire. The ancestor of the *Maule* family has left his name at *Maleville*, or *Melville*, in Lothian. *Seton* takes its name from a Norman adventurer called *Say*. *Tankerton*, in Clydesdale, was the fief of *Tancard*, or *Tancred*, a Fleming who came to Scotland in the reign of Malcom IV. And a few village names like *Ingliston*, *Normanton*, and *Flemington*, afford additional evidence of the extensive immigration of foreign adventurers which was encouraged by the Scottish kings.

While the Norman conquest wrought great and lasting effects on personal nomenclature, its effects on local nomenclature were much slighter. The conquest, indeed, has left but few traces on the English map. Although after the battle of Hastings the best lands of England were at once appropriated, and distributed among the sixty thousand followers of the Conqueror as the reward of past and an incitement to future services, the change of local names was only slightly perceptible except in the smaller places. A few Norman-French names, however, may be still pointed to as memorials of the conquest.

To these belong, first of all, the *Manors*, into which the greater part of the kingdom was parceled out. Along with them the Normans introduced into the local nomenclature of England numerous names of *Castles*, which the Conqueror and his immediate successors caused to be erected all over the land. The king himself owned many; and his barons followed his example, and vied with each other in the erection of huge and stately structures. Of these *Richmond* in Yorkshire, and *Montgomery* on the Welsh border, are the most conspicuous. At *Malpas* was a castle built by the first Norman Earl of Chester to guard the "bad pass" into the valley of the Dee. *Montford*, or *Montesford*, in Shropshire, and *Mold* in Flintshire, anciently *Monthault* (Mons Altus) were also frontier fortresses; *Montague*, in Somerset, has Mortaine's Norman castle on its summit, and a Norman abbey at its foot. The commanding situation of *Belvoir* castle justifies its Norman

name. At *Beaumont* near Oxford was a palace of the Norman kings; and at *Pleshy* (*plaisir*) in Essex, the seat of the High Constables of England, the ruins of the Norman kings are still visible. Frequently these castles took their name from the neighborhood, and so there still exist parishes called *Castle Heddingham*, *Castle Cary*, *Castle Acre*, etc. In other instances the name survives the existence of the building, as *Castle Baynard* and *Castle Mountfichet*, once within the precincts of London, but long since demolished. As the Norman noble, even when willing to call his town or village by its old English name, was not always able to lay aside his early predilections, we find not unfrequently very curious combinations, as *Adwick-le-Street*, *Botton-le-Moor*, *Laughton-en-le-Morthen*, *Buckland-tout-Saints*, *Leighton Beau Desert*, *Ashby de la Touche*, etc. Gradually, though, entirely new names were bestowed, as *Beaumanoir*, *Beaumaris*, *Bellasis*, *Belleau*, *Pontefract*, *Rougemont*, *Newcastle*, etc. It was also a common custom to add simply the new owner's name to the original name of the place, as *Hurst Pierpoint*, *Hurst Monceaux*, *Hurst Courtrai*, *Farring Neville*, *Farring Peverell*, *Higham Ferrers*, *Cleobury Mortimer*, *Stoke Lacy*, *Shepton Mallet*, etc.

The Norman sovereigns were passionately fond of the chase, and, as in the case of the "New Forest"—a large tract of land appropriated to that use by the simple process of turning the original owners out—they were not overscrupulous as to the means employed to gratify that taste. They were imitated by their nobles and courtiers throughout the country; and this accounts for the many names formed with *forest*—a word which did not mean a "wood," as now, but localities privileged for the chase, and hunted over only by men of Norman blood. The Church also has left a strong impress of its power under Norman rule in numerous localities. They are easily recognized by the ecclesiastical titles of "Abbott, Monk, Bishop, Prior," which enter into the composition of their names, such as *Abbas-Combe*, *Abbotsbury*, *Monkland*, *Monk-Wearmouth*, *Prior-Hardwick*, *Leamington-Priors*, *Bishops-Lydeard*, *Bishop-Auckland*, *Bishop-Monkton*, *Bishop-Stokes*, *Stoke-Canon*, etc.; while on the Tweed the stately rule of the monks still lives in the well-known name of *Abbotsford*. Connected with the Church, we may also mention the Knights Templar, whose large possessions are still traceable in many local names, such as *Temple* in Cornwall, *Temple-Breuer* in Lincolnshire, *Temple-Newsam* in York-



shire, etc. The headquarters of these soldiers of the cross was in London, and the locality is still known as *The Temple*, though it has long been in possession of another profession.<sup>1</sup>

A conquering nation often finds it difficult to pronounce certain vocables which enter into the names used by the conquered people, and changes constantly arise which bring the ancient names into harmony with the phonetic laws of the language spoken by the conquerors. Many illustrations of this process may be found in Domesday. The "inquisitors" seem to have been slow to catch the pronunciation of the Saxon names, and were, moreover, ignorant of their etymologies, and we meet, consequently, with many ludicrous transformations. The name of *Lincoln*, for example, which is a hybrid of Celtic and Latin, appears in the "Ravenna Geographer" in the form *Lindum Colonia*, and in "Bede" as *Lindocolina*. The enchorial name must have been very nearly what it is now. This, however, the Norman conquerors were unable to pronounce, so they changed the name into *Nincol* or *Nicole*. The name of *Shrewsbury* is an English corruption of the Anglo-Saxon *Scrobbes-byrig* or *Shrubborough*. The Normans, however, corrupted *Scrobbesbury* into *Stoppesburie*, whence the modern name of *Salop* is derived. So also the Roman *Sorbiodunum* was contracted into the English *Sarum*, and then, as in the case of *Salop*, the Normans changed the *r* into an *l*, and have thus given us the form *Salisbury*.

As we have seen already, French and Norman names in England have been peculiarly liable to suffer from similar causes. *Château Vert*, in Oxfordshire, has been converted into *Shotover Hill: Beau chef* into *Beachy Head*; and *Burgh Walter*, the castle of Walter of Douay, who came over with the Conqueror, now appears in the form of *Bridgewater*. *Beau lieu* in Monmouthshire, *Grand pont*, the "great bridge" over the Fal in Cornwall, and *Bon gud*, or the "good ford," in Suffolk, have been Saxonized into *Bewley Woods*, *Grampound*, and *Bungay*. *Leighton Beau-désert* has been changed into *Leighton Buzzard*; and the brazen eagle which forms the lectern in the parish church is gravely exhibited by the sexton to passing strangers as the original buzzard from which the town may be supposed to derive its name.

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<sup>1</sup> Schele de Vere, *Studies in English*, c. vii, passim.

All these details concerning the changes in the national nomenclature of persons and places consequent upon the Norman conquest, though not applying directly to the language itself, are not the less important to notice, as they not only point to the multitude of tongues and dialects then current in the country, but also lend a strong coloring to the many other evidences we have of the real condition of the people in the iron grasp of their new masters, which was not conducive to any literary culture in the first instance, and, indeed, not for many generations after, as is shown by the few wretched compositions of the time that have come down to us. "A language," says Marsh, "which exists, for centuries, only as the jargon of an unlettered peasantry and a dependent race, will preserve but few memorials of its age of humiliation." Nor can it, in that condition, preserve many words or forms that were once expressive of a higher civilization. The vocabulary of the uneducated poor is seldom much larger than is absolutely necessary to express their limited wants and ideas; and if we consider the state of utter wretchedness, poverty, and ignorance in which the native English population was plunged for many generations, we can only wonder that so much has survived of a language which was never much cultivated, was written and read by comparatively few, and spoken in many various dialects in different parts of England.

No language can thrive without a literature, and no literature, without patrons. At no time were these very numerous among the Saxons, and the few persons there were at the time of the conquest that could read and write their own language shared in the common degradation, to make room for others who read French only. Henceforth the native tongue, despised by the latter, not only as unknown, but as the language of a subject race, was left to the use of boors and serfs, and, except in a few stray cases, ceased to be written at all. The natural results soon followed. When the educated generation that saw the arrival of the Norman died out, the language, ceasing to be read and written, lost all its literary words. The words of ordinary life, whose preservation is independent of books, lived on, of course, as ever; but the literary terms, those that related to science, art, and high-culture, were speedily forgotten.

Of the authors who wrote in the first three centuries after the conquest there are but few who used the native

idiom, and, as even then they always wrote in their own local dialect, their compositions show the gradual disintegration of these dialects, rather than the amount of foreign terms current already in their time among the people; for as their works were written professedly for such of the English-speaking majority as understood as yet but little or no French, we can only indirectly judge from them to what extent the foreign idiom was known and used by those who came in more direct contact with their Norman masters. We may, however, conclude that, so long as the native vocabulary answered the limited wants of the great majority of the country-people, few foreign words found currency among them for many generations, except in the immediate vicinity of the larger cities. There the practice of using foreign terms commenced the day the Normans appeared, and this practice, being one of necessity, produced a new vocabulary, which probably was already quite extensive and in regular use by the end of the twelfth century.

This was an important period in the history of the nation as well as of its language. The loss of Normandy in 1204 brought the ruling classes and the commonalty of England closer together, put an end to the transmarine nationality and domicile of the former, and gave a common political interest in relation to the outside world to all dwellers on English soil. From that time forward, the different races—Celts, Saxons, Danes, Normans—who thus far had encamped in hostile attitude on British soil, were in a fair way of being fused into one. If, in spite of common interests and the ever-growing multiplicity of the ties of blood between them, the Normans still kept strictly to their own speech, and continued to consider the popular dialect as a language good enough for the common purposes of life, but unfit as yet for refined intellectual culture, it was no longer with that contemptuous arrogance with which in former days they had looked down upon it as fit for rustics only. The first great step, however, toward that blending of tongues which was to crown the mixing of families already begun, was taken when the native writers and translators of the thirteenth century began to admit freely into their writings an unlimited number of those generally intelligible French words of which the stock was, through closer intercourse between the governors and the governed, perpetually on the increase. As fast as good French books

were produced, Englishmen translated them, and the translations probably found ten readers for one who could enjoy the originals. Thus the new language, pruned and shaped by men of taste and talent, rapidly improved in form and regularity, and, cultivated by the better classes, it reached maturity in the Midland counties first, and especially in and around the capital, where, toward the middle of the fourteenth century, it had acquired sufficient importance to pass current among the Normans themselves. In their mouths, of course, French words and phrases were still more abundant, and more correctly applied; and their mode of speaking, sedulously followed by all who laid any claim to good taste and refinement, was certainly not without its influence on the future construction of the sentence.

For three centuries there had been, in reality, no standard form of speech in England which could claim pre-eminence over the others. Now there was a rapid development of the dialect which before long was to become the national literary language. The war between England and France which broke out in 1338, and resulted in the final loss of all the English possessions on the Continent, further tended to discredit among Englishmen of all classes the language of their enemies, and gave to English an enormous advantage over its rival in respect to popularity. Henceforth schools were perfectly at liberty to use whatever language they pleased as a medium of instruction, and even as early as 1362, pleading in English, as we have seen, was authorized by Act of Parliament in all the law courts of the kingdom, though it was found necessary to continue the practice of recording the cases in Latin, the popular idiom still lacking too much in precision and uniformity to allow its employment for documentary purposes. And yet, while English was thus proclaimed as the national speech of England, it was during the fifty years that followed that more French words entered into the language than at any previous period. The reason of this is obvious. Three centuries of misery and national degradation had stripped the native tongue of full half of its words, and left the remainder in utter confusion. Now that the new language began to be used for other than mere colloquial purposes, the only terms at hand to express ideas above those of every-day life were to be found in the French of the privileged classes, of whom alone art, science, law, and theology had been for generations

the inheritance, and which, even when in its decline, had still a full vocabulary, which could express all current ideas, and serve every purpose of social and business intercourse. The extensive adoption of French words, to supply the place of the forgotten native ones, was therefore only the result of the intellectual movement which prevailed in the half century named. Words that are lost or obsolete are hardly ever revived in any language, and it was not certainly during a period of promise and returning prosperity, when the tendency was to obliterate all former distinctions of origin and race, that there could be any disposition or wish among the men of English descent to revive invidious distinctions through old-fashioned forms of speech which had long since been forgotten. On the contrary, the settled habit of using familiar terms for familiar subjects favored a still greater influx of foreign words, as their use became necessary for the expression of new wants and new ideas, which the improved state of things suggested and created. While words thus introduced had mainly reference to business and matters of general interest, the Normans, in using the new idiom, enriched its vocabulary with many terms relating to their own mode of life and higher social culture. Thus the language, which only a century previous had been a confused jargon, acquired a richness and pliancy which made it equal to all the requirements of the epoch, and at the same time it assumed that mixed character which ever since has been one of its most marked features.

In inquiring into the process of amalgamation of the two idioms that were current in England, side by side, immediately after the conquest, we may leave out of view two classes of people in the first instance—the Norman nobles and the English peasants. The first, immured in fortified castles with their families and retinue, anxiously preserving their original connection with France, where many of them possessed large estates, associating only with their countrymen at the state festivals, when they repaired to the court of their sovereign, and too haughty to converse with their vassals, retained the exclusive use of French to a much later period than that which at present occupies our attention. The second, or “uplandish” men, as they are frequently called—the cities being usually situated in the plains—having little intercourse with their foreign masters and overseers, continued for ages to preserve their Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish dialects,

varying in almost every locality, where in many instances they retain it, only slightly modified, to the present day.<sup>1</sup>

It is, therefore, in the towns only that we can expect to find an early mixture of language resulting from an early mixture of the inhabitants, and to their history we must look for the evidence of its operation. There lived the tradesmen who provided the wealthy Normans with their luxuries; and to sell their wares, they had to be agreeable to their customers and acquaint themselves with their language. Paris and Rouen were the oracles of the fair sex. These cities supplied articles of dress and fashion, wherewith the ladies decked themselves so gayly as to draw down the wrath of the pulpit.<sup>2</sup> In the days of Edward I, we find scores of French words, bearing on ladies' ways of life, employed by English writers. Many were the articles of luxury that came from abroad, and then, as well as now, they kept the name under which they were imported. Simple hues like "red" and "blue" did well enough for the common folk, but the higher classes required a wider range of choice, such as *gray*, *crimson*, *purple*, *scarlet*, *vermilion*, *orange*, and others. The English *chapman* and *monger* now withdrew into low life, making way for the more gentlemanly foreign *marchand*. Still, as the English women were always accounted skillful at needlework,<sup>3</sup> most likely many a clever girl, who had learned her trade at some French mantua-maker's establishment, in time set up for herself; but if she expected to be at all successful, she had to speak the language of her lady customers. Thus a crowd of words found their way into the English vocabulary which, only modified by

<sup>1</sup> Sane tota lingua Nordanimbrorum, et maxime in Eboraco, ita inconditum stridet ut nihil nos australes intelligere possumus. (Will. Malmesbury, *Gest. Pont.*, 209.) In Australibus Angliæ finibus, et præcipue circa Devoniam, Anglica lingua hodie magis videtur incomposita: ea tamen, vetustatem longe plus redolens, borealibus insulæ partibus per crebras Dacorum et Norwagensium irruptiones valve corruptis, originalis linguæ proprietatem, et antiquum loquendi modum magis observat. (Giraldus Cambrensis, i, 6.) Quod Mercii sive Mediterranei Angli, tanquam participantis naturam extremorum, collaterales linguæ, arcticam et antarcticam, melius intelligant quam advicem se intelligunt jam extremi.—Hygden, *Polychron.*, i, 59.

<sup>2</sup> One preacher, in 1160, goes so far as to call fine clothing "the devil's mouse-trap." Yellow raiment and *blanchet*, a kind of cosmetic for whitening the skin, seem to have been reckoned the most dangerous of snares to woman-kind, and through them to mankind in general.—*Old English Homilies*, see page 392.

<sup>3</sup> Anglicæ nationis feminæ multum acu et auri textura valent.—Guill. Pictav., *apud scrip. rer. Norm.*, p. 211.

fashion, are still a notable part of the language. Half of the trades bear French names. *Carpenters, masons, plumbers, joiners, painters*, always found good employment with the rich Normans who covered the country with castles, palaces, and mansions, and the furniture dealers made lots of money in furnishing them with *chairs, tables, commodes, sofas, curtains, carpets, elegantly embroidered pieces of tapestry, generally imported from the continent*, together with such other articles of virtu and objects of curiosity as were used to adorn the sumptuous apartments in the residences of the Norman nobility, and calculated to charm the fastidious tastes of their luxurious existence.

It is not asserted that all these French words written in italics formed part of the English vocabulary as early as the first century after the conquest; but since the precise date of their introduction can not be ascertained, we may at least endeavor to discover the causes and influences which led to their admittance into the language.

Among these, the clergy occupy a place not less conspicuous than the ladies. Their greater learning, their greater intercourse with other parts of the world, was, from one point of view, one of the better results of the conquest; but, on the other hand, it led to a vast inroad of foreign words even in quarters that were inaccessible to the influence of luxury and fashion. "Few of us have an idea," says Oliphant, "of the wonderful changes thus brought about by the teaching of the Franciscans. It was a many-sided brotherhood, being always in contact with the learned, with the wealthy, and with the needy alike. The English friar was equally at home in the school, in the bower, in the hovel. He could speak more than one tongue, thanks to the training that had been bestowed upon his education. We may imagine his every-day life. He spends his morning in drawing up a Latin letter to the General Minister at Oxford or Paris. In the afternoon he visits the lady of the castle, and tells her the last news of Queen Eleanor's court, points a moral with some scriptural quotation, and lifts up his voice against the sad freaks played by fashion in ladies' dress. In the evening he goes to the neighboring hamlet, and holds forth on the green to a throng of horny-handed churls, men who earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brows. A new link was thus formed to bind all classes together in godly fellowship; nothing like this Franciscan movement had ever been known in England. The old was be-

ing replaced by the new. A preacher would suit his language and his subject to his listeners; they cared not to hear about herds or husbandmen, but about their betters. He would, therefore, talk about ladies, knights, and nobles; and when discoursing about these, he must have been often driven to interlard his English with French words, so as to render more faithfully the picture of their doings. Perhaps he himself, as a man of learning, began to look down upon the phrases of his childhood as somewhat coarse; and as his lowly hearers rather liked a term now and then that was a little above their understanding, he no doubt indulged occasionally in what is called "fine language." This would be relished by burghers even more than by peasants; high-wrought words and phrases have always had a charm for a certain class of people. As years went on, and as men more and more strove to ape their betters, the French words would drive out the English, and the latter class would linger only in the mouths of upland folk, where a keen antiquary may find some of them still that have become obsolete in modern English. As we advance in the thirteenth century, we find Churchmen becoming more and more French in their speech. Hundreds of good old English words were now lost forever, and the terms that replaced them, having been for years in the mouths of men, were at last being set down in manuscripts. So mighty was the spell at work, that French words found their way even into the Lord's Prayer and the Creed; the last strongholds, it might be thought, of pure native English."

But the monks of old did not confine themselves to preaching; all the lore of the day was lodged in their hands. Roger Bacon's life sets before us the bold way in which some of them pried into the secrets of Nature. One of the means by which they drew to themselves the love of the common folk was the practice of leechcraft; in the friars the leper found his only friends. To these early forefathers of our art of healing we owe a further change in the English tongue. There are many old-fashioned words in English for sundry parts and functions of the human frame, which no well-bred man can now use, custom having ruled that in speaking of them we must use foreign synonyms. It seems that, to the English mind, certain words, disguised under a foreign garb, are thereby deprived of their most offensive features; and certain things unmentionable in plain English may be, with all



propriety, referred to by their name in French. This euphemism we find traces of as far back as the fourteenth century. Robert of Gloucester, in describing the tortures inflicted by King John on his subjects in 1216, and the death of the Earl Marshall on an Irish field in 1234, uses foreign terms instead of certain English words which would be utterly inadmissible at present. Since that time science has invented names the mere sound of which, perhaps, may scare a patient, but which at least conceal from his friends the nature and extent of his infirmities. Still, this part of the physician's vocabulary is only of recent introduction, and Charles II, who was the best bred Englishman of his time, but unacquainted with modern scientific nomenclature, still wrote to his sister: "Poor O'Neal died this afternoon of an ulcer in his guts."<sup>1</sup> We could not say so now, so swiftly does fashion change, though it be not always for the better. In those days, a man in his cups was simply called "drunk";<sup>2</sup> at present, a *person who indulges in the use of alcoholic liquors is apt to become intoxicated*. In former times "hard work made one sweat"; now-a-days *excessive labor causes profuse perspiration*. If a man, thus overheated, were to stand in a draught, he might catch his death of cold, get very sick, and even die, would read well enough as an ordinary warning; in a *treatise on hygiene for popular use*, the matter is now presented as follows: "If a *person, whose system is excited by vigorous exertion, should suddenly expose himself to a current of air, he would probably check his perspiration, and contract a disease which might involve the most serious and even fatal consequences*." Few of these words, it is true, had the right of citizenship in England during the thirteenth century; but it was thus that the agencies were at work which favored their admission afterward. Nor would they have come in so plentifully, if they had not met the corrupt taste of a large class of people who would think it vulgar to express themselves in plain and simple words and short sentences. Speakers and writers of this kind must have hearers and readers minded like themselves to be at all successful, and but too often they are found among those who like to boast of their "Anglo-Saxon descent" and their "glorious Anglo-Saxon language." It is among those that we may hear slavery called *involuntary servi-*

<sup>1</sup> Curry's *Civil Wars in Ireland*, i, 308.

<sup>2</sup> *Inebriety* was called "drunkenhede" by Wyclif, "drunkeshepe" by Gower, and "dronkenesse" by Chaucer.

*tude*; and a king, a *certain exalted personage*; a well-dressed woman, an *elegantly attired female*; or a young widow, an *interesting relict*. Country newspapers, especially, delight in the use of high-sounding words for common-place ideas, and city papers are by no means entirely free from them. If workmen want more pay, *operatives* are said to *desire additional remuneration*. If a cow is killed by lightning, the *animal was destroyed by the electric fluid*. If a house or barn gets on fire, it is the *devouring element* that did the damage. Thieves and murderers are not hanged now, but *launched into eternity*. Ships, on the other hand, glide *securely and majestically* into their *native element*, the said native element being one in which these ships never were before. Read the column of advertisements. There the coachmaker's shop is a *repository for carriages*, the photographer's a *gallery of art*, and the thread and needle store an *emporium*. Boarding-schools are *academies* for girls, and *seminaries* for boys; with higher pretensions still they are *establishments*. The rich farmer who finds himself called an *eminent agriculturist* is possibly one of the vestrymen, and he does not like to find in the minister's sermon a lower standard of diction than in the village newspaper. Thus even the pulpit is sometimes drawn into the use of this abominable jargon, worked up into curiously wrought sentences for the greater edification of the congregation. A recent English author<sup>1</sup> quotes a preacher who changed his text "we can not always stand upright" into "we can not always *maintain an erect position*."<sup>2</sup> And the author of "Recollections of Oxford"<sup>3</sup> makes one of the professors say: "*A system thus hypothetically elaborated* is, after all, but an *inexplicable concatenation of hyperbolical incongruities*"; and he adds: "Such sentences, delivered in a regular cadence, formed too often our Sunday fare, in days happily gone by." When such is the language of the learned, it is quite natural that, when Canning wrote the inscription graven on Pitt's monument in the London Guildhall, an alderman should feel quite disgusted at the grand phrase "He died poor," and propose to substitute "He *expired in indigent circumstances*."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Barnes, *Early English*, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> The following epitaph, quoted by Harrison, reads very much like it:

"Here lies the bodie of Dean David Auricula,  
Who in the ways of God walked perpendicular."

<sup>3</sup> Cox, *Recollections of Oxford*, p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> Oliphant, *Sources of Standard English*, p. 342.

A powerful agency in the introduction of French words, expressing a higher order of ideas, into the English vocabulary, was the University. Up to the end of the twelfth century, Oxford and Cambridge had been only in their incipient stages of arts schools of the Benedictine type; and though certain passages of "Asser's Life of Alfred" have often been quoted to trace back the origin of Oxford University to the time of that monarch, it is now well understood that such passages must be regarded as later interpolations in the interests of the antiquity of that distinguished seat of learning; but that in reality there existed no university in England before the Norman conquest, at least not in the sense of a higher class of schools doing the work of a university, that is, providing for the teaching of men as well as of boys by specialist professors, is now clearly ascertained.<sup>1</sup> In this sense it is not before 1133 that we find the first traces of any organized teaching in Oxford, and only in 1231 we find Henry III issuing writs for the regulation of Cambridge "clerks," and making mention of chancellor and masters.<sup>2</sup> Until about that time all who could afford it went to the University of Paris to complete their studies commenced in the arts schools of England; but an occurrence which well nigh led to the disruption of the Paris University greatly favored the development of both Oxford and Cambridge Universities, whose fame has been ever since on the increase. In 1228 a students' riot took place in Paris, in which the English were mainly concerned, and which resulted in the maltreatment of many of the citizens. The provost of

<sup>1</sup> Anstey, *Monumenta Academica*, i, xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> "While it is highly probable that the date 1200 may be assigned to Cambridge, there can be no doubt that at Oxford there was an university, in fact if not in form, sixty years before this. Had there not been a well-known and active higher school there in the earlier decades of the twelfth century, Robert Pulleyne would not have come from Paris about 1130 to lecture there, nor would Vacarius have endeavored to found a school of civil law in 1149, nor should we hear, on the authority of John of Salisbury, that discussions regarding the universals (*in re* or *ante rem*) raged at Oxford in 1153. Again, to prove that Oxford was largely frequented in 1200, it is sufficient to say that in 1209 there was a secession from Oxford: 'Recesserunt ab Oxonia tria millia clericorum tam magistri quam discipuli ita quod nec unus ex omni universitate remansit.' Of these, some went to Reading, some to Cambridge. Then, Giraldus Cambrensis read his *Topographia Cambria* to the inhabitants of Oxford, and the second day's reading, he tells us, was addressed to the 'doctores diversarum facultatum omnes et discipulos famæ majoris et noticiæ.' This was in 1186. Accordingly, we may conclude that Oxford was entitled to the name 'universitas' about 1140. Still, the first royal recognition was by Henry III, who summoned Parliament to meet at Oxford in 1258."—S. S. Laurie, *The Rise and Early Constitution of Universities*.

Paris, proceeding to punish the students by order of the queen, attacked them while at their games outside the city, and made great havoc among them. Many were killed while seeking safety in places of concealment, and a larger number still were seriously wounded. The university authorities were violently excited; they demanded satisfaction, and, this having been refused, a large number of masters and their pupils left Paris, and settled at various younger university seats which had begun to arise in France. The English portion of the university went to Oxford and Cambridge, and Henry III took advantage of the opportunity to invite the foreign masters also to withdraw to England and take refuge under his protection. It is said that not a single master of any eminence remained in Paris. The influence of this Paris migration on higher education in England was as great as it was lasting. "Until then the University of Paris well-nigh monopolized the interest of the learned in Europe. Thither thought and speculation seemed irresistibly attracted. It was there the new orders fought the decisive battle for place and power; that new forms of skepticism rose in rapid succession, and heresies of varying moment riveted the watchful eye of Rome; that anarchy most often triumphed and flagrant vices most prevailed; and it was from this seething center that those influences went forth which predominated in the contemporary history of Oxford and Cambridge."<sup>1</sup> From this moment forward we find native poets writing French poetry, translating imported French literature, and filling their vernacular compositions with a mass of foreign words conformably to fashion, and in imitation of their migrating masters, who carried with them their genius and their French of Paris.

It was thus that French poetry and romance became in course of time the fashionable literature of England. But aside from this, there was rising into importance a literature which has been the earliest of almost every nation—the national ballad poetry. Doubtless this poetry had never been extinct among the native English population during their long subjection to the Normans, but after the great wars of the thirteenth century, it began to be sung in the language which was gradually becoming the language of all England. The deeds of English bowmen, and English nobles and knights, who fought side by

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<sup>1</sup> Mullinger, i, 132.

side, were the pride and glory of the people of all ranks. At the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, the first dawns of this national literature appeared. It was then that a number of warlike French romances were Anglicised, such as the *Tristram*, the *Havelok*, the *Horn*, and above all, the renowned *Alexander*. Legends about King Arthur were most popular; the "Round Table" became a household word in England. All these poems exhibit the language in a state of transition, and clearly show how the two elements were gradually intermingling. The language of chivalry and war was exclusively French, and brought in such words as *honor, glory, renown, army, host, champion, valiant, feat, achievement, courtesy, gentle, challenge*, etc., and paved the way for the many French military terms in which modern English abounds. French has always been the language which has furnished the English vocabulary with terms for soldiering—from the word *castel*, brought over in 1048, to that of *mitrailleuse*, imported in 1870. Englishmen of old could do little in war but sway the weighty axe or form the shield-wall under such Kings as Ironside or Harold; it was France who taught them to ply the *mangonel* and *trebuchet*. Many hunting terms, borrowed from the same land, may be found in the *Sir Tristram*. Several of the French words then used in cookery may be read in the *Lay of Havelok*; nor is the fashion of having French bills of fare, which announce inferior dishes under gorgeous names, a modern invention.<sup>1</sup>

Next to the lady, the clergy, and the knight, the lawyer also exerted a great influence in the formation of the English vocabulary. With him came in such words as *advocate, alliance, arrears, chattels, demise, devise, demurrer, disclaimer, domain, estate, fief, fealty, homage, liege, loyalty, manor, moiety, personalty, pursuit, realty, rent, seisin, sergeant, treaty, trover, voucher*, etc. For centuries the whole of the government was in the hands of the French-speaking class. Henry II, the great organizer of English law, was a thorough Frenchman, who lived in England as little as he could; in his time the tribunals were reformed, and the law-terms with which Blackstone abounds are the bequests of this age. Those who administered the law were either churchmen or knights. The latter, who spoke French, did the talking; the former, who had learned Latin, did

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<sup>1</sup> See page 446.

the writing. French was the French of the period; but the Latin of the law was only a sort of jargon, which is neither Popular Latin nor Low Latin, but a strange mixture of both,<sup>1</sup> often containing French and English words with Latin terminations. Such is the origin of the language of the law, whose vocabulary often perplexes lawyers themselves, and always puzzles their clients.<sup>2</sup>

It is evident that nothing less than the most minute inquiry into all the circumstances of the history of England under the first Norman kings would be sufficient for the full investigation of our subject; but the preceding observations will help us to form an idea of the manner in which the wonderful amalgamation of the two languages was accomplished. The fusion, indeed, was complete. Not only was there a barbarous mixture of French and English words in the same sentence, but the words themselves were often heterogeneous compounds of parts most dissimilar in their nature. Thus, we find English roots with French suffixes, as *love-able*, *bond-age*, *upheav-al*, *forbear-ance*, *niggard*, *starv-ation*, *trust-ee*, *fish-ery*, *latch-et*, *whims-ical*, *wharf-inger*, *tru-ism*, *odd-ity*, *acknowledg-ment*, *slumbr-ous*, *righteous*, etc. Then again French roots with English suffixes, as *use-ful*, *real-ly*, *false-hood*, *nurse-ling*, *duke-dom*, *gentleman*, *country-man*, *fever-ish*, *grace-less*, *neat-ness*, *apprentice-ship*, *quarrel-some*, etc. French verbs take English terminations, and are conjugated in the English manner. Most of these changes took place in the thirteenth and especially in the fourteenth century. "As long as the two races remained at all distinct and hostile," says Dr. Freeman, "but few French words crept into English, and, for most of those which did, we can see a direct reason. But as the fusion of races went on, as French became not so much a foreign tongue as a fashionable tongue, the infusion of French words into English went on much faster. The love of hard words, of words which are thought to sound learned or elegant, that is, for the most part words that are not thoroughly understood is, I conceive, not peculiar to any one age. What it leads to in our own day we see in that foul jargon against whose further inroads lovers of their native tongue have to strive. But it was busily at work in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Every man who thought in English, but to whom a sprinkling of

<sup>1</sup> This is the kind of Latin referred to on page 572.

<sup>2</sup> See the Law Dictionaries of Burrill, of Bouviers, of Jacobs, and others.

foreign words seemed an ornament of speech, did something in the way of corruption." This, indeed, might have been expected. Wealth, when accompanied by freedom, generally gives birth to magnificence, but it does not of necessity and immediately become the parent of taste and invention. At the time spoken of, kings and nobles were in the habit of expending their whole stock of gaiety, as well as their treasure, on the four great festivals of the year, and the intervening times of leisure were spent in pleasure and luxury, devising modes of amusement, and providing a disposition to be amused. But as the business part of the community had something else to do than to contrive amusements, they seemed to have contented themselves with copying, as nearly as they could, though on a smaller scale, the pleasures of their superiors in wealth and social position. Their festivities were conducted with the same minute attention to ceremonial, and diversified with the same or very similar sports and representations. According to the fashion of the day, the recitation of tales of chivalry was necessary to the solemnity of these festivals; and as the French minstrels had long since exhausted the fabulous era of every known history, their English successors were reduced to the necessity of translating. In executing this task, under the constraint of finding a constant succession of rhymes in a language which was still rude and intractable, they must often have been led to borrow words and phrases from the original. In this way a currency was given to every new term which had acquired the authority of colloquial use, and others were introduced which, repeated in their turn, soon formed part of the vocabulary of the new language.

"Whatever existed," says Marsh, "in the English tongue, whether by translation or by original composition, now became a part of the general patrimony of the English people; and there, as everywhere else, the learning, the poetry, the philosophy, which had been slowly gathered on the summits of social life, and had been the peculiar nutriment of the favored classes, now flowed down to a lower level, and refreshed, as with the waters of a fountain of youth, the humble ranks of the English people. Native poets, composing original works in their own tongue, would naturally use the poetic diction in which the productions of French literature had been clothed in assuming an English dress, for these were their only vernacular models. But English rhymers were still generally

acquainted with French, and that language had already attained a culture which eminently fitted it for literary purposes, and made it a store-house of poetic wealth in words as well as in thought, and a convenient resource for versifiers who were in vain struggling to find adequate expressions in the vocabulary of Saxon English. The English middle classes, who were now for the first time admitted to the enjoyment of literary pleasures, accepted as a consecrated speech the dialect employed by their authors and translators, without inquiring into the etymology of its constituents; and thus, in the course of one generation, a greater number of French words were introduced into English verse, and initiated as lawful members of the poetical guild, than in nearly three centuries which had elapsed since the Norman conquest. The foreign matter became thoroughly assimilated nutriment to the speech, the mind, and the heart of the fragmentary people who had now combined in an entire organized commonwealth; and though the newly-adopted Romance words were not indigenous, yet they were acknowledged and felt to be as genuine English as those whose descent from the Gothic stock was most unequivocal."

At that time both French and English were spoken in England, as French and German are now spoken in Elsas, or French and Flemish in Belgium. The difference between the French-speaking and the English-speaking man did not always mean that the one could speak no English and the other no French. It simply meant that the one spoke French at his fireside and English only on occasion, while the other spoke English at his fireside and French occasionally only. Between those who spoke French well, and others who were totally ignorant of it, the different shades were innumerable; their gradation was that from the better to the lower classes of the people, and if among the latter the original Saxon degenerated into a nameless jargon, it was among the former that the alteration took place which converted that old Saxon into modern English. The change, of course, was gradual, and in some parts took much longer than in others in being accomplished. Some classes of society began to use the mixed language long before the rest did; those who lived in the cities, or about large Norman establishments, were evidently the first to employ it; but as these were not confined to any part of the country in particular, the mixture necessarily varied with the different localities and dialects



among which it originated; and it is this circumstance, more than any other, which renders it impossible to determine, with any degree of precision, the exact epoch of the rise and growth of the new national language; yet, from historical and documentary evidence, we are justified in assuming that its formation took place mainly during the thirteenth century, and that by the end of that century it was already far advanced.

There is a very curious composition of that period, called "The Land of Cokaigne,"<sup>1</sup> in which French words appear repeatedly, and, with the exception of articles, auxiliaries, pronouns, and conjunctions, almost exclusively.

The *pillars* of that *cloister* all  
beth *y-turned* of *chrystal*  
with *harlas* and *capital*.  
of green *jaspe* and red *coral*.

It terminates thus:

*Pray* we God so mot it be,  
*Amen, per seint charite*.

Even Robert of Gloucester, who wrote about the year 1290, and was rather antiquated in his diction, uses many words taken from the French:

Of *noble* men *y-clothed* in *ermine* each one  
of one *suit*, and *served* at this *noble fest* anone.

Forty years later, Adam Davie, in his "Lyf of Alisaundre the Grete," gives the words nearly as he borrowed them from the French:

In thei tyme *fayre* and *jolyf*  
Olympias that *fayre wyfe*  
wolde make a *riche fest*  
of knittes and lefdyes *honest*.

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<sup>1</sup> Cokaigne or cockayne, in French *cocagne*, was in mediæval mythology the name of an imaginary land of luxury, the houses of which are made of cakes, *cogues*, as they were then called, later on *couque*; "koek" in Dutch, and pronounced in the same manner. Hence the word "koekie," an old Dutch diminutive, known in America as *cookie*. *Cocagne* is derived from the Latin *coquina*, used by Palladius and Isidore of Seville. In the Glosses it is written *cocina*, which in French has become *cuisine*. In English it was "cokeney" first, and finally "cockney."

I have no salt bacon,  
ne no *cokeney*, by Christe! collops for to make.—*Piers Plowman's Vision*.  
Perhaps the proficiency which the inhabitants of the metropolis displayed in the culinary art may have procured them the appellation of *cockneys* from *splandish* or countrymen.

Sometimes even literally, so :

He blew on his horne quyk *sans doute*.

In "the Boke of the most victorious Prince Guy, Earl of Warwick," which belongs to the same epoch, and which Chaucer quotes as one of the "romances of price," we find the same mixture :

Wel *courteously* answerid Guy,  
*beau sire*, sayd he, *grammercy*.

In speaking of this kind of mixture, Robert of Brunne says :

Thai seyð in so quaynte Inglis  
that manyone wate not what it is ;

yet his own "Handlyng Synne" swarms with foreign words, such as :

. . . . a *certayn* day of *terme*.  
. . . . on *many manner divers wise*.  
. . . . ye, he seyde, *graunte mercy*.

About the year 1350, Richard Hampole, who, evincing a kind of hatred of the language of the conquest, says "he wrote only for those who understood nothing but English," shows to what extent French words then prevailed in the language :

And ther is evere *perfect* love and *charite*  
and ther is wisdom withoute *folye*  
and ther is *honeste* without *vileney*  
and these a man may *joyes* of hevене call,  
and *gutte* the most *sovereyn joye* of alle,  
in the syght of Goddes bryght *face*  
in wham *resteth alle manere grace*.

After him, William Langland, who is even more old-fashioned in his language, frequently makes use of French words which are obsolete or much modified in modern English. Thus, in "Piers Plowman's Visions," he says :

Ye have *manged* over much.

And then, again :

Though ic can *soffre famyn* and *defaute*.

And again :

Dykers and Delves that don here werk ille,  
and driveth forth the longe day  
with "*Deu vous saue, dam Emme*."

The following stanza is from a pretty song of the time of Richard II, quoted by Wright and Halliwell. It is full of foreign terms:

*Continuance  
of remembrance  
with-owte endyng  
doth me penaunce  
and grete grewaunce  
for your partyng.*

Some of these compositions are of a light and local character, and written more to please than to instruct. This, however, can not be said of Wyclif's version of the Bible, which certainly was not made for the ruling classes, but avowedly for the people at large. The following passage of St. Luke, which we have seen already in many idioms and dialects, will therefore give us an excellent insight into the people's English of the second half of the fourteenth century, as then generally understood—making allowance for the archaic forms of Biblical language as found at all times and in all versions:

And it is done aftirwarde ihc wente into a *cytee* þat is clepide naim, and his *disciplis* wenten wiþ hym, & a ful greet *cumpanye* of *puple*. soþely whanne he came nyȝ to þe ȝate of þe *cytee*, lo an one-lypy sone of his modir was borne oute deade. and þis was a wid-owe, and myche *cumpanye* of þe *cytee* (came) wiþ hir. whom whanne þe lorde ihu had seen, he *mouede* by *mercy* upon hir, seyde to hir. nyl þou weep. and he came to, and *touchide* þe beer. forsoþe þei þat baren, stoden. and he seiþ ȝonge man, I seye to þee rise vp. and he þat was deade, sate aȝen, and bigan for to speak. and he ȝaue hym to his modir. soþely dreede took alle men, and þei *magnyfyeden* god seyinge. for a greet *prophete* haþ risen amonge vs, for & god haþ *visitide* his *pore puple*. and þis worde wente oute of hym into al Judee, and into al þe *cuntre* aboute.

It is very probable that the language did not receive much real benefit from this indiscriminate adoption of foreign terms and idioms; but perhaps it was in some measure indebted to them for its adoption by the Norman nobles and even at court, where by degrees it supplanted the Norman French, which had exclusively prevailed there from the time of the conquest. This alteration, which insured to the national literature all the advantages that patronage could bestow, seems to have commenced in the reign of Edward III, whose policy led him to proscribe the exclusive use of French in the courts

of law, and to place, there at least, the English language on equal terms of privilege with the former. Gower, as we have seen, commenced his literary career by aspiring to the character of a French poet, and only began his English work in his old age, during the reign of Richard II; the fashionable dialect, therefore, had evidently changed during the interval. It may be presumed, also, that this change procured to us the advantage of Chaucer's talents; had he written a few years earlier, it is probable, from the fact of his social position, that he would have employed the French language instead of the New English in his compositions.

From a general review of his works, however, it appears that he entertained a very mean opinion of the national language as it was before his time, as well as of the poets who had employed it. Instead of following their stiff and antiquated diction, or spending his energies in grieving over the past, he frankly adopted the new popular dialect, and endeavored to improve it by a more correct use of words and phrases borrowed from the French, which in his time began to be most abundantly introduced into the colloquial language. On this account we find that his writings contain a much greater mixture of French than those of his predecessors. With him, nouns and adjectives have scarcely undergone any alteration. Thus, for instance, in the "Canterbury Tales," verse 3, we find *veine*; 4, *vertue*; 7, *tendre*; 9, *melodie*; 24, *compagnie*; 25, *aventure*; 28, *chambres*; 60, many a *noble armee*; 61, *mortal batailles*; 72, a *verray parfit gentil knyght*; 422, a *verray parfit practisour*; 483 and 484, *Benigne* he was and wonder *diligent*; and in *adversitee* ful *patient*; 817, And sette a *souper* at a *certain pris*. Verbs have only changed their terminations: *perced*, *engendred*, *inspired*, etc. Adverbs have taken the English terminations only: so in Verses 339 and 340, He held *opinion* that *plein delit* was *veraily felicite parfit*. Even we find *verament* in verse 12,643. Sometimes the author gives us whole phrases borrowed literally from the French: Verse 1,157, *Par amour*, I loved hire; 13,750, I hope *par ma foy*; 13,819, Now hold your mouth *pour charite*, and in the following lines:

and elles *certeyn* were they to *blame* :  
it is ful fair to been *ycleped ma dame*,

A *margaret* in *praising* the *daiesye*,  
methought among hire *notes swete*  
she sayd *si douce est la margaruite*.

And sikerly she was of great *desport*,  
and ful *plesaunt* and *amyable* of *port*;  
and *peyned* hire to *countrifete chiere*  
of *Court*, and been *estallich* of *manere*;  
and to been holden *digne* of *reuerence*.

The language of Chaucer has been subject to two very different judgments, and as these relate immediately to the formation of the English language, they require some special mention here. His contemporaries, and those who lived nearest to his time, Walton, Occleve, Lydgate, speak with rapture of the elegance and splendor of his diction, and universally extol him as the "Chief poet of Britain," "Flower of eloquence," "Honor of the English tongue," and his words as "the gold dew drops of speech," while Milton styles him the "Well of English undefiled," and Spenser, who professes to have studied him with very minute and particular attention, says that "In him the pure well-head of poesy did dwell," but the critics of the seventeenth century accuse him of having corrupted and deformed the English idiom by an immoderate introduction of French words,<sup>1</sup> and are generally agreed that he was either totally ignorant or negligent of metrical rules, and that his verses are frequently deficient by a syllable or two in measure.<sup>2</sup>

This opinion remained generally current until controverted by Tyrwhitt, in "an essay on the language and versification of Chaucer," in which, after a complete analysis of the English grammar as it existed during the fourteenth century, he shows that the fault lies, not with Chaucer, but partly with the critics themselves, from their obvious ignorance of the grammar and pronunciation of his time, and partly, also, with the copyists, from whose incorrect manuscripts the first editions were printed.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some few ages after (the conquest) came the poet Geoffrey Chaucer, who, writing his poesies in English, is of some called the first illuminator of the English tongue. Of their opinion I am not, though I reverence Chaucer as an excellent poet for his time. He was, indeed, a great mingler of English with French, unto which language (by like for that he was descended of French, or rather Wallon race) he carried a great affection.—Verstegan, c. 7.

Ex hoc malesano novitatis pruritu, Belgæ Gallicas voces passim civitate sua donando patrii sermonis puritatem nuper non leviter inquinarunt et *Chaucerus* poeta, pessimo exemplo, integris vocum plaustris ex eadem Gallia in nostram linguam invecit, eam, nimis antea a Normannorum victoria adulteratam, omni fere nativa gratia et nitore spoliavit.—Skinner, *Etymol. L. A. Præf.*

<sup>2</sup> Dryden, *Preface to his Fables*.

<sup>3</sup> I fynde many of the sayd bookes, whiche wryters have abyrdgyd it, and many thynges left out, and in some places have sette certayn versys that he

The strange license, in which subsequent editors appear to have indulged, of lengthening and shortening the author's words, according to their own fancy, and even of adding words of their own,<sup>1</sup> has further contributed to alter the original text, and to leave in its stead only a spurious translation, full of anomalies, with which it is the more unfair to charge the author, as he himself has pointed out the danger of having the metre of his verses spoiled, either by reading or writing, at a time when the language, being in its forming stage, was subject to so many dialectic differences,<sup>2</sup> and when, without any settled method of orthography, the copying of his works was too often left to the discretion of the several writers and transcribers.<sup>3</sup>

As to his having corrupted the language by the immoderate introduction of French words, the preceding pages have shown that the English language had certainly imbibed a strong tincture of French long before the age of Chaucer, and that consequently he ought not to be censured as the importer of words and phrases which he only used after the example of his predecessors, and in common with his contemporaries, as proved by their writings. But if we could for a moment suppose the contrary ;

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never made ne sette in hys booke ; of whyche bookes so incorrecte was one broughte to me vj yere passyd, whiche I supposed had been veray true and correcte, and accordyng to the same I dyde do enprynte a certayn number of them, whyche anon were solde to many and dyverse gentyl men, of whom one gentyl man cam to me, and sayd that this booke was not accordyng in many places unto the booke that Gefferey Chaucer had made, etc.—*Preface to Caxton's 2d edition of the Canterbury Tales.*

<sup>1</sup> In attempting the correction of old manuscripts, the safest is to follow the rule of Coleridge : That when we meet an apparent error in a good author, we are to presume ourselves " ignorant of his understanding, until we are certain that we understand his ignorance."

<sup>2</sup> And, for there is so greate diversite  
in Englysh, and in writyng of our tonge  
so pray I God that none mis-write thee,  
ne thee mis-metre for default of tonge ;  
and redde where so thou be, or elles song,  
that thou be understood, God I beseech !

*Troilus and Cress., B. V, v. 1803-1808.*

<sup>3</sup> That the author was very particular as to his own orthography, and carefully revised the copies of his works, appears from the following address to his scribe :

Adam Scryveyn, if ever it the byfalle  
Boece or Troylus for to wryten newe,  
under thy lokkes thou most have the scalle,  
but after my making thou wryte more trewe :  
so oft a daye i mot thy werk renewe,  
it to corecte and ek to rubbe and scrape ;  
and al is thurgh thy neglygence and rape.

if, in spite of all historical evidence, we could suppose that the English idiom in the age of Chaucer remained pure and unmixed as it was spoken in the courts of Alfred or Egbert, and that French was still a foreign, or at least a separate, language, it would seem incredible that a poet, writing in English upon the most familiar subjects, would stuff his compositions with French words and phrases which, upon the above supposition, must have been unintelligible to the greatest part of his readers; or if he had been so absurd, it is not conceivable that he should have immediately become not only the most admired, but also the most popular writer of his time and country.

The above considerations will suffice to show that Chaucer must have written in the current idiom of his time; while from his own recommendation of the use of the *mother-tongue*,<sup>1</sup> and his constant ridicule of the prevailing fashion of using French on all occasions, we may even conclude that his English, though containing a greater proportion of French than that of his predecessors, is more free from foreign phraseology than was the spoken language at the end of the fourteenth century in London, his ordinary place of residence;<sup>2</sup> at all events, far from having corrupted the English idiom by an immoderate mixture of French, he, on the contrary, deserves the credit of having greatly contributed to its improvement, by giving a proper direction to a practice which had become national, and which it was neither his wish nor in his power to avert. It is thus that we may account for the great popularity his works enjoyed among his contemporaries, and for their influence on the progress of the English language during the ensuing century, when French words, more discriminately used, and more judiciously applied, began to form nearly in their present sense, a permanent part of the English vocabulary.

In Chaucer's time the study of French had ceased to be obligatory in English schools. Trevisa, writing in 1385, mentions that at that time, in all the grammar schools of England, the teaching of French was left off, and that

<sup>1</sup> Let clerkes endyten in Latyn for they have the propertye of science and the knowinge in that facultye; and lette Frenchmen in theyr Frenche also endyte theyr queynt termes, for it is kyndly to theyr mouthes; and let us shewe our fantasies in suche wordes as we lerneden of our dames tonge.—*Prolog. to Test. of Love.*

<sup>2</sup> He calls himself a *Londenois* or *Londoner*, in the *Testament of Love*, Book i, p. 325; and in another passage, p. 321, speaks of London as the place of his *engendrure*.

of English substituted. He even names the patriotic instructor who first made the change.<sup>1</sup> But three hundred years of foreign dominion had been fatal to the old national speech of England. Every ear was now familiar with the sound of French, every one knew something of the language, and few there were who liked to admit their ignorance of it. Those who, by their attention to business, had met with success, and could afford to live in comfort, affected in general the style and manners of the Normans, and as a matter of gentility usually spoke French, a knowledge of which was looked upon by them as "the badge of a gentleman." Others less favored, but not the less tenacious on points of etiquette and fashion as regards the current mode of speech, adorned their English phrases with all the French at their command; and so common had become the practice during the fourteenth century that even countrymen indulged in it "with great earnestness," says a contemporary author, "in order to be thought the more of."<sup>2</sup>

The first effect of this reckless practice of mixing up French and English had been to hasten the decomposition of the native speech which, already well advanced by the time of the conquest, was thereby only hurried on still faster, and rendered more complete. Without schools or cultivated classes, to keep up a standard of correct speaking and writing was utterly impossible; the numerous dialects of the country, variously affected by a state of things which allowed but little intercommunication, became more and more dissimilar in their vocabulary as well as in their grammar; and so great was at one time this difference between the language of the north and that spoken in the southern districts of England, that works composed in one dialect had to be translated in order to be understood by people speaking the other. Between these two extremes stood the language of the Midland counties, partaking of the peculiarities of both, but also varying so much in different localities as to establish a distinction between East Midland and West Midland in reference to the speech of the inhabitants.

Owing to this diversity of dialects, and the generally unsettled state of the language, the English vocabulary of those days was very much mixed up, and presented a mass of anomalies of which many have remained to this day in

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<sup>1</sup> See page 263.

<sup>2</sup> See page 266.



the language. Though this remark applies to words of Saxon, as well as of Norman origin, it is the latter especially that have undergone strange transformations. Whoever has noticed how foreign words are apt to be mispronounced, even nowadays, by persons who ought to know better, will readily understand how French words fared in the mouths of those who, without special instruction, tried only to imitate the sounds they heard to the best of their ability. Thus, from *sol* they made soil; from *reculer*, recoil; *pauvre* became poor; *huissier*, an usher; *tailleur*, a tailor; and *boucher*, a butcher. *Heurter* is to hurt; *bouger*, to budge; *cucillir*, to cull; and *nourrice* is a nurse. *Côtelette* is a cutlet; *écrevisse*, a crayfish; *couleuvrine*, a culverin; *belle-fleur*, a bell-flower; and *courte-pointe*, a counterpane. *Contredance* has made country dance; *dame-jeanne*, demi-john; *qu'en dirai-je*, quandary; and *quelque chose*, kickshaw. *Couvre-feu* has changed into *curfew*; and *couvre-chef* into kerchief, which, in its compound form of "pocket-handkerchief," would really mean "a covering of the head, carried in the hand, and small enough to be put into the pocket." In the same way we may account for the mispronunciation of such names as *Beauchamp*, which has become Beachame; *Belvoir*, which has become Beaver; *Saint Denys*, Sidney; *Saint Jean*, Singon; *Saint Maur*, Seymour; *Marie-la-Bonne*, Malbone; *Cholmondeley*, Chumley; *Chateauvert*, Shotover; *Route du roi*, rotten row; and, as we have seen already, of *Beau Desert*, which is now called and even written "Buzzard." All this mainly originated in the accent being transferred, in English fashion, to the first part of the word, and refers to a time when, in the absence of regular instruction, people used foreign terms as they heard them used by others. Words thus taken up have to pass through many mouths before they enter into general circulation, and in the process of assimilation they are apt to lose a good deal of their sound and even of their meaning. This is always the case in any living language, but especially so when a language is in the course of its formation. Learned mainly by the ear, and but little by the eye, new words, on becoming popular, are subject to all the freaks and fancies of a practical but ignorant people who, in their attempts at fine speaking, do not always succeed in making nice distinctions. Not only are most foreign words disfigured and mispronounced, but often their sense is strangely distorted. Sometimes their meaning is widened, and then again it is narrowed.

Some words are made to serve higher and nobler purposes; others are degraded to lower and humbler uses; while not a few, from some simple association or childish misconception, are tortured and twisted into quite fantastic shapes to suit the popular understanding. Thus, the "buffeteers" of the English royal household go by the name of *beekeepers of the queen*. The ship *Bellerophon* was only known to British sailors as the *Billy ruffian*, the *Æolus* as the *Alehouse*, and the *Courageux* as the *Currant juice*, in the same way as the Spanish chief *Zumalacarregui* was invariably called *Zachary Macaulay* by the British soldiers. There is a kind of shawl made of the very fine wool of a goat in Thibet, called "cachemire goat." This delicate, soft texture is usually spoken of as a *camel's hair shawl*, that is, a shawl made of the hair of a beast whose coat is coarser than that of a mule. It is like the cook speaking of *sparrow-grass* when she means "asparagus," or like the French sick-nurse asking for *de l'eau d'anon*, instead of "laudanum," at the druggist's.<sup>1</sup>

This instinctive causativeness of the human mind, this perpetual endeavor to find a reason or a plausible explanation for everything, has corrupted many of the words which we have in daily use, and a large allowance for this source of error must be made when we are investigating the original forms of ancient names. No cause has been more fruitful in producing corruptions than popular attempts to explain from the vernacular, and to bring into harmony with a supposed etymology, names whose real explanation is to be sought in some language known only to the educated. Mistakes of this kind we occasionally hear, and we only laugh at them, but in former times, when literary ignorance was widespread, such distorted names readily found a permanent place in the national vocabulary. Thus we may see Latin words, mispronounced by Celts and Franks, becoming French; and in the same way French words, in Saxon mouths, have become English, but

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<sup>1</sup> In Canada, where an English-speaking population is encroaching on the old French settlers, the same process of verbal translation is going on. *Les Chéneaux*, or channels, on the River Ottawa, are now the *snows*. So *Les Chats* and *Les Joachims*, on the same river, are respectively becoming the *shaws* and the *swashings*, while a mountain near the head of the Bay of Fundy, called the *Chapeau Dieu*, from the cap of cloud which often overhangs it, is now known as the *Shepody* Mountain. The River *Quah-Tah-Wah-Am-Quah-Duavic*, in New Brunswick, probably the most jaw-breaking compound in the "Gazetteer," has had its name justifiably abbreviated into the *Petamkediak*, which has been further transformed by the lumberers and hunters into the *Tom Kedgwick*.

often so disguised by spelling as to conceal their true origin from all but those interested in etymological studies.<sup>1</sup> Thus we have: *prayer, friar, faith, vow, prow, newel, jewel, plush, flush, money, purse, pouch, pocket, jacket, coat, vest, boot, gaiter, gauntlet, squire, chief, tower, power, flower, pansy, carry, parry, bowel, towel, surgeon, sturgeon, reason, treason, faint, quaint, puny, puppy, nephew, aunt, people, waif, wafer, waiter, butcher, butler, purveyor, feast, beast, ostler, jailor, wicket, gimlet, cease, lease, clear, cheer*, and hundreds of others which, thus disfigured both in spelling and pronunciation, have acquired the right of citizenship in times gone by, and now bear the mint-mark of true national coinage. All such words are of popular English origin; they were learned by ear from people who themselves spoke very crude dialects, and were current among the English long before Chaucer wrote; hence they differ greatly in sound as well as in their written appearance from those French words that subsequently found their way into the English vocabulary, and which, learned from books more than from sound, have kept closer to their original forms. Such are those in general that terminate in *al, el, cle, dle, ple, tre, able, ible, oble, uble, an, ain, ean, ian, ace, ade, age, ance, ancy, ence, ency, enger, asm, ism, ate, ent, lent, ment, et, ette, esse, esque, ic, ice, ics, ile, ine, ise, ist, ite, ive, ous, eous, ious, ose, son, shion, sion, tion, ation, ar, er, or, our, ary, ory, ee, eer, ier, aign, eign, ude, tude, ule, ure, y, ty, ity*, etc. Words thus terminated, which are quite numerous in English, are all derived from the French, with such differences of spelling as were necessary to represent their English pronunciation. Though vastly different in character from those that are of popular origin, and mixed up with Saxon words from the people's language, they are an indispensable part of the vocabulary of modern English, to represent the more delicate shades of thought, and to express the complex relations of the higher mental conceptions.

Such have been, in the main, the effects of the Norman conquest upon the native speech of England, and have been summed up as follows by J. Earle, late Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford: "The French language," he says, "has not only left indelible traces on the English, but has imparted to it some of its leading characteristics. It is not merely that there are many

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, Chap. ii, *Etymologies*.

English words of which the derivation can not be clearly specified, owing to the intimate blending of the French and English languages at the time when such words were stamped with their present form and signification. The Romanesque influence has penetrated deeper than to the causing of a little etymological perplexity. It has modified the vocalization, it has softened the obstinacy of the consonants, it has given to the whole language a new complexion. . . . If we want to describe the transition from the Saxon state-language of the eleventh century to the Court-English of the fourteenth, and to reduce the description to its simplest terms, it comes in fact just to this: That a French family settled in England, and edited the English language."

2. *Loss of Inflections and Grammatical Changes in Anglo-Saxon before and after the Norman Conquest.*

While thus noticing all that can be laid to Norman influence, which undoubtedly was as great as it has been lasting, we must not lose sight of other influences which had been at work long before the conquest, and brought on changes which were not less instrumental than the infusion of foreign words and phrases in transforming the old Anglo-Saxon into modern English.

In the first place words, like coins, get worn away by the wear and tear of ages; and we may well believe that the forms of speech that were current in England from the eighth to the eleventh century were, on that account alone, vastly different from those that prevailed during the three centuries preceding. The original Saxon was a homogeneous language, abounding in inflections, prefixes, and suffixes, and forming its compounds and derivatives entirely from its own resources. In synthetic languages, that is languages thus inflected, the terminations must be pronounced with marked distinctness, as these contain the correlations of ideas. This implies a measured and careful pronunciation, against which the effort for ease and rapidity of utterance is constantly struggling, while indolence and carelessness continually compromise it. It is to be inferred, therefore, that in the seventh and eighth centuries, when the written language began to make its appearance, the spoken tongue had already lost many of its earlier forms, which to some extent were still preserved in writing. Although the arts of reading and

writing were at that time cultivated only by the privileged few, yet with a good literary standard, such as was then springing up, the language might have maintained its inflectional character for an indefinite period, and would undoubtedly have done so but for the terrible calamities that ere long befell the English nation. Toward the end of the eighth century, it will be remembered, the piratical heathens, known by the general name of Danes, began their raids on the English coasts. These isolated attacks were, as we have seen, followed by formidable invasions, which resulted in the establishment of extensive Danish and Norwegian populations in the eastern and northern parts of England and in the south of Scotland. For more than two hundred years these destroying savages were the curse of the country. Wherever they set their foot, progress of every kind was arrested, culture was blasted, and the hope of civilization died away. By their indomitable courage, energy, and tenacity, they soon overpowered the Saxon tribes, already much weakened by long internecine strife; and as they steadily kept coming in numbers large enough, first to compel a division of the country, and finally even to place their own king on the English throne, they necessarily exerted a great influence on the language of those localities at least in which they permanently settled. Although the Anglian dialect spoken in these parts is believed to have been more akin to the Old Norse idiom of the new settlers than that of other Saxon tribes—partly by a like disposition to neglect inflections, partly by a similarity of words, pointing to a common ancestry—yet lapse of time and separation in space, as well as a difference of circumstances under which each nation had lived and expanded for centuries, must have developed a corresponding difference in speech as well as customs, when they met again on English soil. But so great was the diversity of local dialects in those days, that a little more or less of foreign accent or divergence from the customary speech, in a stranger, was hardly noticed; and so the very similarity of the Norse and Anglian dialects would, by facilitating intercourse, only hasten the usual result of two kindred tribes being thrown together. When such an intermingling takes place, the endings of the verb and the substantive are not always caught, and therefore drop speedily out of the mouth of rude and ignorant warriors and peasants. Influences of this kind, more than

any other, tend to break up the grammatical forms of a language, and when accompanied, as they usually are, by an extensive intermixture of words, they may even change its character entirely. That a large number of Danish words found their way into the spoken tongue there can be no doubt, for, although there is no contemporary evidence to prove this, it was made evident at a later period, when the dominion of the Norman had overlaid all preceding conquests, and the new language began to emerge from the old, when Danish words in any number made their appearance in books in familiar phrase, showing that they had been for a long time current in the language.

In the same way, the tendency in English to give each word its chief accent at or near the beginning, and to suffer the concluding syllables to fall into obscurity, may be traced to Danish influence. Even before the conquest, forms which originally had strong and distinct terminations appeared with these endings leveled into something like a silent *e*; but during the illiterate period of the language, after the conquest, this careless obscuring of the terminal vowels rapidly increased, and by degrees became universal. During the twelfth century, while this change was mainly going on, we find great confusion of grammatical forms, the full inflections of old English standing side by side in the same sentence with the leveled ones of the Anglo-Danish forms of speech; but very shortly after the year 1200, in the south, and considerably before that date in the north, the leveling of inflections was complete, and this fact conclusively proves that the changes which have transformed the English language from an inflectional into a nearly non-inflectional idiom, were well established long before the Normans began to speak the language. Indeed, changes of this kind could only take place among those who spoke the language, not among those who were ignorant of it; and if further changes of the same nature afterward occurred in English, it was undoubtedly from habit and the inherent tendencies of the language, far more than from any outside influence, such as in other respects affected the condition of the people who spoke it.

Besides, the written Anglo-Saxon had its prepositions as well as its inflections, from which it is to be supposed that in the spoken language the use of the former was far more frequent. The following piece, taken from Earle's

“Philology of the English Language,” will serve to illustrate this use of inflections and prepositions in written Anglo-Saxon :

<p>“Upahafenum eagum on þa heahnysse and aþenedum earmum ongan gebiddan mid þæra weleræ styrungum on stilnesse.</p>	<p>“With uplifted eyes to the height and with outstretched arms she began to pray with stirrings of the lips in stillness.</p>
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“Here we observe, in the first place, that terminations in the elder speech are replaced by prepositions in the younger. ‘Upahafenum eagum’ is ‘with uplifted eyes,’ and ‘aþenedum earmum’ is ‘with outstretched arms’; and the infinitive termination of the verb ‘gebiddan’ is in English represented by the preposition *to*.

“We observe, however, in the second place, that on the Saxon side also there are prepositions among the inflections. The phrases ‘on þa heahnysse,’ ‘mid . . . styrungum,’ ‘on stilnesse,’ are at once phrasal and inflectional. This indicates a new growth in the language: the inflections are no longer what once they were, self-sufficient. Prepositions are brought to their aid, and very soon the whole weight of the function falls on the preposition. The inflection then lives on as a familiar heirloom in the language, an ancient fashion, ornamental rather than necessary. At the first great shake which such a language gets, after it is well furnished with prepositions, there will most likely be a great shedding of inflections. And so it happened to our language after the shock of the conquest.”

Distinct from these inflectional changes, though intimately connected therewith, are the great phonetic changes which have made English words so vastly different from their Anglo-Saxon originals. That these changes, partly due to time, partly to Danish influence, were further accelerated and rendered more complete by the extensive use of Norman words and phrases, there can be no doubt; but even so, they were not the less the work of the English-speaking people, who shaped their own speech to please themselves, and according to certain national traditions and tendencies of utterance with which the Normans had little or nothing to do.

It was, therefore, not the influx of Norman words and phrases which affected the native language in the first instance. For more than two centuries after the conquest we find but few French words in native compositions, and it was only in the fourteenth century, when the Nor-

mans began to make English their own speech, that the excessive admission of foreign words and phrases could have sensibly affected the existing forms of language; other influences had been at work long before the conquest, to which this event gave only a further impulse and a more definite direction. Among these influences none was greater than the Danish occupation, which left its traces in every corner of the land, and which, by an intermingling of Anglian and Scandinavian dialects, greatly added to the general confusion, which finally resulted in the breaking up of almost every grammatical form of speaking and of writing. If, after the Norman conquest, writing well nigh ceased among the native English for want of readers, the people, nevertheless, continued to speak their language just as they did before, and while the ancient style of writing grew more and more out of date, until after three or four generations it became utterly lost and obsolete, it was in the spoken language that the transformation of Anglo-Saxon into English took place, by that process of gradual change of which the principle was inherent in the language itself, and which manifested itself all at once in the uninflected form in which the language reappears in the compositions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

And here we must remark that after all there is no proof of the latter form having been really new, or of recent origin, about the time of the conquest. All that we can assert is, that soon after that date it first appears in writing. If it was ever so employed before, no earlier specimens of it have been preserved. It was undoubtedly the form of the language popularly in use at the time when it thus first presents itself in the twelfth century; but had it not existed as an oral dialect long before? May it not have so existed in all its various forms from the remotest antiquity, together with the more artificial form which was exclusively, or at least usually, employed in writing? This is all the more probable, as so we find it in other languages in which, from more ample records, the fact is better proved. Classical Greek and Latin, for instance, such as we find in books, have always been accompanied each by another form of speech of loose texture, and more of an analytical character, which served for the ordinary oral intercourse of the less educated population, and of which we have still some vestige or resemblance left in the modern Romaine and Romance idioms. At all events, the



rise of what had long been a merely oral dialect into a language capable of being employed in literature, and of being thereby gradually so trained and improved as to supplant and take the place of the ancient, more highly inflected, and otherwise more artificial literary language of the country, is well illustrated by what is known to have happened in France, where the *Lingua Romana Rustica*—the peasant's Latin—after having been for a long time only orally used, came to be written as well as spoken, and, having been first taken into the service of the more popular kinds of literature, ended by becoming the language of all literature, and the only national speech.<sup>1</sup> So in England there may have been in use for colloquial purposes a dialect of a similar character alongside of the written form known as the Anglo-Saxon language; and the two forms of language, the regular and the irregular, the learned and the vulgar, may have subsisted together for many centuries, till there came a crisis which, for a time, laid the entire fabric of the old national civilization in the dust, when the rude and hardy character of the one carried it through the storm which the more delicate structure of the other could not stand.

Thus when, in the twelfth century, the English reappeared in writing, it was the popular language of the time as spoken in the various parts of the country, and with but few and feeble traces of the elaborate system of inflections found in the writings of Alfred. Each man who wrote, wrote in the speech of his own district; and each man followed the spelling which he thought would best express the sound of his own particular dialect and mode of pronunciation. Nor could he be assisted much, in points of style or grammar, by any previous literary works of merit that could serve him as models. Even in the best of Anglo-Saxon writings, we find the greatest license of language, the greatest variety of spelling. All the vowels were interchanged, and, within the limits of their particular class, the consonants very often. "The arrangement of the period," says Marsh, "the whole syntax, had been evidently already influenced, and the native inflections—if, indeed, they ever had been molded into a harmonious system—diminished in number, variety, and distinctness. The tendencies which have resulted in the formation of modern English had been already impressed

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<sup>1</sup> See page 475.

upon the Anglo-Saxon long before the Norman conquest."<sup>1</sup>

The differences of form which distinguish the Anglo-Saxon idiom from modern English are pointed out by Sharon Turner as follows:<sup>2</sup>

"Placing their words out of the natural order of their meaning, and thus delaying unnecessarily their comprehension, was the habit of the Anglo-Saxon writers. The first beauty of a language is to communicate the thought correctly; the next, to convey every part of it as rapidly as the mind that hears can comprehend it. But the latter part is prevented, and the former frequently confused, in every language in which the words do not follow each other in the natural stream of thought. The Latin language is as defective in this point as the Anglo-Saxon. The Romans, like their Spartan ancestors, disdained the grace of easy comprehension. As the natives of Lacedemon affected an artificial brevity, the Romans adopted that unnatural dislocation of their words, which constitutes their classical corruption; an arbitrary habit which sometimes may contribute to rhetorical euphony, but which makes the construction difficult, and always retards and frequently obscures the intelligibility of the sentence. In the Anglo-Saxon, the same practice, but without the rhythmical effect, and with no selection for any purpose of strength or beauty, perpetually occurs.

Sometimes the comparative adjective is postponed :

*Thysum swithe gelic.* To these very like.

At other times the superlative :

*Menn tha leofeastan.* Men the dearest.

And often the verb :

<i>Tha him lareowas secgan.</i>	Then to him teachers say.
<i>Syththan he to thysum lyfe com.</i>	Since he to his life came.
<i>We sceolon urne scyppend lufian.</i>	We should our maker love.
<i>Tha wolde God hi fordon.</i>	Then would God them destroy.

If two verbs occur, the auxiliary, which ought to have preceded; is placed last :

<i>Tha menn for nytenesse misfaran ne sceolon.</i>	Then men for ignorance offend not shall.
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<sup>1</sup> G. P. Marsh, *Lectures on the English Language*, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Sharon Turner, *History of England*, Part VI, ch. i.

Sometimes the verb is advanced, and its nominative cases are thrown back :

*Feollan cyrcan and hus and comon* Fell churches and houses, and  
*wilde beran and wulfan.* came wild bears and wolves.

The auxiliary verb is often separated from its participle by intervening expressions, and the sentence is ended with the participle :

*Thas cyninges boll wearth mid* That king's dwelling was with  
*heofendlicum fyre forbarned.* heavenly fire burned.

Of two connected substantives, the genitive case first occurs, and the governing noun is postponed :

*Tha bead se bisceop Mamertus* Then ordered the Bishop Ma-  
*threora daga fasten.* mertus of three days a fasting.

These instances are sufficient to show the peculiar and artificial style of the Anglo-Saxon prose, which occasions its humble meaning to linger with a drawing insipidity, making that which is always feeble still feebler, and diminishing its perspicuity.

Another pervading character was the use and the inflection into cases of the two articles, *the* and *a*; also of its pronouns; and the partial conjugation of its verbs, especially in the imperfect tense. To this we may add its invariable use of inflections for the genitive case, both in the singular and in the plural. If we also recollect its uniform expression of our *with* by its *mid*, and the application of its *with* to signify *against*; its use of *mycel* for *much*; *swithe* for *very*; *swa swa* for *so as*; *se* for *he, the, and that*; and *heo* for *she*; *hem* for *them*; *heora* for *their*; and *ure* for *our*; and that our substantives in *ness* are usually *nysse* in Saxon; and our adverbs ending in *ly* are terminated in *lice* by our ancestors; if we keep these few characterizing circumstances in memory, though they are not the whole of the peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon, we shall be able to understand some of the leading points of the changes which marked its transition into our present English.

The Anglo-Saxon syntax was also singularly anomalous and disorderly. Its prepositions were used as if possessed of the power of altering the cases of the nouns they governed, as occurs in Latin and Greek; but so irregular and capricious were the principles of this government, that in the same sentence the same preposition throws its con-

nected substantives into four different cases.<sup>1</sup> To the confusion of all regular grammar, almost all its prepositions have this inconceivable power. With not less perversity, we find plural adjectives with singular substantives. Sometimes the article and the adjective are inflected, and not the substantive; and sometimes neither the article nor the substantive, but only the adjective. That the substantive should agree with the adjective in either case or number, seems to have been quite a matter of chance; and whether nouns should be inflected at all, or in what case, was a question which no fixed rule appears to have decided.

That amid this confusion of grammar the people could have always correctly understood each other, may be reasonably doubted. The use of anomalies in language may be so uniform as to give the irregularity a definite meaning; and, although more troublesome to learn, yet, when learned, they are as intelligible as regular conjugations. But the Saxon anomalies of grammar seem to have been so capricious and so confused, that their meaning must often have been rather conjectured than actually understood; and hence it is, that their poetry is often so unintelligible to us. There is no settled grammar to guarantee the meaning; we can not guess so well nor so rapidly as they who, talking every day in the same phrases, were familiar with the differences of meaning depending on intonation. Or perhaps when the harper recited they often caught his meaning from his gestures, felt it when they did not understand it, and thought that his obscurity was the result of superior learning.

One of the first observable steps in the formation of English out of Saxon was the discontinuance of the Anglo-Saxon inversions. As the earliest compositions in the English language are almost all translations from the French, we are indebted for that improvement to the Normans, whose writers are remarkable for their unaffected, plain, and comprehensible diction. Their words are usually placed as nature and meaning would station them; and they taught the Anglo-Saxons to untwist their phrases, to dismount from their incumbering stilts, and to think and speak as simply and as perspicuously as they did.

As the Anglo-Saxon began to be affected by the Norman tongue, many other changes followed. The declensions of the definite article, *se, seo, that*, were wholly laid

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<sup>1</sup> Mid *ealre* *thinsre* *heortan* and mid *eallum* *mode*.—Wanley, *Catal.*, p. 2.

aside; and its plural nominative, *tha*, changed into *the*, became universally used for every case, gender, and number. The simplification of a word so generally and incessantly wanted was a great improvement. The disuse of declensions in the substantives and adjectives, excepting in the genitive case, and one variation for the plural was another beneficial alteration. The abolition of the terminal cases makes the language less monotonous, more simple, more pliable, and more precise. Language only needs such inflections when, as in the Latin, its words are unnaturally placed; and, on the other hand, inversion becomes a necessary evil when declensions are used, so that a disagreeable monotony may be avoided. The conjugations of the Saxon verbs, which were never numerous, gradually fell also into disuse. One simple change was retained to mark the past tense; and this gradually lost all variations of person or number, except the second person singular, in which one inflection is still retained.

Many verbal changes followed in the other parts of the language. The "*mid*" disappeared and "*with*" took its place, at the same time ceasing to signify "*against*." *Swa* became *so*, and *innan* diminished to *in*, or varied into the compound *into*; *tha tha* was exchanged for *when*; *tha* for *then*; *heo* for *she*. The *g* softened gradually to the *y*, and the *f* often to the *v*. *Hit* lost its aspirate; *Ich* and *ic* at last became *I*; *eow*, *you*; *gan* lessened into *go*; *gif* to *if*; *hwa* became *who*; *swilc*, *such*; and several other alterations occurred which need not be detailed here.

Many of these changes, however, if we except those which relate to the construction of the sentence, would probably have occurred even if the Norman conquest had never taken place, as similar changes have occurred in the cognate Dutch, Friesian, and Flemish languages, which have been left comparatively undisturbed by foreign influences. Many words are still the same, or differ but little, on both sides of the North Sea; the fishermen of Zeeland hold easy communication with those of Margate, Ramsgate, and North Foreland, and their accent and intonation are identical. None of these people, who in their isolated localities may be supposed to have retained their ancient forms of speech much longer than their kinsmen elsewhere, have kept up the old inflections. And so it is with all languages; the tendency always is to lose the elaborate systems of inflection with which they began.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Max Müller, *Science of Language*, i, 41; ii, 185.

“Men become too idle,” says Dr. Freeman, “or too careless to regard minute distinctions of endings, just as they become too idle or too careless to give every letter its full sound. There is probably no stage of any language in which every grammatical nicety is strictly attended to in ordinary speech. The real wonder is that they were attended to at all without the use of writing. When a language is written, when it becomes the instrument of literary composition, a check is at once put on the process of decay. A standard of correctness is formed which, for literary purposes, may last for ages.” But such a standard of language was lacking in England for centuries. After the conquest, the native language became more and more corrupt, and, in the face of French, pretty much what Welsh is now in Wales in the face of English. It became a mere patois,<sup>1</sup> a vulgar tongue, the tongue which was the daily speech of the poor and less cultivated classes. French was the language of polite intercourse, and the utter neglect of the native speech hastened still further its corruption. Thus, without any thing to check the natural tendency to disregard the grammatical delicacies of the written language, old distinctions and inflections became less and less observed; by the end of the eleventh century few persons remained who could read English; these may have been taught by men preserving the memory of an older time, but when these died out, all nicety of language was soon entirely forgotten.

Thus, during the twelfth century, the process of grammatical corruption was even more busily at work than the process of adopting foreign words. The same may be said of the thirteenth, though the proportion in which foreign words then crept in, and the tendency to make them needlessly displace English words, were both constantly increasing. During all this time the language may be looked upon as going through a process of breaking up, preparatory to its putting on a new shape. This was brought about gradually, and varied much, according to the dialectic differences and aptitudes of the people, as well as to their opportunities and material condition. Thus, in the larger cities of the kingdom, the new language had already assumed certain forms resembling modern English, while in others, and especially among the country people, it still remained a rude and barren

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<sup>1</sup> See page 496.

tongue. In the year 1303, Robert of Brunne said: "I have put in my plain English, for the love of simple men, while others have written and recited with more elegance; for I do not address myself to pride and nobility; I write only for those who do not comprehend the foreign English."<sup>1</sup> Probably a hundred years later even, his writings were much better understood in many parts of England than the more refined works of Gower and Chaucer. It is this difference of dialect corresponding to the different localities, distinctly referred to by Hygden<sup>2</sup>—who wrote in the first half of the fourteenth century—and of the relative progress made in the new language, that is the cause of our often finding two versions of the same work—one for the north and another for the south.<sup>3</sup>

The first book, written in a language that may be called English, was Sir John Maundeville's "Travels," which appeared in 1356. Langland's "Visions of Piers Plowman" appeared shortly after. Wyclif's translation of the Bible is referred to in 1383. Trevisa's version of "Hygden's Polychronicon" came out in 1385, and the "Astrolabe" of Chaucer in 1392. A few public instruments were drawn up in English under Richard II, and about the same time it began to be employed in epistolary

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<sup>1</sup> Als tha y haf wryten and sayd  
haf y alle in myn Englysshe layd  
in symple speche, as y couthe.  
Y mad noight for no desours,  
ne for seggers no harpours;  
but for the luf of symple men  
that strange Englysshe can not ken,  
tha y sayd hit for pryde and nobleye.

Robert of Brunne, *Prologue to his Chronicle*, p. xcvi.

<sup>2</sup> Also Englysch men, theygh hy hadde fram the bygynnyng thre maner speche, Southeron, Northeron, and Myddel speche (in the myddel of the lond), as hy come of thre maner people of Germania; notheless, by commyxstion and mellyng, furst with Danes and afterward with Normans, in menye the contray longage ys apeyred, and some vaeth strange wlaffyng, chyteryng, harryng and garryng, grisbittynge. . . . Also, of the forseyde Saxon tonge that ys deled a thre, and ys abyde scarslych with feaw vplondysch men, and ys gret wondur; for men of the est with men of the west, as hit were vndur the same party of heuene, acordeth more in souynyng of speche than men of the north with men of the south; therefore hyt ys that Mercij, that both men of Myddel Engelond, as hyt were parteners of the endes, vndurstondeþ betre the syde longages, Northeron and Southeron, than Northeron and Southeron vadurstondeþ eyther other.—Trevisa's translation of Hygden's *Polychronicon*.

<sup>3</sup> In a wrytte thys ilke I fand  
hymself it wroght I understand;  
in sotherin Inglys was it drawin,  
and turned ic have it til vr awin  
langage of the northrin lede  
that can na sotherin Inglys rede.—*Cursor Mundi*, 20,064.

correspondence of a private nature. The language, however, remained far from assuming a definite character, and its dialects varied so much in the different provinces as to render Chaucer apprehensive of not being generally understood.

The end of the fourteenth century, however, is generally considered as the time when the English language was substantially formed. By that time the Normans had been for about three centuries and a half the rulers of the country—a period, be it observed, almost equal to that from the discovery of America to the present day. They could, therefore, no longer be called foreigners, nor was their language any longer a foreign tongue among the English people; indeed, if the general understanding of an idiom be taken as a test, it was much less foreign than the various dialects that were written and spoken in England before the conquest, every one of which would have been as unintelligible to an Englishman of the fifteenth century as they are to us at present. French, on the contrary, was familiar to every ear, and understood by all who laid any claim to refined culture. Still, although for a long time after, it remained the family language of the men of Norman blood, though it continued to be the language of the court and the administration, it rapidly lost its importance after the close of the Hundred Years' War, which, terminating all English interests on the Continent, confined them exclusively to the British Isles. Thus, shortly afterward, speeches in Parliament began to be made in English, and occasionally even ministers of the crown addressed the House in the new national language. In 1485 statutes ceased to be drawn up in French, though in the House of Lords French continued to be used to a much later date. Official letters, wills, and law reports we find written in it up to the end of the sixteenth century; but as a colloquial language, French remained cultivated among the higher classes only, and all that remains of it now, as an official language in England, are some law terms and the few formulæ for giving royal assent to bills of Parliament.



## CHAPTER X.

## THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND ITS VOCABULARY.

"HAD the Plantagenets," observes Macaulay, "as at one time seemed likely, succeeded in uniting all France under their government, it is probable that England would never have had an independent existence. The noble language of Milton and Burke would have remained a rustic dialect, without a literature, a fixed grammar, or a fixed orthography, and would have been contemptuously abandoned to the boors. No man of English extraction would have risen to eminence except by becoming, in speech and habits, a Frenchman."

It was always thus that the loss of territory by consolidating the English nation, reacted favorably on the growth and improvement of the national language. Henceforth it became the common speech of Englishmen of all ranks, and the use of French no longer marked a national, but merely a social or professional distinction. In the attainment of this result, and in its comparative permanence, the introduction of the printing press, A. D. 1474, had an important share. By its exclusive patronage of the Midland speech, it raised it still higher above the sister dialects, and secured its abiding victory. As books were multiplied, and found their way into every corner of the land, and the art of reading became a more common acquirement, men of all parts of the country had forced upon their attention the book-English, in which alone they were printed. This became, in turn, the model for their own writings, and by and by, if they had any pretention to education, of their own speech. The written form of the language also tended to a greater uniformity. The book addressed the mind directly through the eye instead of circuitously through the eye and ear, and thus there was a continual tendency of written words and parts of words to be reduced to a single form, and that the most usual and the most generally known.

Great names in literature have always stood as landmarks in the history of a language, and to them we must

turn to observe the progress and position of the new national speech. It is sometimes convenient to call an age by the name of its great men; and as Chaucer stands pre-eminent in the fourteenth century, the period during which he lived and wrote is called "the Age of Chaucer." His influence, indeed, on the English language was important and enduring; he showed what the new language was capable of; and succeeding poets took him as their model. The fifteenth century, however, was not favorable to the cultivation of literature; the people were too much engaged in war, and during a great part of the century in civil war, to be able to devote time to letters. Lydgate, a poet and prose-writer, may represent the language of this century, about the middle of which he flourished. The language of his poetry is evidently imitated from Chaucer, but his prose makes a nearer approach to the modern form of English than that of any preceding writer of the century. Lydgate uses a great number of words which no longer retain their place; but in what are called the Paxton letters, written about 1459, and in the works of Fortescue, the great lawyer, a reader of the present day finds scarcely any difficulty. In Scotland, at the close of the fourteenth and during the fifteenth century, poetry was cultivated to a considerable extent. Chaucer found a worthy follower in Barbour, the author of "The Bruce"; and Wynton and James I were poets of greater eminence than any of their English contemporaries.

Meanwhile the language kept fluctuating, and as it differed in various districts, so it varied from one generation to another. At the end of the fifteenth century, Caxton declared that, taking up an old book, he found the English so rude and broad that he could hardly understand it;<sup>1</sup> and in his time the dialectic difference was still so great as to cause people from another shire to be mistaken for foreigners. Indeed, until the sixteenth century the English language, though perfectly suited to all the purposes of ordinary life and the lighter forms of literature, remained unfit for the treatment of questions such

<sup>1</sup> The *Polychronicon*, which was the fourth work which Caxton published, bears for title: *The Polychronycon, conteyning the Berynges and Dedes of many Times in eight Bokes. Imprinted by Wyllyam Caxton, after having somewhat changed the rude and olde Englysshe, that is to wete certayn Wordes which in thyse Dayes be neyther used ne understonden. Ended the second Day of Juyll at Westmestre, the xxij yere of the Regne of Kynge Edward the Fourth, and of the Incarnacyon of oure Lord a Thousand four Hundred four Score and Tweyme.*

as now everywhere occupied the public mind. Its vocabulary was still poor, and its form very much unsettled. Thus far the language of theology, law, politics, and erudition had been Latin; and so exclusively was the study of all these subjects confined to that language, that up to the middle of the sixteenth century scarcely a single word of Latin origin had come into general use, except such as had come through the Norman French. The old practice, however, of borrowing from the latter idiom whatever words were needed to supply existing deficiencies, and the favor with which the new words of the Renaissance and the Reformation were received by English scholars and translators, paved the way for the admission of an additional number of French terms, for which there were no equivalents in the existing language. On the other hand, the revival of the study of the classical writers of Greece and Rome, and the translations of their works into the vernacular, led to the introduction of a large number of new words directly derived from these languages, either to express new ideas and objects, or to indicate new distinctions or groupings of old ideas. Often, also, it seemed as if scholars were so pervaded with the form as well as with the spirit of the Old, that it was more natural for them to express themselves in words borrowed from the old than in their native tongue, and thus many words of Latin origin were introduced when English possessed perfectly good equivalents. Moreover, as the formation of new words from Latin was constantly going on in French as well as in English,<sup>1</sup> it was not always easy, in the absence of a standard dictionary, to distinguish whether a word was already accepted and naturalized, or used for the first time; whether it was borrowed from contemporary French, or had been in the language since the Norman period. French words, whether of early or recent formation, presented themselves all alike as Latin in an altered form, and when used as English they supplied precedents and models whereby other Latin words could be converted into English whenever required, and it is after these models that many Latin words, during and since the sixteenth century, have been fashioned into English. While every writer was thus introducing new words, according to his idea of their being needed, it naturally happened that a large number were never ac-

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<sup>1</sup> See pages 505-509.

cepted by contemporaries or posterity. Indeed, a portentous list might be made of Latin words thus introduced, which never had any existence outside of the works of those who used them.

This wholesale importation of Latin words and phrases, which none but the learned could understand, ceased by the middle of the seventeenth century. As in French so in English, Latin words that were necessary and useful were retained; all others were rejected and forgotten. Still the fondness for new and foreign terms, which has been a characteristic of the English language ever since the Norman period, was by no means checked by the reaction. New words from other sources continued to be introduced, often very needlessly, most of which have disappeared; others again, for which there was a real necessity, have become a permanent part of the vocabulary.

"Until the end of the fifteenth century," says Marsh, "it was only in the theological and moral departments that Latin had much direct influence upon English, most of the Latin roots introduced into it up to that time having been borrowed from the French; but as soon as the profane literature of Greece and Rome became known to English scholars through the press, a considerable influx of words drawn directly from the classics took place. The introduction of this element produced a sort of fermentation in the English language, a strife between the new and old, and both vocabulary and structure continued in a very unstable state until the end of the sixteenth century, when English became settled in nearly its present form. In the productions of Caxton's press, and, indeed, in the literature of the period, down to and including the time of Lord Berners, whose translation of Froissart, perhaps the best English prose that had yet been written, and certainly the most delightful narrative work in the language, first appeared in 1523, it is scarcely possible to find a single word of Latin origin belonging to the general vocabulary of English whose form does not render it most probable that we received it through the French. A hundred years later, on the contrary, we meet in every printed page words, either taken directly from the Latin, or, what is a very important point, if before existing in our literature, reformed in orthography, so as to suggest their classical origin.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> G. P. Marsh, *Lectures on the English Language*, p. 434.

With the sixteenth century commences what may be truly called "Modern English." The first prose writer by whom this is exhibited is Sir Thomas More, whose language and style make a near approach to those of our own day, with this exception, however, that, although one of the most learned men of his time, he uses the simplest and homeliest English words, and is yet wholly free from that excessive use of Latin which disfigures many of his immediate successors. In the first half of that century, a great mania for antiquity had suddenly sprung up in France, whence it readily found its way into England. Erasmus tells us that the learned Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, at first strenuously resisted this movement, and labored to keep the language pure, by recommending the study of Chaucer, and the use of such French words only as he had made classical.<sup>1</sup> Roger Ascham, the tutor of Lady Jane Grey and Queen Elizabeth, in a work written for the same purpose, earnestly endeavors to turn his countrymen from the practice, which by the middle of the sixteenth century became fashionable, of introducing into their language "the foreign rubbish which did make all things darke and hard," and which was growing so abundantly that it threatened to swamp the native basis of the language. Wilson, in his *Art of Rhetorique*, written about 1550, branded this use of French and Latin terms, so current at the time, and part of his criticism is well worth being remembered even at this day. "Some seke so farre for outlandishe Englishe," he says, "that thei forgette altogether their mothers' language. He that cometh out of France, will talke Frenche-English, and never blush at the matter. The unlearned or foolishe phantasticall that smelles but of learnyng will so Latyn their tongues

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<sup>1</sup> Erasmus, who was the first who undertook the teaching of Greek at Oxford, found but few friends to support him, and even an open hostility among the clergy. "The priests preached against it as a very recent invention of the arch-enemy; and confounding, in their misguided zeal, the very foundation of their faith with the object of their resentment, they represented the New Testament itself as an impious and dangerous book, because it was written in that heretic language. Even after the accession of Henry VIII, when Erasmus, who had quitted Oxford in disgust, returned under his especial patronage, with the support of several eminent scholars and powerful persons, his progress was still impeded, and the language opposed. The university was divided into parties, called Greeks and Trojans, the latter being the strongest from being favored by the monks, and the Greeks were driven from the streets with hisses and other expressions of contempt. It was not until Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey gave their positive and powerful protection that this persecuted language was allowed to be quietly studied in the institutions dedicated to learning."—Constable's *Miscellany*, vol. xx, p. 147.

that the simple can not but wonder at their talke, and thinke surely thei speake by some revelacion. I know them that thinke Rhetorique to stand whollie upon darke woordes, and he that can catche an ynkehorne terme by the taile, hym thei coumpt to be a fine Englishman and a good Rhetorician." In spite of all this, Mulcaster said in 1582, "The English tung cannot prove fairer than it is at this daie." He little knew what was to be the literary history of the next thirty years.

Improvements made in the art of printing made books more and more accessible to all, and by their means learning became more widely diffused throughout the country. The clergy were no longer the only learned men; the laity now began to be animated by a spirit of inquiry and a love of knowledge which gave evidence that the germ of modern enlightenment had commenced to be active. The enthusiasm for ancient learning among English scholars reached its height during the second half of the sixteenth century. Ronsard<sup>1</sup> had his followers in England as well as in France, so that even ladies of the court were accustomed to amuse themselves with the study of Plato and the Greek poets. Queen Elizabeth herself was an excellent Greek scholar. Meanwhile the Reformation gave birth to the theological literature of England. All parties in the church defended their peculiar views, and the writers, being mostly men of great learning, and constantly appealing to works written in the ancient languages, vast numbers of words relating to theological questions were introduced into English directly from the Latin and Greek, almost unconsciously and often very unnecessarily.

In the same manner a vast number of French words referring to matters of religion found their way into the language through the translations of Calvin's *Institution de la Religion Chrestienne*, du Bartas's *Divine Sepmaine*, and other works of the kind which were all very familiar to English readers.<sup>2</sup> Minor compositions on the subject, small theological and moral dialogues and satirical pamphlets, destined to captivate as well as to instruct the lower classes, also found their translators, and they were all read more

<sup>1</sup> See pages 505-508.

<sup>2</sup> King James VI translated du Bartas's *Uranie*; Joshua Sylvester translated his *Divine Sepmaine* in 1598; portions of his second *Sepmaine* were translated by Thomas Hudson, William Lisle, and Thomas Winter, all of which were extremely popular in England. So were the writings of Agrippa d'Aubigny, and du Bellay's *Roman Sonnets*, sixty of which were translated by Spenser, and published in 1591. See Appendix, page 509.

eagerly, and perhaps even more extensively, in England than in France itself. Owing to the great interest the whole nation took, at that time, in these matters, the words used by the foreign writers were often copied, and thus found their way into the language, and gradually became current among the people. Some of the leading men among the orthodox clergy, affecting to disdain the use of the vulgar tongue in matters of religious controversy, continued to write in Latin, but as the reply generally came in English, they were all, one after another, forced into the use of the vernacular. The laborious exercise of thought on these topics, and the warfare with pen and tongue which was the result, could not fail to increase the elasticity of the language, and so far tended to improve it as an organ of literature.

The Elizabethan Age, as it has been called, is the period at which we must place the completion of the greater part of the English language. A galaxy of poets, historians, and theologians, has made that age famous, and the popularity and general diffusion of their immortal works have given a great completeness and polish to the language. Though the vocabulary of English words has since that time been increased by the introduction of many new words used in art and science, yet it remains substantially the same as it was then spoken and written. It has been well said by Johnson that "from the authors who rose in the time of Elizabeth, a speech might be formed adequate to all purposes of use and elegance. If the language of theology were extracted from Hooker and the translators of the Bible, the terms of natural knowledge from Bacon, the phrases of policy, war, and navigation from Raleigh, the dialect of poetry and fiction from Spenser and Sidney, and the diction of common life from Shakespeare, few ideas would be lost to mankind for want of English words in which they might be expressed."

Though the language for all common purposes was now complete, it may be proper to notice the fluctuations which took place afterward, as regards the increasing number of foreign terms introduced by succeeding writers. The struggle of the Commons against the power of the Crown in the middle of the seventeenth century turned the genius of literary men to political discussion. The most famous of those who used their pens in aid of the people and Parliament was John Milton, whose remarkable prose writings foreshadowed the future glory of

“Paradise Lost.” No man in England was better acquainted with ancient literature, or admired and copied it more; hence, though his vocabulary is not particularly Latin, yet his sentences show a number of classical constructions in their formation. Jeremy Taylor and Sir Thomas Browne, on the contrary, are examples of a most extraordinary use of words of classical derivation, which they either copied from foreign writers or introduced themselves. No fewer than two thousand words used by them are no longer retained in the language, and many more which they employed are seldom or never used. Both these writers flourished during the Protectorate, and the early part of the reign of Charles II. Their contemporary Cowley is, in his choice of words, their very opposite. Cowley and Baxter, about 1680, were the heralds of a new style that was soon to be brought to further perfection by Dryden, Swift, Addison, and others.

With the Restoration, in 1660, came manners and morals from France which greatly affected the national character, and they brought with them new French words and phrases which again in a short time became naturalized in English. Dryden strove against their introduction, and it is only those relating to art, criticism, and fashion, which have retained their place. Addison and his friends aimed at expressing themselves in the language of cultivated society, and their great merit consists in their correct knowledge and reproduction of those genuine idiomatic peculiarities of the language which show its early origin, and which had been received into the conversation of intelligent and educated men. Swift, though often coarse, is always vigorous in expression, and he presents a greater proportion of good old words and idioms than any writer of his time. He was bitterly opposed to the existing fashion of using foreign words in English sentences, and berates the clergy for indulging in this deplorable habit. To protect the language from further corruption, he proposes the establishment of an academy in imitation of the *Académie Française*.<sup>1</sup> Though it is doubtful whether any such institution for English would be useful or desirable, it is not the less certain that a combination of eminent men of letters, organized on another plan, perhaps, but for a similar purpose, might do much to check and correct the abuses

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<sup>1</sup> *A proposal for correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English tongue; in a letter to the Lord High Treasurer.*



referred to, and also to bring about some reform of spelling, the system of which is still exceedingly defective.

At the close of the seventeenth, and the beginning of the eighteenth century, France was the great military nation of Europe, and as the French were accounted masters in the art of war, they were taken as models by other nations, England among the number. By this means a considerable number of words relating to military affairs has come from the French into the English. Addison, in the "Spectator," gives a very humorous account of the use of French words and military phrases during the war under Marlborough, and remarks "that the present war has so adulterated our tongue with strange words, that it would be impossible for one of our great-grandfathers to know what his posterity have been doing, were he to read their exploits in a modern newspaper." It must be remembered that, during the whole of the eighteenth century, French was the current language of Europe, and seemed destined to become ere long the language of the world. So common was its use that Gibbon at first designed to write his great "Decline and Fall" in French, and was only dissuaded by the advice of the sagacious David Hume, who foresaw that English was certain in time to take its place as the language of almost universal intercourse. Such, however, is the language of Gibbon, that, had he written in French, it would, as regards the selection of words, have made but little difference, as will be seen by the following extract from his work. "It was once *proposed to discriminate the slaves by a peculiar habit*; but it was *justly apprehended* that there might be some *danger in acquainting them with their own numbers*. Without *interpreting*, in their utmost *strictness*, the *liberal appellations of legions and myriads*, we may *venture to pronounce* that the *proportion of slaves, who were valued as property*, was more *considerable* than that of *servants, who can be computed only as an expense*. The youths of a *promising genius* were *instructed in the arts and sciences*, and their *price was ascertained by the degree of their skill and talents*. Almost every *profession, either liberal or mechanical*, might be found in the household of an *opulent senator*. The *ministers of pomp and sensuality* were *multiplied beyond the conception of modern luxury*. It was more for the *interest of the merchant or manufacturer to purchase*, than to hire his workmen; and in the *country, slaves were employed as the cheapest and most laborious instruments of agriculture*. To *confirm*

the *general observation*, and to *display* the *multitude* of *slaves*, we might *allege* a *variety* of *particular instances*. It was *discovered* on a *very melancholy occasion*, that four hundred *slaves* were *maintained* in a *single palace* of Rome."<sup>1</sup> If from this fragment we take out the articles, pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and auxiliaries, that is, those words which are of constant recurrence but mean nothing by themselves, we shall find that the substance is almost exclusively French.

In respect to a limited introduction of foreign terms into native compositions, the earlier half of the eighteenth century was far more particular than the latter. Defoe, Addison, Swift, Pope, are names worthy of all honor; and it were to be wished that no French or Latin terms had been brought in since their day, at least, not without good reason. Johnson has said, "Whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison." He did, however, not always practice what he preached. His language seems to have been influenced rather by the study of Jeremy Taylor and Sir Thomas Browne; for though he himself coined but few new words, most of those he uses will be found in the writings of these authors. Still, so great has been his influence on the English language, partly through his Dictionary, that the words made use of by him have been stamped with a kind of authority.

Since Johnson's time, writers of great eminence have arisen in all branches of literature, but so varied has been their language, that it is often difficult to decide whether it is the Saxon, French, or Latin which predominates in their compositions. The immense development of the physical sciences during the last half century has called for a corresponding extension of terminology which, in most instances, has been supplied from the Greek; and although these terms are in the first instance essentially technical, yet with the spread of education and general diffusion of the rudiments and appliances of science, many of them have passed, and are constantly passing, in general circulation. Social, artistic, and literary contact with other nations, has likewise led to the adoption of numerous words from modern European languages, generally from the French, sometimes from Italian, and but seldom from

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<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

the German. Commercial intercourse, extending all over the world, has also introduced many exotic words now in common use. But more interesting and more important perhaps than all these are the dialectic words that from time to time have attained literary recognition—old sayings, old words, often of Dutch, Danish, or Celtic origin, which have been preserved in some local dialects, and which have thus at last found their way back into the standard language.

As to the actual proportion of the various elements which compose the English vocabulary, it is probable that the original English words do not now form more than a third, perhaps even a fourth only, of the total entries in a full English dictionary; and it may seem strange, therefore, that the language is still identified by philologists with that of the ninth century, and classified as a member of the Low German division. But this explains itself when we consider that of the total words of a dictionary only a small portion are used by any one individual in speaking or even in writing; and when further we observe that all the pronouns and determinatives, all the numerals, cardinal and ordinal, *second* only excepted, all the primary particles, all the terminations necessary for the inflection of substantives, the comparison of adjectives and the conjugation of verbs, as well as almost all words in common use, are of Saxon origin, it is quite evident that whatever be the number of foreign words admitted into English, it is yet the original native speech which furnishes the groundwork of the language. While the English used their own words, they could not forget their own way of using them, and when one by one French words were introduced into the sentence, they became English by the very act of admission, and were at once subjected to all the duties and liabilities of English words in the same position. This is exactly what still takes place at the present day. Any French article of permanent use, imported under a French name, makes that name as thoroughly known, and as thoroughly English, as if it had been in the language for ages. If new words, when adopted, conform themselves to the manner and usage of the adopting language, it makes absolutely no difference whether they are transferred from some other language or built up from existing roots. In either case they are new words to begin with; in either case, also, if they are needed, they will become as thoroughly native, that is, familiar from childhood to those

who use them as those that possess the longest native pedigree. Whatever, therefore, may have been the direct and eventual results of the Norman conquest upon the reconstruction of the English vocabulary; whatever the amount or proportion of foreign words that have since been adopted; however even their presence may have affected the grammatical structure of the language, the language itself is English not the less; and if comparison could further illustrate this, the language, as at present, might be likened to a stately old tree whose huge gnarly roots sink deep into the native soil, and whose massive trunk, thickly covered with foreign grafts, bears fruits and flowers in abundance, often foreign in appearance, but with a strong taste and flavor of the native sap which nourishes them and on which they thrive.

While thus tracing back the English language to its natural sources, we must refer to a curious fiction, which is apt to mislead the student as regards the name of *Anglo-Saxon*, which is sometimes used by poets and orators to designate *Modern English*. Applied to the language of Alfred or Ælfric, it may serve to indicate the native dialect of the period, and by extension, up to and even during the time of its decomposition; but to apply it to modern English can only lead to error, as regards the nature of the language during the earlier parts of its history. What little the student has seen of Anglo-Saxon in this volume will, no doubt, suffice to convince him that no amount of familiarity with modern English, including its local dialects, or even with the language of Chaucer and writers of his century, would enable one to read the old language of England, as current before the Norman conquest, not only on account of the great number of words that are lost, but also from the altered form of those that have remained; nor would a knowledge of these words give him the power, since the grammatical system, in accordance as well as syntax, would be entirely strange to him. The use of the term to designate *English* is all the more incorrect as its very origin is uncertain and disputed, some maintaining that it means a union of Angles and Saxons; others, probably with better foundation, that it meant "English Saxons," or Saxons of England, as distinguished from Saxons of the Continent. Although there is no evidence that either the Angles or the Saxons ever used the term in speaking of themselves, it has been lately much employed, not only to designate collectively the Teutonic

conquerors of Britain, but all the people who speak the English language in England, in America, and everywhere else. In the mind of some this aggregation is even regarded as homogeneous, and styled by them the "Anglo-Saxon race." On the same ground we might call the Germans the Prussian race, the Americans the New England race, or the Celts the Tipperary race. The fact that the word "Saxon" was occasionally used by Latin writers of the time, in cases where we always find "English" in the native tongue, is mainly to be attributed to the tendency—one which has had more or less influence on almost all Latin writers then and since—to use expressions which sounded in some way grander or more archaic than those which were in common use. In the same way James Thompson said "Rule Britannia, Britannia rules the waves," etc.; he would have called it "Albion" or anything else, if another word had suited his lines better. Thus a euphemism may be a misnomer, sounding well enough sometimes in poetry, but not allowed in prose. In reference to this, Sir Francis Palgrave remarks: "I must needs here pause, and substitute henceforward the true and antient word 'English' for the unhistorical and conventional term 'Anglo-Saxon,' an expression conveying a most false idea in our civil history." It is quite certain that, ever since Egbert, the word "Anglo-Saxon" was not used, any more than the word "Saxon," as the ordinary name of the nation. An inhabitant of one of the real Saxon settlements might indeed have called himself a Saxon, as opposed to his Anglian neighbors; he might have been from Essex or Sussex, and be called accordingly an eastern or a southern Saxon; or an inhabitant of Anglia itself might have been spoken of as belonging to either the north-folk or the south-folk, just as here we speak of Northerners and Southerners; but even as here we are all Americans, and known as such as a nation, so Angles, Saxons, and whatever smaller tribes or fractions of tribes there may have been among them, were all called collectively Angles, Engles, Englesmen—belonging to the same kin, called by themselves "Angel-cyn"; and though their dialects may have been ever so various, their common language, as expressed in writing—in a word, their literary language—has come down to us, not as "Anglo-Saxon," nor Anglo-Danish, but as Alfred himself called it, "English." It is only for the purpose of philological distinctness that the name of "Anglo-Saxon" has been and

can be used with any propriety to designate the language from the arrival of the Saxons till the irruption of the Danes; that of "Anglo-Danish" to mark the decline of the language from the time of the Danish to the Norman invasion; and that of "Anglo-Norman" to denote the French spoken by the Normans in England. In the same way the names of "Semi-Saxon," "Old English," and "Middle English" have been invented to subdivide the changes from the old native speech into Modern English. And in conformity with this custom we may, with all propriety, use these names in speaking of the successive stages of the language. For all other purposes, the term "Anglo-Saxon" is as inappropriate as that of "Anglo-Danish" or "Anglo-Norman" would be to designate "English."

By a fiction similar to that which calls English "Anglo-Saxon," the French element of the language is sometimes called "Latin." For those who do not know French, or are unacquainted with the history of that language, it may afford some faint assistance in distinguishing between words of Teutonic and others of Romance origin, but it has certainly the inconvenience of hopelessly mixing up, 1, the Old French words which, blending with the native dialects, form the basis of the English vocabulary; 2, the French words which, formed by French writers from Latin, were imported in the sixteenth century mainly through translations; 3, the Latin words which, made to sound like English, were subsequently introduced directly by English scholars; and 4, the modern French, and a few Spanish and Italian words, which ever since have found their way into the language up to the present day. Of these four classes of words, the latter belong more especially to the sciences, arts, and trades introduced from abroad; to foreign fancies and fashions; or to peculiar shades of thought, first developed among foreign writers. All these words, however, keep up more or less their foreign sound and appearance, and like the many scientific and technical terms that have been fabricated from the Greek, they can hardly be considered as belonging to the general vocabulary of the language, but rather form an artificial appendage to it. Though many words of this class have passed into general circulation, most of them are understood by the initiated only. The words of Norman origin, on the contrary, are understood by all, and always used correctly. Springing direct from the living

and spoken language, and being the fruit of spontaneous and natural growth, they are part and parcel of the people's language; and so thoroughly are they blended and assimilated with it, that in most instances none but the special student is conscious of their foreign origin. Vastly different they are in this respect from the foreign words that were introduced subsequently through the writings of the learned, who took them from the books of other learned authors. All these words, absolutely necessary to represent the more delicate shades of thought, and to express the complex relation of the higher mental conceptions, form, no doubt, a most important part of the present vocabulary; but, although with the general diffusion of knowledge many have passed into the common tongue, their use is still mainly confined to the educated, and to the language of learned speakers and writers.

There is thus a vast difference between the two categories of words of foreign origin now found in the language—the one inherited, the other imported; the former, mixed with what remained of the native dialects, forming the people's vocabulary, serving the purpose of business and familiar speech, and furnishing the terms of endearment, affection, and emotion; the latter composing the language of reasoning, of science, and philosophy, and the higher intellectual processes in general. To call all these words indiscriminately Latin would not assist the student in establishing etymological or rhetorical distinctions. It is true that French and Latin may be looked upon as two successive conditions of the same language, but still between the two there is a marked difference; and not to notice it would be as great a blunder as, in another order of ideas, not to distinguish between mother and daughter. The Normans spoke French, not Latin; and it was the French as spoken by them which, blending with the native dialects, has formed that wonderful language which, by the power thus acquired of enriching its vocabulary from all available sources, has found its way into almost every country, and which, having allied itself with every art and science, and been used for every purpose of human action and thought, has now become inferior to none, and superior to almost all, in those excellencies and utilities for which languages have been commended and preferred.

While thus inquiring into the sources of the English language by means of historical, archæological, and eth-

nological research, the student can not have failed to discover that, although language is still the first test among those by which races are distinguished, its application as such is restricted by conditions very different from the dogma, once so hastily pronounced, that it is the one great decisive test. No country more signally than our own presents examples of the fact, of which proofs abound throughout the world, that the language spoken by a people is, by itself, no test of race at all; nor is the fallacy of the principle of "nationalities of race" more clearly demonstrated than by the history of the people from whom our own vernacular is borrowed, and whose patriotic and political nationality is founded on fusion rather than on purity of race; indeed, the latter would perhaps be sought in vain throughout the world.

Undoubtedly the history of the formation of a language is essentially the history of the people who speak and of those who have spoken it; and if this language is our own, a knowledge of both these branches, studied conjointly, will prove all the more valuable as, in case of doubt, it allows an intelligent and methodical inquiry into the nature of every word that may suggest itself for use—from what parent stock it came; what circumstances led to its introduction; through what changes of form it has passed; what was its original meaning, and its subsequent deviation from that first signification. Such a task, made habitual, will be found not only most instructive, but also exceedingly interesting. For this purpose let the student carefully examine the materials at hand, and in his compositions select such words and forms as will exactly express his ideas. Let him suit his language to his subject, and employ none but the most usual terms to produce the effect desired. Above all, let him remember that, though English has borrowed a great deal of French, though it has lost a large stock of native English words, though it has adopted many a French idiom, and has been influenced by French in endless indirect ways, it still remains English. On the other hand, let him not imagine that English is still Saxon, and that in order to write English well we must banish from our phrases every word taken from the French and Latin. Such an attempt would show a gross ignorance of the sources of the language, and throw out the whole vocabulary of art, science, philosophy, and modern civilization. Nay, what is more, it would be impossible even to allude to many of the most primitive ob-



jects and occurrences in life; for although the original English vocabulary has furnished its ample share of words for the expression of the most familiar ideas, yet such words as *pray, pay, money, rent, debt, prison, judge, rich, poor, people, parents, uncle, aunt, nephew, niece, cousin, city, village, country, river, lake, rock, valley, mountain, air, fruit, flowers, plants, herbs, carrots, onions, dinner, supper, boil, fry, roast, pork, lard, beef, mutton, plate, place, chair, table, round, square, touch, try, turn, taste, suffer, marry, grief, pain, labor, wages, bottle, boot, coat, vest, jacket, pocket, face, voice, etc., etc.*, have won their way into the hovel as well as into the manor; nor can they be adequately expressed by any other terms. While, therefore, the student should not aim at adorning his style by an excessive use of foreign terms, he should be careful also not to fall into the opposite extreme, and impoverish his language by a too exclusive preference for words derived from the Saxon. He should, indeed, never discard such words without good reason, and if among these he can not find any that will suit his purpose, he should prefer a French or Latin word naturalized before the eighteenth century to any later comer. On this subject we may profitably notice the remarks of Dr. Freeman, who, though far from underrating the Norman influence in the formation of the English language, or ignoring the importance of words derived from that source, nevertheless protests, as so many have done before him, against the immoderate use of French and Latin terms, to the neglect of those of Saxon origin. On reprinting his "Essays," written many years before, he says: "In almost every page I have found it easy to put some plain English word, about whose meaning there can be no doubt, instead of those needless French and Latin words which are thought to add dignity to style, but which in truth only add vagueness. I am in no way ashamed to find that I can write purer and clearer English now than I did fourteen and fifteen years back; and I think it well to mention the fact for the encouragement of younger writers. The common temptation of beginners is to write in what they think a more elevated fashion. It needs some years of practice before a man fully takes in the truth that, for real strength, and, above all, for real clearness, there is nothing like the old English speech of our fathers."

## CHAPTER XI.

SCRAPS FROM ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS ILLUSTRATING EARLY  
ENGLISH LITERATURE AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

## PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

IN order to understand correctly the specimens of early English presented in this chapter, it must be borne in mind that, with the exception of the Anglo-Saxon "Chronicle"—which kept up the ancient idiom of Alfred long after that language had ceased to be vernacular—all English works that since made their appearance were written for the use of people who no longer understood the elder forms of speech, but whose local dialects varied to such an extent as to be unintelligible, in many instances, to persons inhabiting different parts of the country. However, leaving aside all minor differences, and noticing only the leading features of the literary records of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we will find that the New English of that time was represented by three principal dialects, which may be grouped as follows:

1. The Northern dialects, spoken throughout the Lowlands of Scotland, Northumberland, Durham, and nearly the whole of Yorkshire. Roughly speaking, the Humber and Ouse formed the southern boundary of this area, while the Penine Chain determined its limits to the west.

2. The Midland dialect, spoken in the counties to the west of the Penine Chain, in the East-Anglian counties, and in the whole of the Midland district. The Thames formed the southern boundary of this region.

3. The Southern dialect, spoken in all the counties south of the Thames; in Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, and portions of Herefordshire and Worcestershire.

There is no doubt that the Midland dialect exercised an influence upon the Southern dialect wherever it happened to be geographically connected with it, just as the Northumbrian acted upon the adjacent Midland dialects; and this enables us to understand that admixture of gram-

matical forms which is to be found in some of the early English manuscripts.

No previous knowledge of oldest English, that is, Anglo-Saxon, is required for the perusal of the extracts contained in this chapter. The translation of a few pieces will render the student familiar with the earlier forms of English, after which the addition of copious notes will assist him in solving the principal difficulties of construction, and explain or illustrate most of the rarer words and forms.

A great deal of the supposed difficulty of Early English, and much of the curious awe with which many persons regard it, as if it were a study much beyond them, and in which they can have little interest, has been the indirect result of the injudicious way in which editors have been accustomed to tamper with their texts. Readers are so used to having their extracts from older authors modified or modernized, that they find themselves thrown out when actually meeting with a genuine old book, and are discouraged at the outset from attempting to peruse it.<sup>1</sup> In the present volume many pieces have been printed without alteration, and with the exact spelling which occurs in the original manuscript, or old black-letter books from which they are taken. The student who masters their contents will therefore make a real advance, and be pleased to find himself able to read with considerable ease almost every Old English printed book in existence. He will also find that he has acquired much that will assist him in reading early manuscripts.

There are only a few difficulties that are likely to trouble him at first. These arise from three principal sources, viz., from the alphabet employed, from the spelling, and from the diction or vocabulary of words used. The alphabet and the spelling should receive previous attention; but a knowledge of the vocabulary will come with time, being acquired imperceptibly, yet with ever-increasing rapidity. A few hints on these subjects will probably be of service.

*The Alphabet.*—The letters are the same as those we use now, with two additions, and with some variations in significance. The additional letters are þ and ȝ. Both of

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<sup>1</sup> But for the unfortunate readiness with which editors and publishers have yielded to the popular demand for conformity to the spelling and the vocabulary of the day, the knowledge of genuine English would now be both more general and further advanced than it is.—Marsh, *Lectures on English*.

these are of frequent occurrence in early manuscripts. The former (þ) signifies *th*. In our modern pronunciation we make a distinction between the initial sounds of *thine* and *thin*, a distinction which probably did not exist in the earliest times, the *th* always being "voiced," as in *thine*; and it is remarkable that we still preserve this sound in the oldest and commonest words, such as *thou*, *the*, *that*, *there*, *then*, and the like. Often, however, we find a distinction made in manuscripts of the fourteenth century, some scribes using þ at the beginning of *þe*, *þat*, and the letters *th* at the beginning of *thin*, *thikke*. In the fifteenth century this distinction was less regarded, and the symbol þ gradually fell into disuse. Very soon after this the scribes began to form the character þ so indistinctly that no difference was made between it and the letter *y*. Often, also, the manuscript has "y<sup>t</sup>," where the *y* means *th*, and the *a* is only indicated by the *t* being a little above the line. Hence it is very common to find in old printed books the words "y<sup>e</sup>," "y<sup>t</sup>," "yis," which are to be read *the*, *that*, *this*, and not *ye*, *yat*, *yis*, as many persons seem to suppose.

The character *ȝ* had various powers. At the *beginning* of a word it was sounded as *y*, so that *ȝard* is our modern *yard*; in the middle of a word it had a guttural sound, still represented in our spelling by *gh*, as *liȝt* for *light*; at the end of a word it either had the same sound, or stood for *s*. In fact the character for *s* was written precisely like it, although more sparingly employed; thus we find *marchauntȝ* for *marchaunts*, where the *s*, by the way, must necessarily have been sounded as *s*. This use of the character is French, and appears chiefly in French words. In early French manuscripts it is very common, and denotes *s* only.

The characters *v* and *u* require particular attention. The latter is freely used to denote *both* the modern sounds, and the reader must be prepared at any moment to treat it as a consonant. Thus the words *haue*, *leue*, *diuerse* are to be read *have*, *leve*, *diverse*; where it will be observed that the symbol appears between two vowels. The *v* is used sparingly, but sometimes denotes the modern *u*, chiefly at the beginning of a word. The following are nearly all the commoner examples of it: *vce* or *vse* (*use*), *vter* (*utter*), *vþ* (*up*), *vpon* (*upon*); and the prefix *vn-* (*un-*).

Occasionally even *w* is used for *u*. Hence the words *swe*, *remwe*, are for *sue*, *remue*; and, in one instance, we find the curious form *dywlgat*=*dyywlgat*=*dyywlgat*=*di-*

vulged. In some examples of Lowland Scotch *w* is used for both *u* and *v*; so that *gawe* means *gave*, and *hous* is *hous* (house). A little practice soon renders the eye familiar with these variations.

The letter *j* is very rare. It is generally denoted by a capital *I*; as in *Iape*, *Ieoperdie*, *Iourney*, for *jape*, *jeopardy*, *journey*. Sometimes *ij* is written for *y*, as in *wijst*=*wyzt*=*wyght*=*wight*. This symbol is very common in modern Dutch, as in the words *mijn* (mine), and *wijn* (wine), which are pronounced *mine* and *wine*, respectively. The combination *quh* is common in Scotch, and answers to the modern English *wh* and the Anglo-Saxon *hw*; as in *quhy* for *why*.

The reader should also observe that proper names more frequently begin with a small letter than with a capital; as, *pryant* for *Priam*. The letters *a*, *i*, and *r*, are frequently written as capitals at the beginning of words in ancient manuscripts. Marks of punctuation are very rare in these manuscripts; and in old printed books we frequently find only the mark / for a comma, with occasional full stops and colons.

*Spelling*.—It is a common error to look upon the spelling of Old English as utterly lawless, and unworthy of notice. Because it is not *uniform*, the conclusion is at once rushed to that it can not be of much service. No mistake could well be worse. It is frequently far better than our modern spelling, and helps to show how badly we spell now, in spite of the attempt at uniformity introduced by printers for the sake of convenience. Old English spelling was conducted on an intelligible principle, whereas our modern spelling exhibits no principle at all, but merely illustrates the inconvenience of separating symbols from sounds. The intelligible principle of Old English spelling is, that it was intended to be *phonetic*. Bound by no particular laws, each scribe did the best he could to represent the sounds which he heard, and the notion of putting in letters that were not sounded was (except in the case of final *e*) almost unknown. The very variations are of value, because they help to render more clear in each case what the sound was which the scribes were attempting to represent. But to bear in mind that the spelling was *phonetic* is to hold the clue to it. Scribes differed in their modes of spelling for several reasons. Most of them were guided by the pronunciation of the dialect of their place of residence, and dialects were then

numerous. Some were more ignorant than others, whence the exceptional badness of the spelling. Many were influenced by what they themselves had previously read, so that changes of spelling took place more slowly than changes in pronunciation, and were often a little behind it. The most marked instance of this is in the case of *e* final, which was retained in spelling after it had ceased to be pronounced, so that the spelling of *serche*, for instance, indicates that the word was formerly pronounced *serchè*, a dissyllable. Unfortunately, one result of this was that a silent *e* was often ignorantly added, as in the word *kyng*, which is often rightly spelt *kyng* on the same page. It is impossible to enlarge upon this here, for want of space; but experience shows that the spelling very seldom causes any real difficulty, and that the words which are so disguised by it as not to be intelligible at first sight are very few indeed. Those who do not care to investigate the spelling, have only to read right on and *aloud*, when the difficulty will gradually disappear. Owing to the great changes, however, that have taken place in the pronunciation of Modern English, it may not always be easy for the reader to form any clear ideas how Early English *sounded* when spoken, unless he will take some pains to examine the matter for himself, first putting aside all preconceived notions evolved out of his inevitable ignorance. There is reason to believe that very considerable changes have taken place in English pronunciation since the fourteenth century, and that the vowels were at that time pronounced much more like those heard in continental languages than is the case at present. Hence the best general rule that can be given for approximating to the sounds of Early English vowels, is to give to *a, e, i, o, u* their present *continental* values; that is, to pronounce them as in Dutch or Italian, carefully avoiding being misled by the peculiar sounds which occur in familiar modern English.

## ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.

"It is deeply to be regretted," says Thorpe, "that an historic monument so important as this "Chronicle" should afford us no information with regard to its several writers, or to the mode in which it gradually grew into the form in which we now possess it." Equally devoid are we of all indirect or collateral evidence tending to cast a glimmering of light on these points. Conjecture, therefore, and that only founded on probability, is all we can have recourse to, in an attempt to account for the phenomenon. One point, however, seems indisputable, viz., that the several manuscripts, whether West Saxon or Mercian, are derived from a common original; whence the question naturally arises, how

and by whom was such original issued to the several monasteries, which, from their rank, or the reputation of one or other of their inmates, for learning or superior penmanship, were deemed qualified for the proposed task of multiplying copies; and where it received such additional matter as, on account of local interest or other circumstances, might seem desirable to those whose province it was to supervise the literary department of the brotherhood.

As contributors to the composition of the "Saxon Chronicle," the names of King Alfred, and of Archbishops Phlegemund and Dunstan have been mentioned. This, too, is pure conjecture; though with respect, at least, to Alfred and Phlegemund, a conjecture by no means void of probability; nor shall we greatly err, perhaps, in assigning to their influence and authority the earlier or original portion of the earliest manuscript, ending with the year 891, and which, from a comparison of the form of its letters with those of other manuscripts of the same period, may be safely assigned to the end of the ninth century, and with a semblance of probability, as the prototype of the other copies. In favor, too, of Alfred's participation in the composition of the "Chronicle," may be noticed the greater fullness of narrative that prevails, from the year 853, or soon after Alfred's birth; also, that the account of acts of that prince is, in all the manuscripts, so strikingly similar; while, in other cases, they frequently exhibit great deviations from each other.

The testimony also supplied us by the old French chronicle of Geoffroi Gaimar, who lived in the middle of the twelfth century, is of some authority, as tending to corroborate the supposition that to King Alfred we are indebted for a "Saxon Chronicle," and, down to his time, probably in its present form. According to the same chronicler, that prince had a copy of a "Chronicle" at Winchester fastened by a chain, so that all who wished might read, but that it might not be taken from the spot;<sup>1</sup> a custom of which traces still exist in England, or at least have existed, within the memory of the present generation. A further corroboration of the existence of the "Chronicle" in its present form, in the days of King Alfred, is the circumstance that his friend Asser, bishop of Sherborne, translates and incorporates much of its matter in his Latin life of his royal patron from the years 849 to 887.

The "Saxon Chronicle" comprises the period from the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar to the accession of Henry II, in A. D. 1154; and is, conjointly with the "Ecclesiastical History" of Bede, the principal source whence our early chroniclers have derived their matter. While regarding Alfred as the probable originator of the "Saxon Chronicle," it must, at the same time, be evident that in England there already existed written memorials of earlier times, whence he, or rather perhaps his coadjutors, derived materials; and to such Bede alludes in the words: "A principio voluminis hujus usque ad tempus quo gens Anglorum fidem Christi percipit, ex priorum maxime scriptis, hinc inde collectis, ea quæ promeremus didicimus." He also speaks of "monimenta literarum"; also Malmesbury: "Sunt sane quædam vetustatis indicia, chronico more et patrio sermone, per annos Domini ordinati."

Thus, from the beginning of the "Chronicle" to the death of Bede (A. D. 734), we are able, in some measure, to form a judgment as to the sources whence much of its matter is derived; but from that date until the time of Alfred (or about a hundred and fifty years), we know not from what materials the narrative was compiled. Tradition, which in those days must have been in much greater request than it is now, no doubt contributed its share; some marginal notes, also, on the volumes of monastic libraries, may have afforded information, as it appears was the case on the Continent.

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<sup>1</sup> Li reis Elfred l'out en demaine;  
fermer i fist une chaine.  
ki lire i volt bien i guardast;  
mais de son liu nel' remnast.

Geoffroi Gaimar, ii, 2316, *seqq.*











Such a continuous chain of occurrences as that exhibited in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" would, it is reasonable to suppose, display a gradation of changes in the Anglo-Saxon tongue during the two centuries from the time of Alfred to the death of Harold; such is not, however, the case, as the language is the same throughout, with regard both to its vocabulary and its inflexions; nor until some time after the conquest do we observe any material corruptions; they then begin to be but too manifest. Yet even here we have hardly a just criterion in the Peterborough, or Laudian manuscript, much of the later parts of which are evidently the work of illiterate, or even foreign, monks, glaringly ignorant of the use of genders and cases. From this period may be dated the break-up of the old "English undefiled." The following is a transcript of the accompanying *fac simile* plate of the Cottonian Manuscript, Tiberius, A. VI, in the British Museum.

Ær Cristes geflæsnesse LX. wintra . Gaius Iulius se casere  
ærest Romana Brytenland gesohte . 7 Bryttas mid gefeohte cny-  
sede . 7 hie oferswipde . 7 swa ðeah ne mihte ðær rice gewin-  
nan.

An. I. Octavianus rixode LXVI. wintra . 7 on þam XLII. gere  
his rices Crist wæs acenned.

An. II. Ða þry tungolwitigan of east dæle coman . to ðam 7  
hie Crist weorþodan . 7 þa cild on Bethleem ofslegene wæran . for  
Cristes ehtnesse . fram Herode.

An. III. Her swealt Herodes fram him sylfum ofsticod . 7 Ar-  
chelaus his sunu feng to rice.

An. IIII, v.

An. VI. Fram frympe middangeardes oþ þis gear wæron agan  
v. wintra . 7 cc. wintra.

An. VII-XI.

An. XII. Philippus 7 Herodes todældan Lysiam 7 Iudeam fe-  
perricum.

An. XIII-XV.

An. XVI. Her feng Tiberius to rice.

An. XVII-XXV.

An. XXVI. Her onfeng Pilatus gyminge ofer Iudeas.

An. XXVII-XXIX.

An. XXX. Her wæs Crist gefulwad . 7 Petrus 7 Andreas geh-  
wyrfde . 7 Iacobus 7 Iohannes 7 Philippus 7 þa XII. apostolas.

An. XXXI, XXXII.

An. XXXIII. Her wæs Crist ahangen . fram frympe middan-  
geardes ymb v. 7 cc. 7 xxvi. wintra.

#### TRANSLATION.

Before the incarnation of Christ LX winters, Caius Julius the  
emperor, first of the Romans, sought the land of Britain; and  
crushed the Britons in fight, and overcame them; and yet might  
not there gain power.

A. D. I. Octavianus reigned LXVI winters; and in the XLII year  
of his reign Christ was born.

A. D. II. The three astrologers from the East came to worship

Christ ; and the children in Bethlehem were slain by Herod in persecution of Christ.

A. D. III. This year died Herod, stabbed by his own hand ; and Archelaus his son succeeded him.

A. D. III, V.

A. D. VI. From the beginning of the world to this year were agone V and CC winters (5,200).

A. D. VII-XI.

A. D. XII. This year Philip and Herod divided Judea into four kingdoms.

A. D. XIII-XV.

A. D. XVI. Here Tiberius succeeded to the empire.

A. D. XVII-XXV.

A. D. XXVI. Here Pilate began to reign over the Jews.

A. D. XXVII-XXIX.

A. D. XXX. Here was Christ baptized, and Peter and Andrew were converted, together with James and John and Philip, and all the XII apostles.

A. D. XXXI, XXXII.

A. D. XXXIII. Here was Christ crucified about V and CC and XXVI winters (5,226) from the beginning of the world.

The following is a copy of the last entry made in the Peterborough or Laudian Manuscript of the "Chronicle," also in the British Museum. It continues its entries to a much later date than the former, but is not so well preserved :

MILLESIMO. C.LIIII. On þis gær wærd þe king Steph. ded · ʒ bebyried þer his wif ʒ his sune wæron bebyried æt Fauresfeld · þæt minstre hi makeden. Ða þe king was ded · ða was þe eorl beionde sæ · ʒ ne durste nan man don oþer bute god · for þe micel eie of him Ða he to Engleland com · þa was he underfangen mid micel wurtscipe · ʒ to king bletcæd in Lundene · on þe Sunnendæi beforen midwinter dæi · ʒ . . . . . micel curt. Ðat ilce dæi þat Mart. abbot of Burch sculde þider faren · þa sæclede he · ʒ ward ded IIII Noſi. Iaf. ʒ te munekes innen dæis cusen oþer of heom sælf · Willelm de Walteuile is gehaten · god clerc ʒ god man · ʒ wæl luued of þe k. ʒ of alle gode men · and o . . . . . en byrie þabbot hehlice · ʒ sone þe cosan abbot ferde · ʒ te muneces . . . . . Oxenford to þe king . . . . . iaf him þat abbotrice · ʒ he ferde . . . . . ʒ wæs þ . . . . . abbot ær he ham come · ʒ þe . . . . . underfangen mid micel wurtscipe . . . . . at Burch mid . . . . . procession · ʒ sua he was alsua at Rameise · ʒ at Torn . . . . . ʒ at Spall · ʒ at . . . . . beres · ʒ . . . . . abbot ʒ . . . . . haued begunnon. Xrist h . . . . .<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this copy the dots indicate the decayed and illegible parts of the MS.

TRANSLATION.

A. D. MCLIV. In this year King Stephen died, and was buried where his wife and son were buried at Faversham, the monastery which they had founded. When the king was dead, the count (Henry of Angou) was beyond the sea, but no man dared do other than good for the great awe of him. When he came to England, he was received with great worship, and consecrated as king in London on the Sunday before Midwinter Day, and there he held a great court.

The same day that Martin, Abbot of Peterborough, should have gone thither, he fell sick and died on the 4th of the Nones of January (Jan. 2d); and the monks, within a day, chose for themselves another, called William de Watteville, a good scholar and good man, and well beloved by the king and by all good men, and they buried the abbot sumptuously in the church. And soon the abbot-elect, and all the monks with him, went to Oxford to the king, and he gave him the abbey; and he went soon to Lincoln, and there he was consecrated abbot ere he came home. Since then he was received at Peterborough with great worship and in great procession; and so he was at Ramsey, at Thorney, at . . . , and at Spalding, and at S. l . . . ; and he is now abbot, and has fairly begun. Christ grant him a good ending.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

ANGLO-SAXON FROM EADFRITH, ABOUT THE YEAR 700.

Fader uren þu arþ in heofnum,  
 Sie gehalgud noma þin.  
 To cymeþ ric þin;  
 Sie wills þin suæls in heofne & in eortho,  
 Hlaf usenne ofer wistlic sel us to dæg;  
 & forgef us scylda usna suæ uæ forgefon scyldgum usum;  
 & ne inlæd usik in costunge  
 Uh gefrig usich from yfle.

*Durham Book, MS. Cotton, Brit. Mus.*

ANGLO-SAXON FROM ALFRED, A. D. 875.

Fæder ure, þu þe eart on heofenum  
 Si þin nama gehalgod  
 To becume thin rice.  
 Geweorþe þin willa on eorþan, swa swa on heofenum  
 Urne dæghwamlican hlaf syle us to dæg  
 And forgyf us ure gyltas, swa swa we forgifaþ urum gyltendum.  
 And ne gelæde þu us on costnunge, ac alys us of yfle  
 Soþlice.

## DANISH-SAXON, A. D. 900.

Uren Fader þie arþ in heofnas,  
 Sie gehalgud þin noma ;  
 To cymeth þin ryc ;  
 Sie thin willa sue is in heofnas, and in eortho ;  
 Uren hlaf ofer wittlic sel us to dæg ;  
 And forgef us scylda urna, sue we forgefān scyldgum urum ;  
 And no inlād usih in custnung ;  
 Ah gefrig usih from yfle. *Camden remains, S. 30.*

## OLD ENGLISH TOWARD THE YEAR 1160.

Ure Fæder þu þe on heofene eart,  
 Syo þin name gehaleged.  
 To cume þin rice ;  
 Geworde þin wille on heofene and on eorþe.  
 Syle us to daig urne daighwamliche hlaf,  
 And forgyf us ure geltes, swa we forgyfaþ aelcen þare þe with  
 us agytteþ.  
 And ne læd thu us on costnunge,  
 Ac alys fram yfele. *Wanley, S. 76, and Chamberlayne, S. 59.*

## OLD ENGLISH HOMILY.

The following homily is one of a series of discourses for the Christian year, preached before A. D. 1200. The dialect is that of the South of England, in which many Dutch elements now make their first appearance in the written language, a sure sign that they had long been current in the spoken language. The name of the author is not known :

## HIC DICENDUM EST DE PROPHETA.

[*M*]issus est ieremias in puteum et stetit ibi usque ad os. *Qui cum aliquandiu ibi stetisset: debilitatum est corpus eius. & tandem dimissis funibus subtractus est. Et cum eorum duriciam. quia debilis erat sustinere non posset. allati sunt panni de domo regia et circumpositi sunt funibus ne [e]orum duricia lederetur.* Leofemen we uindeð in halie boc. þet ieremie þe prophete stod in ane putte. and þet in þe uenne up to his muðe and þa he hefede þer ane hwile istonde. þa bi-com his licome swiðe feble. and me nom rapes and caste in to him for to drazen hine ut of þisse putte. Ah his licome wes se swiðe feble: þet he ne mihte noht ipolie þe herdnesse of þe rapes. þa sende me claðes ut of þes kinges huse for to bi-winden þe rapes. þet his licome þe feble wes ne sceolde noht wursien. Leofemen þeos ilke weord þe ic habbe her iseid habbeð mucele bi-tacnunge and god ha beoð to heren and mucele betere to et-halden. Is hit god for to hiheren godes weordes and heom athalden: þe fuliwis. for ure lauerd godalmihtin seið in þan halie

godspelle. *Beati qui audiunt uerbum & custodiunt illud.* Ædie and blessede beon alle þeo þe ihereð godes weordes and heom athaldeð. Nu 3e habbeð iherd wulc hit is for to iheren godes weordes and heom ethalden. Nu we sculen eow sceawen hwilc hit is heom for to heren and nawiht for to ethalden. for seint gregori seið. *Melius est usiam ueritatis non agnoscere: quam post agnitam retroire.* Betre hit is þet mon ne iknawe noht þe wei to godalmihtin þe he hine icnawe and seodþe hine for-ho3ie; and on oðer stude he seið. *Qui obturat aures suas ne audiat legem dei: oratio eius erit execrabilis.* Þe mon þe tuneð his eren in halie chirche to3eines godes la3e and nule noht iheren þe weordes þe of him beoð. his beoden beoð aweriede and unwurðe gode. *Puteus est peccati profunditas. quia quam diu stas in luto: tam diu iaces in mortali peccato.* Þes put bitacneð deopnesse of sunne. for also longe also we liggeð in heued sunnen: al þa hwile we sto[n]deð in the putte. and þet in þe uenne up to þe muðe also þeos men doð þe liggeð inne eubruche and ine glutenerie and ine manaðas. and ine prude. and ine oðer fule sunnen. and þet beoð riche men alremest þe habbeð þes muchele prude in þis worlde. þe habbeð feire huses. and feire hames. feire wifes. and feire children. feire hors and feire clapes. heaukes and hundes. castles and tunes. her-uppon heo þencheð muchele mare þen uppon godalmihtin þe al þis heom haueð isend þa þe liggeð inne swilc sunne. and ne þencheð noht for to arisen: heo delueð deihwamliche heore put deoppre and deoppre. *unde propheta. Non claudit super te puteus os suum nisi cluseris os tuum.* þe prophete seið. þet þe put ne tuneð noht lihtliche his muð ouer us bute we tunen ure muð. ah 3if we tuneð ure muð: þenne do we also þe mon þe delueð ene put feower dazes oðer fiue and þenne he haueð hine alra lengest idoluen: þenne ualleð he þer-inne. þet him brekeð þe sweore. þet. is þet he ualleð in to helle pine þer neuer eft ne cumeð of bote. Ah heofemen godalmihtin haueð isceawed us wel muchele grace. þenne he haueð geuen us to beon muð freo. þet we mazen mid ure muðe bringen us ut of þisse putte: þe bitacneð þeo deopnesse of sunne. and þet þurh þreo herde weies þe þus beoð ihaten. *Cordis contritione. Oris confessione. Operis satisfactione.* þurð heorte bireunsunge. þurh muðes openunge. þurh dede wel endinge. *Cordis contritione moritur peccatum. oris confessione defertur ad tumulum. operis satisfactione tumulatur in perpetuum.* þe[nne] we beoð sari in ure heorte þet we isuneged habbeð þenne slage we ure sunne: þene we to sunbote cumeð. þenne de we bi ure sunne al swa me deað bi þe deade. for efterþan þet þe mon bið dead me leið þene licome in þere þruh. Al swa þu leist þine sunne in þare þruh: hwenne þu scrift underuongest of þe sunnen þe þu idon hauest togeines godes wille. þenne þu hauest þine sunnen ibet: efter þines scriftes wissunge. þenne buriest þu pine sunnen and bringest heom ut of þine on-walde. *Per ieremiam notatur quilibet peccator qui in suo peccato moram facit.* Bi ieremie þe prophete we a3en to un-



derstonden ulcne mon sunfulle. *þet* lið in heuie sunne *and* þurh soðe scrift his sunbendes nule slakien. *funiculi amaritudines penitencie significant.* Þe rapes þe weren icast to him: bitacneð þe herdnesse of scrifte. for nis nan of us se strong þe hefde idon þre hef[ed] sunnen þet his licome nere swiðe feble er he hefde idrejen þet scrift þe þer to bilimpeð. *panni circumpositi funibus: ecclesie sacramenta significant quibus penitencie duricia mitigatur.* þas kinges hus bitacneð hali chirch[e. þa] claðes þet weren isende ut of þ[es kinges huse] for to binden þe rapes mid: bitacnet þe halie ureisuns þe me singeð in halie chirche. *and* þe halie sacramens þe me sacreð in alesnesse of alla sunfulle. Leofemen nu 3e habbeð iherd of þis putte þe bitacninge þe ic habbe embe ispeken. *and* þe bitacninge of þe prophete. *and* þet þe rapes bitacneð. *and* hwat þa claðes bitacneð þe þe rapes weren mide biwunden. Thereð nuðe whulche þinges wunieð in þisse putte. þer wunieð fower cunnes wurmes inne. þet fordoð nuðe al þeos midelerd. þer wunieð in-ne faze neddren. *and* beoreð atter under heore tunge. Blake tadden *and* habbeð atter uppon heore heorte. 3eluwe froggen. *and* crabben. Crabbe is an manere of fisce in þere sea. þis fis is of swulc cunde. *þet.* euer se he mare strengðeð him to sw[i]mminde mid þe watre: se he mare swimmeð abac. *and* þe alde crabbe seide to þe 3unge. hwi ne swimmeð þu forðward in þere sea also ober fisses doð. *and* heo seide. Leofe moder swim þu foren me *and* tech me hu ic scal swimmen forðward *and* [heo] bi-gon to swimmen forðward mid þe streme. *and* swam hire þer-azen. þas faze neddre bitacneð þis faze folc þe wuneð in þisse weorlde. þe speket also feire bi-foren heore euencristene also heo heom walde in to heore bosme puten. *and* swa sone se hi beoð iturnd away from heom: heom to-twiccheð *and* to-drazeð mid ufele weordes. *Hii etiam sunt doctores & falsi christiani.* Þos men þe þus to-drazeð heore euencristene bi-hinden heo habbeð þe nome of cristene ah þah heo beoð cristes unwines *and* beoð monslazen for heo slazeð heore azene saule. *and* bringeð heom in to þare eche pine of helle. þos blaca tadden þet habbeð þet atter uppon heore heorte. bi-tacneð þes riche men þe habbeð þes mucheles weorldes ehte *and* na mazen noht itimien þar-of to eten ne to drinken ne na god don þer-of for þe luue of godalmihtin þe haueð hit heom al geuen. ah liggeð þer-uppon also þe tadde deð in þere eorðe þet neure ne mei itimien to eten hire fulle: swa heo is afered leste þeo eorðe hire trukie. þeos ilke ehte þe þeos þus ouerliggeð heom turneð to swart atter for heo falleð þer-purh in to þer stronge pine þet na mon ne mei tellen. þeos 3eolewe claþes. [bitacneð þo þet feireð heom seoluen.] for þe 3eolewe clað is þes deofles helster. þeos wimmen þe þus liuieð beoð þes deofles musestoch iclepede. for þenne þe mon wule tilden his musestoch he bindeð uppon þa swike chese *and* Bret hine for þon þet he scolde swote smelle. *and* þurh þe sweote smel of þe chese: he bicherreð monie mus to þe stoke. Alswa doð monie of þas wimmen heo smurieð heom mid blanchet þet is þes

deofles sape *and* claþeð heom mid zeoluwe claþe þet is þes deofles helster *and* seodþan heo lokieð in þe scawere. þet is þes deofles hindene. Þus heo doð for to feiren heom seoluen. *and* to drazen lechurs to ham. ah heo fuleð heom soluen þer-mide. Nu leofemen for godes lufe witeð eow wið þes deofles musestoch *and* witeð eow þet 3e ne beo noht þe foa3e neddre. ne þe blake tadde. ne þe 3olewe frogge. þe feder. *and* þe sune. *and* þe halie gast. iscilde us þer-wið. *and* wið alle sunnen a buten ende. *per omnia secula seculorum.* Amen.

## TRANSLATION.

[*M*] *issus est ieremias in puteum et stetit ibi usque ad os. Qui cum aliquandiu ibi stetisset: debilitatum est corpus eius. & tandem dimissis funibus subtractus est. Et cum eorum duriciam, quia debilis erat sustinere non posset, allati sunt panni de domo regia et circumpositi sunt funibus ne [e]orum duricia lederetur.*<sup>1</sup> Beloved Brethren: We find in holy writ that Jeremiah the prophet stood in a pit with mud up to his mouth, and that, having stood there awhile, his body became very feeble; and men took ropes and cast them to him to draw him out of this pit. But his body was so feeble, that in order he might not suffer from the hardness of the ropes, they sent cloths from the king's house to wind around the ropes so that his body, which had grown weak, should receive no further injury. Dear brethren, the words I have here said have an important meaning, and good they are to hear, and much better to remember. That it is good to hear the words of God and to remember them, ye know full well, for our Lord God almighty says in the holy gospel. *Beati qui audiunt uerbum & custodiunt illud.* Yea, rather blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep

<sup>1</sup> 6 Then took they Jeremiah, and cast him into the dungeon of Malchiah the son of Hammelech, that *was* in the court of the prison: and they let down Jeremiah with cords. And in the dungeon *there was* no water, but mire: so Jeremiah sunk in the mire.

7 ¶ Now when Ebed-melech the Ethiopian, one of the eunuchs which was in the king's house, heard that they had put Jeremiah in the dungeon; the king then sitting in the gate of Benjamin;

8 Ebed-melech went forth out of the king's house, and spake to the king, saying,

9 My lord the king, these men have done evil in all that they have done to Jeremiah the prophet, whom they have cast into the dungeon; and he is like to die for hunger in the place where he is: for *there is* no more bread in the city.

10 Then the king commanded Ebed-melech the Ethiopian, saying, Take from hence thirty men with thee, and take up Jeremiah the prophet out of the dungeon, before he die.

11 So Ebed-melech took the men with him, and went into the house of the king under the treasury, and took thence old cast clouts and old rotten rags, and let them down by cords into the dungeon to Jeremiah.

12 And Ebed-melech the Ethiopian said unto Jeremiah. Put now *these* old cast clouts and rotten rags under thine armholes under the cords. And Jeremiah did so.

13 So they drew up Jeremiah with cords, and took him up out of the dungeon: and Jeremiah remained in the court of the prison.—Jeremiah, xxxviii.

it (Luke xi, 28). Now you have heard what it is to hear God's words, and to observe them. Now we will show you what it is to hear them and not to observe them, for Saint Gregory hath said, *Melius est uiam ueritatis non agnoscere: quam post agnitam retroire.*<sup>1</sup> Better it is for man not to know the way of God Almighty than to know it, and then to disregard it; and elsewhere he says, *Qui obturat aures suas ne audiat legem dei: oratio eius erit execrabilis.* The man who shuts his ears in holy church against God's laws, and will not hear his words, his prayers are accursed and displeasing to God. *Puteus est peccati profunditas. quia quam diu stas in luto: tam diu iaces in mortali peccato.* This pit signifies "depth of sin," for as long as we lie in cardinal sins, we stand all the while in the pit with mud up to our mouth, like those men do that live in adultery, gluttony, perjury, pride, and other foul sins. And they are the rich men, most of all, that have so much pride in this world; those that have fair houses and fair homes, fair wives and fair children, fair horses and fair clothes, hawks and hounds, castles and large estates, of which they think a great deal more than of God Almighty who has sent them all this, while they lie in such like sins, and think not how therefrom to arise. They daily dig their pit deeper and deeper. *unde propheta. Non claudit super te puteus os suum nisi claueris os tuum.*<sup>2</sup> The prophet says that the pit does not shut its mouth on us unless we shut ours; and if we shut our mouth then do we like those men who keep digging at one pit for four or five days, and having dug at it as long as they can, fall into it and break their neck, that is, they fall into the pains of hell, out of which there is no deliverance. But, dear brethren, God Almighty has shown us indeed much grace, inasmuch as he has given us free speech that we may, with our mouth, bring ourselves out of this pit which signifies "depth of sin," and do it by three hard ways, called *Cordis contritione. Oris confessione. Operis satisfactione.* That is, through contrition of the heart, through opening our mouth, and the performance of good works. *Cordis contritione moritur peccatum. oris confessione defertur ad tumulum. operis satisfactione tumulatur in perpetuum.* When we are sorry in our own heart that we have sinned, then we destroy our sins. When we come to confession, we do with our sins as we do with the dead; for after a man is dead we lay his body in the tomb. Even so you lay your sins in their tomb. When you receive absolution of the sins you have committed against God's commandments, then you have your sins pardoned. After your absolution, you bury your sins, and bring yourselves out of their controlling power. *Per ieremiam notatur quilibet pec-*

<sup>1</sup> The quotations here and below are not from the Bible. They probably belong to the Latin original (here attributed to St. Gregory) from which the Homily is more or less closely translated. Compare 2 Peter ii, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Ps. lxi, 15 (or lxxviii, 16 in the Vulgate): "neque urgeat super me puteus os suum." The words quoted are probably a gloss upon this verse.

*cator qui in suo peccato moram facit.* From the prophet Jeremiah we further learn that every man is sinful who lies in heavy sin, and will not slacken its hold by honest confession. *funiculi amaritudines penitencie significant.* The ropes that were thrown to him signify the severity of confession, for no one of us is so solid that he has not committed three capital sins which made his body very weak before he has received the absolution thereof. *panni circumpositi funibus: ecclesie sacramenta significant quibus penitencie duricia mitigatur.* The king's house denotes the holy church, and the clothes that were sent from this king's house to wind the ropes with denote the holy orisons that men sung in the holy church, and the holy sacraments that hallow men for the forgiveness of all sinners. Dear brethren, now you have heard the signification which I have given to you of this pit, and the meaning of the prophet, and what was meant by the ropes, and what by the cloths in which they were wound. Now hear what sort of things there were in this pit. There dwelt in it four kinds of reptiles that now destroy all this middle earth. In it dwell spotted adders that bear poison under their tongue; black toads that have poison in their heart; yellow frogs and crabs. Crabs are a kind of sea-fish, and this fish is of such a nature that the more it tries to swim forward with the water the more it swims backward; and the old crab said to the young one why don't you swim forward in the sea as other fishes do, and it said: Dear mother, you swim before me, and teach me how I shall swim forward; and she began to swim forward with the stream and then against it. The spotted adder denotes the spotted people that dwell in this world, and speak as fairly before their fellow Christians as if they would clasp them to their bosoms, and as soon as their backs are turned, twitch and pull them to pieces with evil words. *Hii etiam sunt doctores & falsi christiani.* The men that thus beslander their fellow Christians, have the name of Christians, although they are Christ's enemies and manslayers, for they slay their own soul and drag it into the everlasting torments of hell. The black toads that have the poison in their heart denote those rich men that have so much of worldly goods, and are unable to spare anything of their eating and drinking to do good therewith for the love of God Almighty, who has given it all to them; but lay thereon as the toad does on the earth, that he may never fail to eat his fill, so afraid he is lest the earth may be wanting to him. This very wealth that thus weighs upon them turns to black poison, for through it they fall into those awful pains which no man ever could give us an account of. Those yellow clothes denote them that adorn their person; for the yellow cloth is the devil's noose.<sup>1</sup> Women thus at-

<sup>1</sup> Some words seem to have been omitted in the original after the word "clapes." The meaning seems to be as follows: These yellow clothes (betoken women who go gaudily attired to render themselves objects of attraction), for the yellow cloth is the devil's halter.

tired may be called the devil's mousetrap, for then the men will come to the trap set for them with treacherous cheese and roast baits so that it shall smell sweet, and through the sweet smell of the cheese, they entice many a mouse to the trap. In the same way many of these women besmear themselves with blanchet,<sup>1</sup> which is the devil's soap, as they clothe themselves in yellow clothing, which is the devil's dress, and then look at themselves in the mirror, which is the devil's snare. Thus they do, to make themselves look fine, and to draw bad men to their homes, but in doing so they ruin their character. Now, dear brethren, for the love of God, shun the devil's mousetrap, and beware of being the spotted adder or the black toad or the yellow frog—from all which and from all sins, may the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost protect us without end, *per omnia secula seculorum*. Amen.

The reader may well be astonished to find so much Latin in a sermon preached by a native preacher to a native audience. But this was the custom of the age, and borrowed from the Norman clergy, many of whom, unable to speak English, often delivered their entire sermon in Latin. A passage from the Croyland History states that Gislebert, or Gilbert, one of the founders of the University of Cambridge, used to employ Latin as well as French on such occasions. So Giraldus Cambrensis tells us that, in a progress which he made through Wales in 1186, to assist Archbishop Baldwin in preaching a new crusade for the delivery of the Holy Land, he was always most successful when he appealed to the people in a Latin sermon; he asserts, indeed, that they did not understand a word of it, although it never failed to melt them into tears, and to make them come in crowds to take the cross. No doubt they were acted upon chiefly through their ears and their imaginations, and for the most part only supposed that they comprehended what they were listening to; but it is probable that their self-deception was assisted by their catching a word or phrase here and there, the meaning of which they really understood. The Latin tongue must in those days have been heard in common life on a thousand occasions, from which it has now passed away. It was the language of all the learned professions, of law and physic as well as of divinity, in all their grades. It was in Latin that the teachers at the universities (many of whom, as well as of the ecclesiastics, were foreigners) de-

<sup>1</sup> *Blanchet*, a kind of wheaten powder used by ladies as a cosmetic.

"With *blanchette* and other flour,

To make him gwyther (whiter) of colour."—Robert of Brunne.

livered their prelections in all the sciences, and that all the disputations and other exercises among the students were carried on. It was the same at all the monastic schools and other seminaries of learning. The number of persons by whom these various institutions were attended was very great; they were of all ages from boyhood to advanced manhood; and poor scholars must have been found in every village, mingling with every class of the people, in some one or other of the avocations which they followed in the intervals of their attendance at the universities, or after they had finished their education, from parish priests down to wandering beggars.

### LAZAMON'S BRUT.

*About A. D. 1205.*

The "Brut" is a versified chronicle of the legendary history of Britain. It begins with the destruction of Troy and the flight of Æneas, from whom came Brut, or Brutus, who laid the foundation of the British monarchy, and goes down to the reign of Athelstan.

The author of this Chronicle is Lazamon, or Lawēman, a priest residing at Ernely (now called Areley), on the Severn, near Redstone in Worcestershire. His authorities, as he himself tells us, were three: "The English book that St. Bede made" (that is, Bede's Ecclesiastical History); "a Latin work by St. Albin and Austin," of whose historical writings nothing is known; and a "book that a France clerk hight Wace made."

Wace's Brut is in Norman-French. It contains 15,300 lines, which Lazamon has expanded into 32,250. "The Englishman's additions are," says Mr. Marsh, "the finest parts of the work, almost the only parts, in fact, which can be held to possess any poetical merit."

The language of Lazamon belongs to that transition period in which the groundwork of Anglo-Saxon phraseology and grammar still existed, although gradually yielding to the influence of the popular forms of speech. We find in it, as in the later portion of the Saxon Chronicle, marked indications of a tendency to adopt those terminations and sounds which characterize a language in a state of change, and which are apparent also in some other cognate Continental dialects. As showing the progress made in the course of two centuries in departing from the ancient grammatical forms, as found in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, may be mentioned the use of *a* as an article; the change of the Anglo-Saxon terminations *a* and *an* into *e* and *en*, as well as the disregard of inflexions and genders; the masculine forms given to neuter nouns in the plural; the neglect of the feminine terminations of adjectives and pronouns, and confusion between the definite and indefinite declensions; the introduction of the preposition *to* before infinitives, and occasional use of weak preterites of verbs and participles instead of strong; the constant occurrence of *en* for *on* in the plurals of verbs, and frequent elision of the final *e*; together with the uncertainty in the rule for the government of prepositions.

Lazamon preserves the old unrhymed alliterative versification, falling occasionally into the use of rhyme, which is, of course, due to Norman-French influence.

There are two manuscripts of Lazamon's Brut, the one written early in the thirteenth century, the other about half a century later. The earlier version is

in the *Southern* dialect, while the later has many *Midland* peculiarities. The following specimen is taken from near the end of this voluminous work, where the elder text only is preserved :

A BRITISH VIEW OF ATHELSTAN'S REIGN.

Þa tiden comen sone,  
to Cadwaðlader kinge  
into Brutaine,  
þer þar he wunede  
mid Alaine kinge,  
þe wes of his cunne.  
Me dude him to understonde  
of al þisse londe ;  
hu Aðelstan her com liðen,  
ut of Sex londen ;  
and hu he al Angle lond,  
sette on his agere hond ;  
and hu he sette moting,  
& hu he sette husting ;  
and hu he sette sciren,  
and makede frið of deoren ;  
& hu he sette halimot,  
& hu he sette hundred  
and þa nomen of þan tunen,  
on Sexisce runen :  
and Sexis he gan kennen,  
þa nomen of þan monnen :  
and al me him talde,  
þa tiden of þisse londe.  
Wa wes Cadwaladere,  
þat he wes on liue.

TRANSLATION.

The tidings came soon  
to Cadwalader king  
into Brittany,  
where he was dwelling  
with Alan the king,  
who was of his kin.  
Men did him to understand  
all about this land ;  
how Athelstan had here embarked,  
coming out of Saxon parts ;  
and how he all England  
set on his own hand ;  
and how he called meetings,  
and organized hustings ;

and how he settled shires,  
 and made law for game ;  
 and how he appointed synods  
 and how he set hundreds  
 and the names of the towns  
 in Saxon runes ;  
 and in Saxish he was going to know  
 the names of [British] men :  
 and so they told him all  
 the tidings of this land.  
 Wo was to Cadwalader,  
 that he was alive.

## ORMULUM.

The Ormulum consists of an imperfect series of Homilies, in alternate verses of eight and seven syllables, or in iambic verse of fifteen syllables, with a metrical point in the MS. after the eighth. It is wanting in alliteration and rhyme, and was probably written in imitation of some mediæval Latin poems with which the writer was acquainted. The author was Orm, or Ormin, a canon regular of the Order of St. Augustine, and he called the poem after his own name, as he himself tells us in the opening :

“Þiss boc iss nemnedd Ormulum,  
 Forrþi þatt Orm itt wrohhte.”

Orm was a purist in orthography, and for the right pronunciation of his vowels he adopts a method of his own, and directs his readers to observe that the consonant is always *doubled* after a *short* vowel, and there only. In his poem we find for the first time the word *English* in its mature form. Latham has the forms *englise*, *englis*, *anglis*, *anglisce* ; but Orm has *Enngliss*, and still more frequently the fully-developed form *Ennglisssh*. The author is lavish of consonants. Had his orthography been generally adopted, we would have had in English not only the *mm* and *nn* with which the German is studded, but many other double consonants which we do not now possess. How great a study Orm had made of this subject we are not left to gather from observation of his spelling, for he has emphatically called attention to it in the opening of his rule.

## HOW TO SPELL.

And whase wilenn shall þiss boc  
 eftt operr siþe writtenn  
 himm bidde icc þat he't write rihht  
 swa summ þiss boc him teacheþþ  
 and tatt he loke well þatt he  
 an bocstaff write twiggess  
 eggwhær þæt itt uppo þiss boc  
 iss writen o þatt wise  
 loke well þatt he't write swa,  
 for he ne magg nohht elless  
 on Ennglisssh writtenn rihht te word,  
 þatt wite he well to soþe.



## TRANSLATION.

And whoso shall purpose to make another copy of this book, I beg him to write it exactly as this book directeth; and that he look well that he write a lettre twice wherever upon this book it is written in that wise. Let him look carefully that he write it so, for else he can not write it correctly in English, that know he well for certain.

The date of the Ormulum is not quite fixed. By most writers it is ascribed to a later date than *Lazamon's Brut*. From the absence of Norman-French words, it seems to be much earlier. The simplicity of its language, almost as uninflected as Chaucer's, is due to its locality, as it was probably written in the neighborhood of Lincoln, where the East-Midland dialect was spoken, with a tolerably strong infusion of the Danish element. The following extract exhibits the peculiarities of the author's spelling:

## CHARACTER OF A GOOD MONK.

Forr himm birrþ beon full clene mann,  
 and all wiþputenn ahhte,  
 Buttan þatt mann himm findenn shall  
 unnorne mete and wæde.  
 And tær iss all þatt eorþlig þing  
 þatt minnstremann birrþ aghenn  
 Wiþputenn cnif and shæpe and camb  
 and nedle, giff he't georneþþ.  
 And all þiss shall mann findenn himm  
 and wel himm birrþ itt gemenn;  
 For birrþ himm nowwþerr don þæroff,  
 ne gifenn itt ne sellenn.  
 And himm birrþ æfre standenn inn  
 to lofenn Godd and wurrþen,  
 And agg himm birrþ beon fressh þærto  
 bi daggess and by nihhtess;  
 And tat iss harrd and strang and tor  
 and hefig lif to ledenn,  
 And forþi birrþ wel clawwstremann  
 onnfangenn mikell mede,  
 Att hiss Drihhtin Allwældennd Godd,  
 forr whamm he mikell swinnkeþþ.  
 And all hiss herrte and all hiss lusst  
 birrþ agg beon towardd heoffne,  
 And himm birrþ geornenn agg þatt an  
 hiss Drihhtin wel to cwemenn,  
 Wiþþ daggsang and wiþþ uhhtennsang  
 wiþþ messess and wiþþ beness, &c.

## TRANSLATION.

For he ought to be a very pure man  
 and altogether without property,

Except that he shall be found in  
 simple meat and clothes.  
 And that is all the earthly thing  
 that minster-man should own,  
 Except a knife and sheath and comb  
 and needle, if he want it.  
 And all this shall they find for him,  
 and it is his duty to take care of it,  
 For he may neither do with it,  
 neither give it nor sell.  
 And he must ever stand in (vigorously)  
 to praise and worship God,  
 And aye must he be fresh thereto  
 by daytime and by nights ;  
 And that's a hard and stiff and rough  
 and heavy life to lead,  
 And therefore well may cloister'd man  
 receive a mickle meed  
 At the hand of his Lord Allwielding God,  
 for whom he mickle slaveth.  
 And all his heart and his desire  
 ought aye be toward heaven ;  
 And he should yearn for that alone,  
 his Master well to serve  
 With day-time chant and chant at prime,  
 with masses and with prayers, &c.

" The poems of Layamon and Orm may be regarded as appertaining to the old Saxon literature. Layamon and Orm both cling to the old in different ways ; Layamon in his poetic form, Orm in his diction. Both also bear traces, in different ways, of the earlier processes of that great change which the French was now working in the English language. The long story of the *Brut* is told in lines which affect the ancient style ; but the style is chaotic, and abounds in accidental decorations, like a thing constructed out of ruins. In the *Ormulum* the regularity is perfect, but it is the regularity of the new style of versification, learnt from foreign teachers. The iambic measure sits admirably on the ancient diction ; for Orm, new as he is in his metre, is old in his grammar and vocabulary. The works differ as the men differed ; the one, a secular priest, has the country taste for an irregular poetry with alliteration and every other reverberatory charm ; the other, a true monk, carries his regularity into everything—arrangement, metre, orthography. He is an English-speaking Dane, but educated in a monastery that has already been ruled by a succession of French abbots."—*Earle*.

#### THE ANCREN RIWLE.

There is also to be mentioned, together with the *Brut* of Layamon and the *Ormulum*, a work of considerable extent in prose which has been assigned to the same interesting period in the history of the language, the *Ancren Riwle*, that is, the *Anchorites'*, or rather *Anchoresses'*, *Rule*, being a treatise on the duties of the monastic life, written evidently by an ecclesiastic, and probably one in a position of eminence and authority, for the direction of three ladies to

whom it is addressed, and who, with their domestic servants or lay sisters, appear to have formed the entire community of a religious house situated at Tarente (otherwise called Tarrant-Kaines, Kaineston, or Kingston) in Dorsetshire.

In another part of this volume we have noticed that early English, when after a century and a half it reappeared in writing, exhibited a vast number of Dutch and Scandinavian words in familiar use, showing that they had long been current in the language. The few French words that gradually crept into the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and such others as are found in Layamon's Brut, in which their number does not exceed one hundred and seventy, and in the Ormulum, in which they are still less numerous, would lead us to infer that, if French words had become at all current in the spoken language, they were but little used in writing at the beginning of the thirteenth century. This, however, depended entirely upon the locality, and the readers to whom it was addressed. The Ancren Riwle, for instance, which belongs to the same age as the works of Layamon and Orm, but which was written for the special guidance of some pious nuns in Dorsetshire, and therefore in a dialect with which they were familiar, shows quite a large infusion of French words in addition to the many words of Dutch then current in the language, and which, being written in almost every instance the same or nearly so in early English as they are now in modern Dutch, indicate a great similarity of pronunciation, writing in those days being far more phonetic than it is at present. Without referring to the many words, especially verbs, which Dutch and the original Anglo-Saxon had in common, and which in early English assume the Dutch mode of orthography, we notice here the following:

ANCREN RIWLE.	DUTCH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
binden	<i>binden</i>	to bind
bitter	<i>bitter</i>	bitter
breken	<i>breken</i>	to break
buten	<i>buiten</i>	but, except
caf	<i>kaf</i>	chaf
cristendom	<i>christendom</i>	christendom
cwellen	<i>kwellen</i>	to torment (to kill)
delen	<i>deelen</i>	to divide
delven	<i>delven</i>	to delve
drinken	<i>drinken</i>	to drink
ei; eiren	<i>ei; eieren</i>	egg; eggs
elc	<i>elk</i>	each
engel	<i>engel</i>	angel
grim	<i>grim</i>	severe
habben	<i>hebben</i>	to have
huren	<i>huren</i>	to hire
idel	<i>ydel</i>	vain
kakelen	<i>kakelen</i>	to cackle
kannuk	<i>kanunnik</i>	canon
kelf	<i>kalf</i>	calf
kerven	<i>kerven</i>	to cut, carve
kneden	<i>kneden</i>	to knead
kussen	<i>kussen</i>	to kiss
laten	<i>laten</i>	to let
leggen	<i>leggen</i>	to lay
lenen	<i>lenen</i>	to lend
leren	<i>leeren</i>	to learn, to teach

ANCIENT DUTCH.	DUTCH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
<i>lief</i>	<i>lief</i>	dear (I would as lief)
<i>lof</i>	<i>lof</i>	praise
<i>licham</i>	<i>lichaam</i>	body
<i>lyf</i>	<i>lyf</i>	body (as in life-guard)
<i>lust</i>	<i>lust</i>	longing desire
<i>lusten</i>	<i>lusten</i>	to like
<i>meid</i>	<i>meid</i>	maid
<i>men</i>	<i>men</i>	some one
<i>menen</i>	<i>meenen</i>	to mean
<i>merke</i>	<i>merk</i>	mark
<i>milde</i>	<i>mild</i>	mild
<i>missen</i>	<i>missen</i>	to miss
<i>mooder</i>	<i>moeder</i>	mother
<i>mot</i>	<i>mot, moet</i>	must
<i>nagle</i>	<i>nagel</i>	nail
<i>nimen</i>	<i>nemen</i>	to take
<i>openien</i>	<i>openen</i>	to open
<i>puffen</i>	<i>puffen</i>	to blow
<i>ruwe</i>	<i>ruw</i>	rough
<i>samen</i>	<i>zamen</i>	together
<i>sherp</i>	<i>sherp</i>	sharp
<i>schrijven</i>	<i>schryven</i>	to write; to confess
<i>schrift</i>	<i>schrift</i>	writing; confession
<i>seggen</i>	<i>zeggen</i>	to say
<i>senden</i>	<i>zenden</i>	to send
<i>setten</i>	<i>zetten</i>	to put
<i>singen</i>	<i>zingen</i>	to sing
<i>sitten</i>	<i>zitten</i>	to sit
<i>smak</i>	<i>smaak</i>	taste
<i>smaken</i>	<i>smaken</i>	to taste
<i>smeren</i>	<i>smeren</i>	to grease
<i>smiten</i>	<i>smyten</i>	to throw; smite
<i>speowen</i>	<i>spuwen</i>	to spit
<i>spreiden</i>	<i>spreiden</i>	to spread
<i>stark</i>	<i>sterk</i>	strong
<i>suster</i>	<i>zuster</i>	sister
<i>tellen</i>	<i>tellen</i>	to count
<i>treden</i>	<i>treden</i>	to tread
<i>tun</i>	<i>tuin</i>	farm; town
<i>vallen</i>	<i>vallen</i>	to fall
<i>varen</i>	<i>varen</i>	to go; fare
<i>vel</i>	<i>vel</i>	skin
<i>veole, veole</i>	<i>veel; veele</i>	much; many
<i>vetten</i>	<i>vetten</i>	to fatten
<i>vinden</i>	<i>vinden</i>	to find
<i>vlesch</i>	<i>vleesch</i>	flesh
<i>volk</i>	<i>volk</i>	folk

ANCIENT ENGLISH.	DUTCH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
vorsaken	<i>versaken</i>	to forsake
vorstoppen	<i>verstoppen</i>	to stop up
vorwerpen	<i>verwerpen</i>	to reject
vot	<i>voet</i>	foot
waden	<i>waden</i>	to wade
wasschen	<i>wasschen</i>	to wash
wel	<i>wel</i>	well
weoreld	<i>wereld</i>	world
werpen	<i>werpen</i>	to throw
winnen	<i>winnen</i>	to win

Not less numerous are the French words that here make their appearance:

ANCIENT ENGLISH.	FRENCH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
acwiten	<i>acquitter</i>	to release
andedted	<i>endetté</i>	indebted
asaumple	<i>exemple</i>	example
autorite	<i>autorité</i>	authority
best	<i>bête</i>	beast
blamen	<i>blamer</i>	to blame
chast	<i>chaste</i>	chaste
chastete	<i>chasteté</i>	chastity
chastien	<i>châtier</i>	to chastise
chastiment	<i>châtiment</i>	chastisement
chaungement	<i>changement</i>	change
chere	<i>chère</i>	cheer; countenance
cherite	<i>charité</i>	charity
counsail	<i>conseil</i>	counsel
crien	<i>crier</i>	to cry
crune	<i>couronne</i>	crown
crunien	<i>couronner</i>	to crown
cwitaunce	<i>quittance</i>	payment
dame	<i>dame</i>	lady
debonerte	from <i>débonnaire</i>	kindness
depeinten	<i>dépeindre</i>	to depict
destruen	<i>détruire</i>	to destroy
dettas	<i>dettes</i>	debts
dettur	<i>débiteur</i>	debtor
duble	<i>double</i>	double
entente	<i>entente</i>	meaning; intention
feste	<i>fête</i>	feast
fol	<i>fol</i>	foolish
grace	<i>grâce</i>	grace
gref	<i>grief</i>	grief
jugement	<i>jugement</i>	judgment
kerchen	old French <i>cachier</i>	to catch

ANCIENT ENGLISH.	FRENCH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
large	<i>large</i>	large; liberal
lescun	<i>leçon</i>	lesson
lettres	<i>lettres</i>	letters
maister	<i>maître</i>	master
meistrie	<i>maîtrise</i>	mastery
mercer	<i>mercier</i>	merchant
merci	<i>merci</i>	mercy
messenger	<i>messenger</i>	messenger
mesure	<i>mesure</i>	measure
miracle	<i>miracle</i>	miracle
neoces	<i>noces</i>	wedding
noble	<i>noble</i>	noble
noise	<i>noise</i>	noise; quarrel
ordre	<i>ordre</i>	religious order
paien	<i>payer</i>	to pay
parais	<i>paradis</i>	paradise
parlur	<i>parloir</i>	parlor
parten	<i>partir</i>	to depart
passen	<i>passer</i>	to pass; surpass
passiun	<i>passion</i>	suffering; passion
patriark	<i>patriarche</i>	patriarch
peintunge	<i>peinture</i>	painting
person	<i>personne</i>	person
preisen	old French <i>preisier</i>	to praise
prechen	<i>prêcher</i>	to preach
preoven	<i>prouver</i>	to prove
pris	<i>prix</i>	price; praise
prophete	<i>prophète</i>	prophet
purgatorie	<i>purgatoire</i>	purgatory
raunsun	<i>rançon</i>	ransom
reisun	<i>raison</i>	reason
religiun	<i>religion</i>	religion
religijs	<i>religieux</i>	monk; nun
remedie	<i>remède</i>	remedy
riwle	<i>règle</i>	rule
saluz	<i>salut</i>	salvation
seint	<i>saint</i>	saint
semblaunt	<i>semblant</i>	appearance
serve	<i>servir</i>	to serve
sot	<i>sot</i>	stupid
spuse	<i>épouse</i>	spouse; bride
striven	old French <i>estriver</i>	to strive
sukurs	<i>secours</i>	help
temptaciun	<i>temptation</i>	temptation
testament	<i>testament</i>	testament
tresor	<i>trésor</i>	treasure
turnement	<i>tournoi</i>	tourney

A few sentences from that part of the book which treats of domestic matters will afford a sufficient specimen of this curious work.

THE NUNS ARE TO KEEP NO BEAST BUT A CAT.

Ʒe, mine leoue sustren, ne schulen hebben no best, bute kat one. Ancre Ʒet haueð eihte Ʒuncheð bet husewif, ase Marthe was, Ʒen ancre: ne none wise ne mei heo beon Marie, mid griðfulnessse of heorte. Vor Ʒeonne mot heo Ʒenchen of Ʒe kues foddre, and of heorde-monne huire, oluhnen Ʒene heiward, warien hwon me punt hire, & zelden, Ʒauh, Ʒe hermes. Wat Crist, Ʒis is lodlich Ʒing hwon me makeð mone in tune of ancre eihte. Ʒauh, Ʒif eni mot nede hebben ku, loke Ʒèt heo none monne ne ellie, ne ne hermie: ne Ʒet hire Ʒouht ne beo nout Ʒeron i-uestned. Ancre ne ouh nout to hebben no Ʒing Ʒet drawe utward hire heorte. None cheffare ne driue Ʒe. Ancre Ʒet is cheapild, heo cheapeð hire soule Ʒe chepmon of helle. Ne wite Ʒe nout in oure huse of oðer monnes Ʒinges, ne eihte, ne cloðes: ne nout ne underuo Ʒe Ʒe chirche uestimenz, ne Ʒene caliz, bute Ʒif strencoðe hit makie, oðer muchel eie: vor of swuche witunge is i-kumen muchel vuel oftesiden. Wiðinnen ower woanes ne lete Ʒe nenne mon slepen. Ʒif muchel neode mid alle makeð breken ower hus, Ʒe hwule Ʒet hit euer is i-broken, loke Ʒet Ʒe hebben Ʒerinne mid ou one wummon of clene liue deies & nihtes.

TRANSLATION.

Ye shall not possess any beast, my dear sisters, except only a cat. An anchoress that hath cattle appears as Martha was, a better housewife than anchoress; nor can she in any wise be Mary with peacefulness of heart. For then she must think of the cow's fodder, and of the herdsman's hire, flatter the heyward, defend herself when her cattle is locked up in the pound, and moreover pay the damage. Christ knoweth, it is an odious thing when people in the town complain of anchoresses' cattle. If, however, any one must needs have a cow, let her take care that she neither annoy nor harm any one, and that her own thoughts be not fixed thereon. An anchoress ought not to have any thing that draweth her heart outward. Carry ye on no traffic. An anchoresse that is a buyer and seller selleth her soul to the chapman of hell. Do not take charge of other men's property in your house, nor of their cattle, nor their clothes, neither receive under your care the church vestments, nor the chalice, unless force compel you, or great fear, for oftentimes much harm has come from such care-taking. Let no men sleep within your walls. If, however, great necessity should cause your house to be used, see that as long as it is used, ye have therein with you a woman of unspotted life day and night.

## ENGLISH VERSION OF GENESIS AND EXODUS.

Nothing is known of the author of this interesting version which was written about the year 1250, and comprises 2,536 verses. The dialect is believed to be the East-Midland of South Suffolk. The following lines refer to the selling of Joseph:

ðe chapmen skiuden here fare,  
in to Egipte ledden ðat ware;  
wið Putifar ðe kinges stiward,  
he maden swiðe bigetel forward;  
so michel fe ðor is hem told;  
he hauen him bogt, he hauen sold.

## TRANSLATION.

The chapmen hastened their departure,  
into Egypt led that chattel;  
with Potiphar the king's steward,  
they made very profitable bargain;  
so much money there is them told;  
these have him bought, and those have sold.

The author thus concludes his poem:

God schilde hise sowle fro helle bale,  
ðe made it ðus on engel tale!  
and he ðat ðise lettres wrot,  
God him helpe weli mot,  
and berge is sowle fro sorge & grot  
of helle pine, cold & hot!  
and alle men, ðe it heren wilen,  
God leue hem iȝ his blisse spilen  
among engeles & seli men,  
wiðuten ende in reste ben,  
and luue & pais us bi-twen,  
and god so graunte, amen, amen!

## TRANSLATION.

God shield his soul from the tortures of hell,  
that shaped it thus in English narrative!  
and he that these letters wrote  
may God help him effectually,  
and preserve his soul from sorrow and tears,  
and of the pains of hell, cold and hot.<sup>1</sup>  
and all men who are willing to hear,

<sup>1</sup> *Cold & hot*, the two extreme punishments in hell. Those in eternal perdition had to endure alternately icy coldness and fiery heat.—See *Measure for Measure*, iii, 1. 122.



may God grant them in His bliss to play  
among the angels and the blessed,  
and without end be in rest.  
with us between love and peace  
and so may God grant. Amen!

#### THE OWL AND THE NIGHTINGALE.

This facetious poem is attributed to Nicholas de Guildford, who is mentioned in the poem itself as living at Portesham in Dorsetshire. The precise date of the piece is a matter of dispute, some ascribing it to the reign of Henry III, and others to that of Edward I; but it is certainly not later than the time of Henry III. The poem is written in the dialect of the South of England, but is free from any of those broad provincialisms which characterize any particular county.

The subject is a bitter altercation between the owl and the nightingale, such as might be supposed to arise out of the neighborhood of two creatures not only unlike in their tastes and habits, but unequally endowed with gifts and accomplishments. The following picture of the owl's attitude as she listens to the nightingale's song, will afford some taste of the humor as well as of the diction of this poem, which is complete in 1,794 lines:

Þos word aʒaf þe niʒtingale,  
and after þare longe tale,  
he songe so lude and so scharpe,  
riʒe so me grulde schille harpe.  
Þes hule luste þider ward,  
and hold hire eʒen oþer ward,  
and sat to suolle and i bolʒe,  
also ho hadde on frogge i suolʒe.

#### TRANSLATION.

These words returned the nightingale,  
and after that there long tale,  
he sang so loud and so sharp,  
as if one trilled a shilly harp.  
This owl she listened thitherward,  
and held her eyen otherward;  
and sat all swollen and out-blown  
as if she had swallowed a frog.

#### THE STORY OF HAVELOK THE DANE.

The Lay of Havelok the Dane, an Anglo-Danish story, which contains the legend of the origin of the English town of Grimsby is in its present form a translation from a French romance entitled "Le Lai de Aveloc," written in the first half of the twelfth century, and probably founded upon an Anglo-Saxon original. Of the English translator, who wrote in an East-Midland dialect, we know nothing.

The following extract, showing how Grim became the founder of Grimsby, is taken from "The Ancient English Romance of Havelok the Dane," which contains 748 verses, and was written before the year 1300:

In Humber Grim bigan to lende,  
 in Lindeseye, riþ at the norþ ende,  
 þer sat is ship up on the sond,  
 but Grim it drou up to the lond ;  
 and þere he made a lite cote,  
 to him and to hise flote.  
 Bigan he þere for to erþe  
 a litel hus to maken of erþe ;  
 and for þat Grim þat place aute,  
 þe stede of Grim the name laute,  
 so þat Grimesbi calleþ alle  
 that þer-offe speken alle,  
 and so shulen men callen it ay,  
 bituene þis and domesday.

## TRANSLATION.

In Humber Grim began to land, in Lindsey, right at the north end; there sate his ship up on the sand, and Grim it drew up to the land; and there he made a little hut, for himself and for his crew. In order to dwell there, he began to make of earth a little house; and forasmuch as Grim owned that house-place, the homestead caught from Grim its name, so that all who speak of it call it Grimsby; and so shall they call it always between this and Doomsday.

"As this poem is associated with Lincolnshire, we might expect to find many Danish words in it. But the number of those that can be clearly distinguished as such, is small. Unless it be the verb to *call*, there is no example in the quotation above. It can hardly be doubted that the Danish population which occupied so much of the Anglian districts must have considerably modified our language. Their influence would probably have been greater, but for the cruel harrying of the North by William the Conqueror. The affinity of the Danish with the Anglian would make it easy for the languages to blend, and the same cause renders it difficult for us to distinguish the Danish contributions."—*Earle*.

## ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER'S CHRONICLE.

This versified Chronicle, a narrative of British and English affairs from the time of Brutus to the end of the reign of Henry III, was written about the year 1300, and affords a good specimen of English at that early period in the shires bordering on North Wales. All that is known of the author is that he was a monk of the abbey of Gloucester. His work in the earlier part of it may be considered a free translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin History, but is altogether a very rude and lifeless composition. "This rhyming chronicle," says Warton, "is totally destitute of art or imagination. The author has clothed the fables of Monmouth in rhyme, which have often a more poetical air in Mon-

mouth's prose." Tyrwhitt refers to Robert of Gloucester as a proof of the fact that the English language at that time had already acquired a strong tincture of French. The author is the first English chronicler who stops to explain how it came that French, as well as English, was spoken in England; and in doing so, he uses for the first time the word "Saxon," in that unhistorical sense which has led to so much error and confusion. He complains that there is no land that holdeth not to its kindly speech save England only; and notices that the native speech of England was cut up into an endless variety of dialects, while the strange speech, which had come in with the Normans, was uniform and spoken after one fashion only.<sup>1</sup>

His Chronicle commences as follows:

Engelond ys a wel god lond, ich wene of eche lond best,  
 Yset in þe ende of þe world, as al in þe West.  
 Þe see goþ hym al a bouthe, he stont as an yle.  
 Here fon heo durre þe lasse doute, but hit be þorw gyle  
 Of folc of þe selue lond, as me haþ yseye wyle.  
 From Souþ to Norþ he is long eighte hondred myle;  
 And foure hondred myle brod from Est to West to wende,  
 Amydde þo lond as yt be, and noght as by þe on ende.  
 Plente me may in Engelond of all gods yse,  
 Bute folc yt forgulte oþer yeres þe worse be.  
 For Engelond ys ful ynow of fruyt and of tren,  
 Of wodes and of parkes, þat joye yt ys to sen;  
 Of foules and of bestes, of wylde and tame al so;  
 Of salt fysch and eche fresch, and fayre ryueres þer to;  
 Of welles swete and colde ynow, of lesen and of mede;  
 Of seluer or and of gold, of tyn and of lede;  
 Of stel, of yrn, and of bras; of god corn gret won;  
 Of whyte and of wolle god, betere ne may be non.

#### TRANSLATION.

England is a very good land, I ween of every land (the) best; set in the end of the world, as in the utter west. The sea goeth it all about; it standeth as an isle. Their foes they need the less fear, except it be through guile of folk of the same land, as has been seen sometime. From south to north it is eight hundred mile long; and four hundred mile broad to go from east to west, that is, through the middle of the country and not as by the one end. Plenty of all goods men may in England see, unless the people are in fault or the years are bad. For England is full enough of fruit and of trees; of woods and of parks, that joy it is to see; of fowls and of beasts, wild and tame alike; of salt fish and eke fresh, and fair rivers thereto; of wells sweet and cold enow, of pastures and of meads; of silver ore and of gold, of tin and of lead; of steel, of iron, and of brass; of good corn great store; of wheat and of good wool, better may be none.

<sup>1</sup> See page 253.

## ROBERT MANNING, ALSO CALLED ROBERT OF BRUNNE.

This author, born at Brunne or Bourne in Lincolnshire within a few miles of Rutland, has been called the patriarch of the New English. In 1303 he began to compile the *Handlyng Synne*, a work which, more than any former one, foreshadowed the road that English literature was to tread from that time forward. Like most other lays of King Edward I's time, it was a translation from a French poem, *Manuel des Pechies*, and consists chiefly of a series of tales which may be considered as the most ancient specimens of the New Language. The English poem differs from the others that have gone before it in its diction; for it contains a most scanty proportion of these Teutonic words that were soon to drop out of speech, and a most copious proportion of words and phrases borrowed from the French. Indeed, there are so many foreign words in his poem that we should set the writer fifty years later than his true date, had he not himself written it down:

"A þousynd and þre hundrede and þre  
In þat tyme turnede y þys  
On Englysshe out of Frankys."

In this book we catch our first glimpse of many a word and idiom that was destined to live forever, and as the writer informs us that it was for the uneducated that he wrote this *Handlyng Synne*, it shows how the different tides of speech flowing from Southern, western, and northern shires alike met in the neighborhood of Rutland, and how all helped to shape the New English. Robert of Brunne had his own mother-tongue to start with—the Anglo-Danish dialect mixed with Norman French; and how much has been the influence of that mixture, as spoken in the neighborhood of Rutland, upon the modern English, may be inferred from the remark of Mr. Latham, that "the laboring men of Huntingdon and Northampton speak what is usually called *better* English because their vernacular dialect is most akin to that of the standard writers." It will be noticed that the author commonly writes *y* instead of *i*, a custom which lasted for two hundred years after.

. . . . Noþyng is to man so dere,<sup>3</sup>  
As womanys love yn gode manere.  
A gode woman ys mannys blyss,  
When hyr love ryght and stedfast ys.  
Þer ys no solace undyr hevене,<sup>4</sup>  
Of al þat a man may nevene<sup>5</sup>  
Þat shuld a man so moche glew<sup>6</sup>  
As a gode woman þat loveþ trew.  
Ne derer ys none yn Goddy's hurde<sup>7</sup>  
Þan a chaste woman wiþ lovely wurde.<sup>8</sup>

3, dear. 4, heaven. 5, name. 6, delight. 7, family. 8, words.

## RICHARD HAMPOLE.

A hermit of the order of St. Augustine who wrote toward the year 1350, and contributed much to the growth and popularity of English poetry at that time. His poem, *The Pricke of Conscience*, of which the following is an extract, possesses a special interest from its being expressly stated to be written for those who could understand English only:

"To lewed men of Yngelonde  
Þat konneþ noþyng but Inglys unþerstonde."

He thus describes heaven :

. . . . Per is lyf wipoute ony dep  
 and þer is youþe wipoute ony elde;<sup>1</sup>  
 and þer is alle manere weþe to welde;<sup>2</sup>  
 and þer is reste wipoute ony travaille,  
 and þer is pees wipoute ony stryfe  
 and þer is alle manere lykyng of lyf,  
 and þer is bryght somer<sup>3</sup> ever to se<sup>4</sup>  
 and þer is never wynter in þat countre,  
 and þer is more worshiþe and honour,  
 þan ever hadde kyng other<sup>5</sup> emperour.  
 And þer is grete melodee of Aungeles songe,  
 and þer is preysyng hem amonge.  
 And þer is alle manere frendshiþe þat may be,  
 and þer is evere perfect love and charite.  
 And þer is wisdom wipoute folye<sup>6</sup>  
 and þer is honeste wipoute vilenye;<sup>7</sup>  
 and þese a man may joyes of hevene call.  
 And yutte<sup>8</sup> the most sovereyn joye of alle,  
 is þe syght of Goddes bryght face  
 in wham restep alle manere grace.

1, age. 2, wield. 3, summer. 4, see. 5, or. 6, folly. 7, villainy. 8, yet.

The following lines from the prologue to his "*Speculum vite*" or "Mirroure of lyf," written about the year 1350, have a historical importance from their positively stating that, at that period, English was generally understood.

In Inglys tounge y schal yow telle,  
 3if<sup>1</sup> ye so long wip me wyl duelle;<sup>2</sup>  
 ne<sup>3</sup> Latyn wil y speke ne<sup>4</sup> waste  
 bot<sup>5</sup> Inglys þat men uses maste,<sup>6</sup>  
 for þat ys youre kynde<sup>7</sup> langage,  
 þat ye hafe here most of usage;  
 þat can ech man unþerstonde  
 þat is born in Inglonde.  
 For þat langage ys most schewed,<sup>8</sup>  
 als wel mowe<sup>9</sup> lereþ<sup>10</sup> as lewed.  
 Latyn, als y trowe<sup>11</sup> canne<sup>12</sup> nane  
 bot þo<sup>13</sup> þat haþ hit<sup>14</sup> of schole tane;<sup>15</sup>  
 som can Frankes and Latyn  
 þat hanes<sup>16</sup> used courte and duellt<sup>17</sup> þereyn;  
 and som canne o Latyn aparty  
 þat canne Frankes bot febely  
 and som unþerstondeþ Inglys  
 þat noþer<sup>18</sup> canne Latyn ne Frankys.  
 Bot lered and lewed, alde and younge  
 alle unþerstondeþ Inglysche tounge.

Þarefore y halde it maste syker<sup>19</sup> þon<sup>20</sup>  
 to shew þat langage þat ilk<sup>21</sup> a man konne,  
 and for all lewed men namely  
 þat can no maner of clergy<sup>22</sup>  
 to kenne þanne what ys maste nede ;  
 for clerkes canne baþe<sup>23</sup> se and rede  
 in divers bokes of Holy writt  
 how þey schul lyve, yf þay loke hit.  
 Þarefore y wylle me holly<sup>24</sup> halde  
 to þat langage þat Inglys ys calde.<sup>25</sup>

MSS. Bodl. 218, p. 217, *op Halliwell.*

1, if. 2, dwell. 3, neither. 4, nor. 5, but. 6, most. 7, natural. 8, used. 9, among. 10, learned. 11, believe. 12, knows. 13, those. 14, it. 15, taken. 16, have. 17, dwelled. 18, neither. 19, certain. 20, then. 21, every. 22, knowledge. 23, both. 24, wholly. 25, called.

#### LAURENCE MINOT.

A. D. 1352.

Laurence Minot lived and wrote about the middle of the fourteenth century. He composed eleven poems in celebration of the following battles and exploits of King Edward III: The Battle of Halidon Hill (1333); the taking of Berwick; two poems on Edward's expedition to Brabant (1339); the Sea-Fight of Swine at the mouth of the West Scheldt (1340); the Siege of Tournay (1340); the Landing of Edward at La Hogue (1346); the Siege of Calais (1346); the Battle of Neville's Cross (1346); the Sea-Fight with the Spaniards off Winchelsea (1350); and the Capture of Guisnes (1352).

These poems, all in the Northumbrian dialect, are remarkable, if not for any poetical qualities of a high order, yet for a precision and neatness, as well as a force of expression, previously unexampled in English verse. There is a true martial tone and spirit too in them, which reminds us of the best old English heroic ballads, while it is better sustained, and accompanied with more refinement of style, than it usually is in the popular anonymous compositions of the time. As a sample we transcribe the one on Edward's expedition to Brabant, omitting the prologue which is in a different measure:

Edward, oure cumly king,  
 In Braband has his woning,<sup>1</sup>  
 With mani cumly knight;  
 And in þat land, trewly to tell,  
 Ordanis he still forto dwell  
 To time<sup>2</sup> he think to fight.

Now God, þat es of mightes maste,<sup>3</sup>  
 Grant him grace of þe Haly Gaste,  
 His heritage to win!  
 And Mari moder, of mercy fre,  
 Sauē oure king and his menþe<sup>4</sup>  
 Fro sorow and schame and syn!

Þus in Braband has he bene,  
 Whare he bifore was seldom sene,  
 Forto þroue þaire iapes; <sup>6</sup>  
 Now no langer wil he spare,  
 Bot vnto Fraunce fast will he fare,  
 To confort him with grapes.

Furþ he ferd into France,  
 God saue him fro mischance  
 And all his cumpny!  
 Þe nobill duc of Braband  
 With him went into þat land,  
 Redy to lif or dy.

Þan þe riche floure-de-lice <sup>8</sup>  
 Wan þare ful litill prise,  
 Fast he fled for ferde;  
 Þe right aire of þat cuntré  
 Es cumen, <sup>7</sup> with all his knightes fre,  
 To schac him by þe berd.

Sir Philip þe Valayse, <sup>9</sup>  
 Wit his men in þo dayes,  
 To batale had he thought; <sup>9</sup>  
 He bad his men þam puruay  
 With-owten lenger delay,  
 Bot he ne held it noght.

He broght folk ful grete wone, <sup>10</sup>  
 Ay seuyn oganis <sup>11</sup> one,  
 Þat ful wele wapnid were;  
 Bot sone whe[n] he herd ascry <sup>12</sup>  
 Þat king Edward was nere þarby,  
 Þan durst he noght cum nere.

In þat morni[n]g fell a myst,  
 And when oure I[n]gliss men it wist,  
 It changed all þaire chere;  
 Oure king vnto God made his bone, <sup>13</sup>  
 And God sent him gude confort sone,  
 Þe weder wex ful clere.

Oure king and his men held þe felde  
 Stalwortly, with spere and schelde,  
 And thought to win his right,  
 With lordes, and with knightes kene  
 And oþer doghty men bydene, <sup>14</sup>  
 Þat war ful frek <sup>15</sup> to fight.

When sir Philip of France herd tell  
 Þat king Edward in feld walld<sup>16</sup> dwell,  
 Þan gayned him no gle;<sup>17</sup>  
 He traisted of no better bote,<sup>18</sup>  
 Bot both on hors and on fote  
 He hasted him to fle.

It semid he was ferd for strokes,  
 When he did fell his grete okes  
 About<sup>19</sup> his pauilyoune;  
 Abated was þan all his pride,  
 For langer þare durst he nocht bide,  
 His bost was broght all doune.

Þe king of Beme<sup>20</sup> had cares colde,  
 Þat was ful hardy and bolde  
 A stede to vmstride,<sup>21</sup>  
 Þe king als<sup>22</sup> of Nauerne,<sup>23</sup>  
 War faire feld<sup>24</sup> in þe ferene,  
 Þaire heuiddes<sup>25</sup> forto hide.

And leues<sup>26</sup> wele, it es no lye,  
 Þe felde hat<sup>27</sup> Flema<sup>ng</sup>grye<sup>28</sup>  
 Þat king Edward was in,  
 With princes þat war stif ande bolde,  
 And dukes þat war doghty tolde<sup>29</sup>  
 In batayle to bigin.

Þe princes, þat war riche on raw,<sup>30</sup>  
 Gert nakers strike<sup>31</sup> and trum<sup>p</sup>es blaw,  
 And made mirth at þaire might;  
 Both alblast<sup>32</sup> and many a bow  
 War redy railed<sup>33</sup> opon a row,  
 And ful frek forto fight.

Gladly þai gaf mete and drink,  
 So þat þai suld þe better swink,<sup>34</sup>  
 Þe wight<sup>35</sup> men þat þar ware.  
 Sir Philip of Fraunce fled for dout,  
 And hied him hame with all his rout;  
 Coward, God giff him care!

For þare þan had þe lely flowre  
 Lorn all halely<sup>36</sup> his honowre,  
 Þat sogat fled<sup>37</sup> for ferd;  
 Bot oure king Edward come ful still,<sup>38</sup>  
 When þat he trowed no harm him till,<sup>39</sup>  
 And keped him in þe berde.<sup>40</sup>

1, dwelling. 2, fill the time. 3, most of the might. 4, followers. 5, jeers.  
 , fleur-de-lis. 7, come. 8, Philip VI, de Valois, King of France. 9, informed



his men in those days that he had a design to fight. 10, number. 11, against. 12, report. 13, prayer, request. 14, besides. 15, were full eager. 16, would (was dwelling). 17, then no glee, or joy, was given him. 18, he trusted to no better expedient. 19, about. 20, Bohemia. 21, bestride. 22, also. 23, Navarre. 24, were fairly frightened. 25, heads. 26, believe. 27, was called. 28, the village of La Flamengrie. 29, reckoned. 30, richly clad in a row. 31, caused timbals to be struck. 32, arblast, or crossbow. 33, placed. 34, should the better work. 35, stout. 36, lost wholly. 37, got put to flight. 38, came back quietly at his ease. 39, when he perceived there was no harm intended him. 40, and caught him by the beard.

#### WILLIAM LANGLAND.

It has undoubtedly been noticed that Minot's verses are thickly sprinkled with what is called *alliteration*, or the repetition of words having the same commencing letter, either immediately after one another, or with the intervention only of one or two other words, generally unemphatic or of subordinate importance. Alliteration, which we have found there combined with rhyme, was in an earlier stage of English poetry employed as the substitute for that recurrence of like beginnings serving the same purpose, which at a later period was accomplished by like endings, that is, by rhyme. To the English of the period before the conquest, until its very latest stages, rhyme was unknown, and down to the tenth century English verse appears to have known no other ornament except that of alliteration. Hence, naturally, even after the practice of rhyme had been borrowed from the Norman writers, the native poetry retained for a time more or less of its original habit. Thus, in Layamon we find alliterative and rhyming couplets intermixed; in other cases, as in Minot, we have the rhyme only bespangled with alliteration. At this date, in fact, the difficulty probably would have been to avoid alliteration in writing verse; all the old customary phraseologies of poetry had been molded upon that principle; and indeed alliterative expression has in every age, and in many other languages as well as English, had a charm for the popular ear, so that it has always largely prevailed in proverbs and other such traditional forms of words; nor is it by any means altogether discarded as an occasional embellishment of composition whether in verse or in prose. But there is one poetical work of the fourteenth century, of considerable extent, and in some respects of remarkable merit, in which the verse is without rhyme, and the system of alliteration is almost as regular as what we find in the poetry of the times before the conquest. This is the famous vision of Piers the Ploughman, or, as the subject is expressed at full length in the Latin title, *Visio Willielmi de Petro Ploughman*, that is, "The Vision of William concerning Piers or Peter the Ploughman."

According to tradition, the author of this poem, William Langland, Longland, or Langley, was a native of Cleobury Mortimer in Shropshire. He must have been born about the year 1332, and have died about 1400. He is supposed to have been educated near the Malvern Hills (Worcestershire), where he composed the first version of his poem shortly after the time of the great plague which ravaged England, A. D. 1361-1362. About the year 1377 he was living in London, where he wrote his second version of the poem, extending it to three times its former length. Subsequently he returned to the West of England, and again re-wrote his poem, with various additions and alterations, between 1380 and 1390.

The work is distributed into twenty sections, or *passus*, as he calls them. Each *passus* forms a separate vision, so that the work in reality is not so much one poem as a succession of poems.

The general subject may be said to be the same with that of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," the exposition of the impediments and temptations which beset the crusade of this our mortal life; and the method, too, like Bunyan's, is

the allegorical; but the spirit of the poetry is not so much picturesque, or even descriptive, as satirical. Vices and abuses of all sorts come in for their share of the exposure and invective; but the main attack throughout is directed against the corruptions of the church, and the hypocrisy and worldliness, the ignorance, indolence, and sensuality, of the ecclesiastical orders. To this favorite theme the author constantly returns with new affection and sharper zest from any less high matter which he may occasionally take up. Hence it has been commonly assumed that he must have himself belonged to the ecclesiastical profession, that he was probably a priest or monk. And his "Vision" has been regarded not only as mainly a religious poem, but as almost a puritanical and Protestant work, although produced nearly two centuries before either Protestantism or Puritanism was ever heard of. There is nothing, however, of anti-Catholicism, properly so called, in Langland, either doctrinal or constitutional; and even the anti-clerical spirit of his poetry is not more decided than what is found in the writings of Chaucer, and the other popular literature of the time. The following extract is from the original poem, the dialect of which is Southern with Midland peculiarities:

[From the earliest version of "The Vision of William concerning Piers the Ploughman."]

*Prologus.*

In A somer sesun · whon softe<sup>1</sup> was þe sonne,  
 I schop me in-to a schroud · A scheep as I were;<sup>2</sup>  
 In Habite of an Hermite<sup>3</sup> vn-holy of werkes,<sup>4</sup>  
 Wende I wydene<sup>5</sup> in þis world · wondres to here.  
 Bote in a Mayes Morwynyge · on Maluerne hulles<sup>6</sup>  
 Me bi-fel a ferly · A Feyrie, me þouhte;<sup>7</sup>  
 I was weori of wandringe<sup>8</sup> · and wente me to reste  
 Vndur a brod<sup>9</sup> banke · bi a Bourne syde,<sup>10</sup>  
 And as I lay and leonede<sup>11</sup> · and lokede on þe watres,  
 I slumberde in A slepyng · hit sownede so murie.<sup>12</sup>  
 Þenne gon I Meeten · A Meruelous sweuene,<sup>13</sup>  
 Þat I was in A Wildernesse · wuste I neuer where,  
 And as I beo-heold in-to þe Est · an-hei; to þe sonne,<sup>14</sup>  
 I sauh a Tour on A Toft<sup>15</sup> · triȝely I-maket;<sup>16</sup>  
 A Deop Dale bi-neoþe · A dungun þer-Inne,  
 Wit̄ deop dich and derk<sup>17</sup> · and dredful of siht.<sup>18</sup>  
 A Feir feld<sup>19</sup> ful of folk · fond I þer bi-twene,  
 Of alle maner of men · þe mene and þe riche,  
 Worchinge and wondringe · as þe world askep.  
 Summe putten hem<sup>20</sup> to þe plouȝ · & pleiden hem ful seldene,<sup>21</sup>  
 In Eringe and in Sowynge<sup>22</sup> · swonken ful harde,<sup>23</sup>  
 Þat monie of þeos wasturs · In Glotonye distruen.<sup>24</sup>  
 And summe putten hem to pruide · apparaylden hem þer-after,  
 In Cuntinaunce<sup>25</sup> of cloþynge · queinteliche de-Gyset;<sup>26</sup>  
 To preyere and to penaunce · putten heom monye,<sup>27</sup>  
 For loue of vr lord · liueden ful harde,<sup>28</sup>  
 In Hope for to haue · Heuene-riche blisse;<sup>29</sup>  
 As Ancres and Hermytes · þat holdeþ hem in heore Celles,<sup>30</sup>  
 Coueyte not in Cuntre · to carien a-boute,<sup>31</sup>  
 For non likerous lyfode<sup>32</sup> · heore licam to plese.<sup>33</sup>

And summe chosen Chaffare<sup>54</sup> · to cheeuē þe bettere,<sup>55</sup>  
 As hit semeþ to vre siht · þat suche men scholden ;  
 And summe Murþhes to maken · as Munstrals cunne,<sup>56</sup>  
 And gete gold wiþ here gle<sup>57</sup> · giltles, I trowe<sup>58</sup>  
 Bote Iapers and Iangelers<sup>59</sup> · Iudas Children,  
 Founden hem Fantasyes · and fooles hem maaden,  
 And habbeþ wit at heor wille · to worchen ȝif hem luste.<sup>60</sup>  
 Þat Poul precheþ of hem<sup>61</sup> · I dar not preouen heere ;  
*Qui loquitur turpiloquium* · Hee is Luciferes hync.<sup>62</sup>  
 Bidders<sup>63</sup> and Beggars · faste a-boute eoden,<sup>64</sup>  
 Til heor Bagges & heore Balies · weren braful I-crommet ;<sup>65</sup>  
 Feyneden hem<sup>66</sup> for heore foode · fouȝten atte alle ;<sup>67</sup>  
 In Glotonye, God wot · gon heo to Bedde,  
 And ryseth vp wiþ ribaudye<sup>68</sup> · þis Roberdes knaues ;<sup>69</sup>  
 Sleep and Sleuȝþe<sup>60</sup> · suweþ hem euere.<sup>61</sup>  
 Pilgrimes and Palmers · Plihten hem to-gederes<sup>68</sup>  
 For to seche seint Ieme<sup>63</sup> · and seintes at Rooome ;  
 Wenten forþ in heore wey<sup>64</sup> · *with* mony wyse tales,  
 And hedden leue to lyȝen<sup>65</sup> · al heore lyf aftir.  
 Ermytes on an hep<sup>66</sup> · wiþ hokide stauē,<sup>67</sup>  
 Wenten to Walsyngham · & here wenchis aftir ;<sup>68</sup>  
 Grete lobres & longe<sup>69</sup> · þat loþ weore to swynke,  
 Cloþeden hem in Copes · to beo knowen for breȝeren ;<sup>60</sup>  
 And summe schopen hem<sup>61</sup> to hermytes · heore ese to hauē.<sup>62</sup>  
 I Font þere Freres<sup>63</sup> · all þe Foure Ordres,<sup>64</sup>  
 Prechinge þe peple · for *profyt* of heore wombes,<sup>65</sup>  
 Glosynge þe Gospel<sup>66</sup> · as hem good likeþ,<sup>67</sup>  
 For Couetyse of Copes<sup>68</sup> · Construeþ hit ille ;<sup>69</sup>  
 For monye of þis Maistres<sup>70</sup> · mowen cloþen hem at lyking,<sup>71</sup>  
 For Moneye & heore Marchaundie<sup>72</sup> · meeten ofte togedere.  
 Seþþe charite haþ be chapmon<sup>73</sup> and cheef to schriuen<sup>74</sup> lordes,  
 Mony ferlyes han bi-falle<sup>75</sup> · in a fewe ȝeres.  
 But holychirche bi-ginne · holde bet to-gedere,  
 Þe moste Mischeef on molde<sup>76</sup> · mounteþ vp faste.  
 Þer prechede a pardoner<sup>77</sup> · as he a prest were,  
 And brouȝt vp a Bulle<sup>78</sup> · *with* Bisschopes seles,  
 And seide þat him-self mihte · a-soylen hem alle<sup>79</sup>  
 Of Falsnesse of Fastinge · and of vouwes I-broken.<sup>80</sup>  
 Þe lewede Men likede him wel · and leueþ his speche,<sup>81</sup>  
 And comen vp knelynge · and cussedē<sup>82</sup> his Bulle ;  
 He bonchede hem *with* his Breuet<sup>83</sup> · & blered heore eȝen,<sup>84</sup>  
 And rauhte *with* his Ragemon<sup>85</sup> · Ringes and Broches.

1, mild, warm. 2, I put myself into (rough) clothing, as if I were a shepherd. 3, The shepherd's dress resembled a hermit's. 4, the epithet *unholy* seems to express the author's opinion of hermits—of those who roamed about instead of staying in their cells. 5, I went forth in the world. 6, Malvern Hills. 7, There befell to me a wonder, of fairy origin it seemed to me. 8, worn out with wandering. 9, broad. 10, by the side of a stream. 11, leaned.

12, it sounded so pleasant. 13, then did I dream a marvelous dream. 14, and as I looked eastward, on high, toward the sun. 15, I saw a tower on elevated ground; this tower is the abode of truth; the dungeon in the valley is the abode of satan. 16, handsomely built. 17, dark. 18, to behold. 19, the Fairfield is the world. 20, put them. 21, played very seldom. 22, ploughing and sowing. 23, worked very hard to earn. 24, what money these wasters with gluttony destroy. 25, countenance. 26, curiously disguised. 27, many put themselves; are engaged in. 28, lived very strictly. 29, the bliss of the kingdom of heaven. 30, that keep in their cells. 31, to wander about. 32, dainty living. 33, to please their body. 34, *chap* fare; whence the English word *cheap*; traffic, peddling. 35, so as better to achieve their end. 36, and some are skilled to make merriment as minstrels. 37, and get gold with their glee. 38, guiltless, I believe. 39, but jesters and jugglers. 40, found out fancies for themselves and made fools of themselves, and yet have they wit at their command to work if it pleased them. 41, that Paul preacheth of them. 42, the text of Paul alluded to is, "Qui non laborat non manducet" (2 Thess. iii, 10); but the poet dares not quote it, because every speaker of evil against another is a servant of Lucifer. 43, petitioners. 44, went. 45, with their bags and their bellies crammed full. 46, played the hypocrite. 47, *atte alle* = *atten ale* = *at Pen ale*, at the ale; over their cups; *ale*, an ale-house, as in Launce's speech in Two Gentlemen of Verona, ii, 5, "go to the ale with a Christian." 48, rise with ribaldry. 49, *pis*, these. The *Robert's men*, or *Roberdesmen*, were lawless vagabonds. In the Statutes of 5 Edward III, c. xiv, a class of malefactors, guilty of robbery and murder, are called *Roberdesmen*. 50, sloth. 51, pursue them always. 52, gather them together. 53, *Seint Ieme*, St. James of Compostella in Galicia. Pilgrimages to Rome and Compostella were then much in vogue. In England, the most famous place of pilgrimage was Walsingham in Norfolk. 54, they went forth on their way. 55, and had leave to lie. 56, in a crowd. 57, with hooked staffs. 58, followed by their sweethearts. 59, great big lubbers that were loath to work. 60, clothed in capes to be known as friars. 61, and some made themselves hermits. 62, so as to have their ease. 63, I found there friars. 64, the four orders of friars were the Franciscans, Augustines, Dominicans, and Carmelites. See note I page 425. 65, their bellies. 66, commenting on the Gospel. 67, just as they liked. 68, covetousness of rich clothing. 69, construed it their own way. 70, many of these gentlemen. 71, may dress as they like. 72, money and their merchandise often go together. 73, *chapmon*, pedlar. The friars, instead of exercising charity, went about selling indulgences. See Chaucer's description of the *Frere* in his Prologue. 74, confess. 75, many wonders have happened. 76, on earth. 77, there preached a pardoner. See Chaucer's Prologue. 78, brought forth a bull. *Bulls* were so called from the seals attached, the round official seal of stamped lead attached to the document being called *bullia* from its roundness. 79, might absolve them all. 80, broken vows. 81, lewd men believed him, and liked his words. 82, kissed. 83, he banged them with his brevet—that is, thrust it in their faces. 84, bleared, blinded their eyes—that is, cajoled them. 85, *Ragemon*, catalogue, list. The full expression is *Ragman Roll*. The *Ragman Roll* was a document with many seals; here used of the papal bull.

### SIR JOHN MAUNDEVILLE.

This author, says Hakluyt, "borne in the Towne of S. Albans, was so well given to the study of learning from his childhood, that he seemed to plant a good part of his felicitie in the same; for he supposed that the honour of his birth would nothing availe him, except he could render the same more honourable by his knowledge. Having therefore well grounded himselfe in Religion, by reading the Scriptures, he applied his Studies to the Art of Physicke, a Profession worthy a noble Wit; but amongst other things, he was ravished with a

mightie desire to see the greater parts of the World, such as Asia and Africa. Having therefore provided all things necessary for his journey, he departed from his Country in the Yeere of Christ 1322; and returned home after the space of 34 Yeeres, and was then knowen to a very fewe. Still he was the chief Traveller of his time, having been 33 degrees, 16 minutes, Southern Latitude, and 62 degrees, 10 minutes, Northern. He mentions one, that travail'd round the Globe, which he had heard of when he was young: this probably inspired him with an early Passion for Travell. He was of a Family that came into England with the Conqueror, and was a Man of Substance. He was a conscientious good man, as appears from several instances in his Book, particularly where he says that the Sultan of Egypt would have married him to a great Prince's Daughter, if he would have chang'd his Religion, and that he refus'd. Being arrived again in England, and having seene the wickednes of that Age, he gave out this Speech: 'In our time, said he, it may be spoken more truly then of olde, that Vertue is gone, the Church is under foote, the Clergie is in errour, the Devill raigneth, and Simonie beareth the sway.' &c. He died at Leege, in the Yeere 1371, the 17 day of November, being there buried in the Abbie of the Order of the Galielmites. On his tombstone are found these Words in French: *Vos hi pasais sor mi, pour l'amour Deix, proies por mi*; that is 'Ye that pas over me, for the love of God, pray for me.'

The first copy of his *Voiage and Travaile*, addressed to King Edward III, bore the following inscription, partly in French, partly in Latin: "*A très noble Prince Monsieur Edward de Wyndesore, roy de Engleterre et de Fraunce, par Monsieur John de Maundeville autour suisdit. Principi excellentissime, pre cunctis mortalibus precipue venerando, domino Edwardo, divina providentia Francorum et Anglorum regi serenissimo. Hibernia domino, Aquitania duci, mare ac ejus insulis occidentalibus dominanti, enfamie et ernatus, universorumque arma gerentium tutori, ac probitatis et strenuitatis exemplo; principi quoque invicto, mirabilis Alexandri Sequaci, ac universo orbi tremendo; cum reverentia, non qua decet, cum ad talem et tantam reverentiam minus sufficientes extiterint, sed qua parvitas et possibilitas mittentis et offerentis se extendunt, contenta tradantur.*"

His work rapidly became popular, and so great was the demand for it that of no book, with the exception of the Scriptures, can more manuscripts be found of the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. The marvelous stories in which the work abounds will not be a matter of surprise when we consider the enthusiasm of the writer, and the general ignorance of the times he lived in. He was ambitious of saying all he could of the places he treats of, and therefore has taken monsters out of Pliny, miracles out of legends, and strange stories out of old romances, so that what we now look upon as gross absurdity, is in fact to be credited to other authors, at that time accounted true. Moreover, when he tells the most improbable stories, he generally prefaces them with, "thei seyn," or "men seyn, but I have not sene it," and in one place he even owns that his book is made partly from hearsay and partly from his own knowledge.

But while the subject of his work, as well as the great popularity it obtained, may give us an insight into the historical and geographical notions of the age, its main interest, for our present purpose, lies in the language itself, which, neither emanating from a monastic establishment nor addressed to any particular class of readers, but eminently suited to the subject, is the best specimen we possess of the familiar style of English prose five hundred years ago. "*Jec schulle undirstonde,*" says the author in the prologue of his work, "that I have put this boke out of Latyn into Frensche, and translated it ajen out of Frensche into Englyssche, that every man of my nacioun may undirstonde it."

The following passage on Paradise is very singular, and a good specimen of the author's style:

Of Parady's ne can not I speken<sup>1</sup> properly: for I was not there. It is fer bejonde;<sup>2</sup> and that forthinkethe me:<sup>3</sup> and also I was not

worthi. But as I have herd seye<sup>4</sup> of wyse men bezonde, I schalle telle you with gode Wille. Paradys terrestre, as wyse men seyn, is the higheste place of Erthe, that is in alle the World; and it is so highe, that it touchethe nyghe to the cercle of the Mone,<sup>5</sup> there as the Mone makethe hire torn.<sup>6</sup> For sche<sup>7</sup> is so highe, that the Flode of Noe<sup>8</sup> ne myght not come to hire,<sup>9</sup> that wolde have covered alle the Erthe of the World<sup>10</sup> alle aboute, and aboven and benethen,<sup>11</sup> saf<sup>12</sup> Paradys only allone. And this Paradys is enclosed alle aboute with a Walle; and men wyte<sup>13</sup> not wherof it is. For the Walles ben<sup>14</sup> covered alle over with Mosse; as it semethe.<sup>15</sup> And it semethe not that the Walle is ston of Nature.<sup>16</sup> And that Walle strecchethe fro<sup>17</sup> the Southe to the Northe; and it hath not but on entree,<sup>18</sup> that is closed with Fyre brennyng;<sup>19</sup> so that no man, that is mortalle ne dar not entren.<sup>20</sup> And in the moste highe place of Paradys evene in the myddel place,<sup>21</sup> is a Welle that castethe out<sup>22</sup> the 4 Flodes, that rennen<sup>23</sup> be<sup>24</sup> dyverse Londes: of the whiche, the first is clept<sup>25</sup> Phison or Ganges, that is alle on;<sup>26</sup> and it renneth thorghe out Ynde<sup>27</sup> or Emlak: in the whiche Ryvere ben manye precieuse Stones, and mochel of Lign<sup>28</sup> Aloes,<sup>29</sup> and mochel gravelle of Gold. And that other Ryvere is clept Nelus or Gyson, that gothe be<sup>30</sup> Ethiope, and aftre be<sup>30</sup> Egypt. And that other is clept Tigris, that renneth be Assirye<sup>31</sup> and be Armenye the grete.<sup>32</sup> And that other is clept Eufrate,<sup>33</sup> that renneth also be Medee<sup>34</sup> and be Armonye<sup>35</sup> and be Persye.<sup>36</sup> And men there bezonde seyn that alle the swete Watres of the World aboven and benethen taken hire begynnyng<sup>37</sup> of the Welle of Paradys; and out of that Welle, alle Watres comen and gon.<sup>38</sup> The firste Ryvere is clept Phison that is to seyne in hire langage, Assemblee; for manye othere Ryveres meten hem there, and gon in to that Ryvere.<sup>39</sup> And sum<sup>40</sup> men clepen it Ganges; for a Kyng thar was in Ynde, that highte Gangeres, and that it runne thorghe<sup>41</sup> out his Lond. And that Water is in sum place clere,<sup>42</sup> and in sum place trouble; in sum place hoot,<sup>43</sup> and in sum place cole.<sup>44</sup> The seconde Ryvere is clept Nelus or Gyson: for it is alle weye<sup>45</sup> trouble, and Gyson, in the langage of Ethiope is to seye trouble, and in the langage of Egypt also. The thridde<sup>46</sup> Ryvere that is clept Tigris is as moche for to seye<sup>47</sup> as faste rennyng;<sup>48</sup> for he renneth more faste than any of the tother.<sup>49</sup> And also there is a Best<sup>50</sup> that is cleped Tigris, that is faste rennyng. The fourthe Ryvere is clept Eufrates, that is to seyne,<sup>51</sup> wel beryng;<sup>52</sup> for there growen manye Godes vpon that Ryvere, as Cornes,<sup>53</sup> Frutes, and other Godes y nowe plentee.<sup>54</sup> And jee<sup>55</sup> schulle undirstonde, that no man that is mortelle, ne may not approchen to that Paradys. For be Londe no man may go for wyld bestes, that ben in the Desertes, and for the highe Mountaynes and gret<sup>56</sup> huge Roches, that no man may passe by, for the derke<sup>57</sup> places that ben there, and that manye: And be the Ryveres may no man go; for the Water renneth so rudely

and so scharply, because that it comethe doun<sup>58</sup> so outrageously from the highe places aboven that it rennethe in so grete Wawes<sup>59</sup> so that no Schipp may not rowe ne seyle<sup>60</sup> azenes<sup>61</sup> it: and the Watre rorethe<sup>62</sup> so and makethe so huge noyse, and so gret tempest, that no man may here other<sup>63</sup> in the Schipp, though he cryede with alle craft that he cowde,<sup>64</sup> in the hyeste voys that he myghte. Manye grete Lordes hav assayed with gret wille manye tymes for to passen be tho Ryveres toward Paradys, with fulle grete Companies, but thei myghte not speden in hire Veage;<sup>65</sup> and manye dyeden<sup>66</sup> for werynesse of rowynge azenst tho stronge Wawes; and manye of hem becamen blynde; and manye deve,<sup>67</sup> for the noyse of the Water: and Sume weren perisseht and loste with inne the Wawes: so that no mortelle man may approche to that place, with outen<sup>68</sup> specyalle grace of God; so that of that place I can seye 3ou no more. And therfor I schalle holde me stille, and retornen<sup>69</sup> to that that I have sene.<sup>70</sup>

1, I can not speak. 2, beyond. 3, I repented. 4, heard say. 5, that it nearly touches the circle of the moon. 6, as the moon turns. 7, it. 8, the flood of Noah. 9, could not reach it. 10, but covered all the rest of the world. 11, above and below. 12, safe. 13, know. 14, are. 15, appears. 16, natural stone. 17, from. 18, it has but one entrance. 19, burning fire. 20, enter. 21, in the middle. 22, out of which issue. 23, run. 24, through. 25, called. 26, which is all one. 27, through India. 28, much *lignum aloes*. 29, goes through. 30, afterward through. 31, Assyria. 32, Armenia the greater, 33, Euphrates. 34, Media. 35, Armenia. 36, Persia. 37, taken their origin. 38, come and go. 39, meet and join it there. 40, some. 41, through. 42, clear. 43, hot. 44, cool. 45, always. 46, third. 47, as much as to say. 48, swift running. 49, any other. 50, beast. 51, to say. 52, well-bearing. 53, corn. 54, in plenty. 55, ye. 56, great. 57, dark. 58, comes down. 59, waves. 60, row nor sail. 61, against. 62, roars. 63, people can not hear each other. 64, though he might shout as loud as he could. 65, their journey. 66, died. 67, deaf. 68, without. 69, return. 70, seen.

#### JOHN DE TREVISA.

In the first half of the fourteenth century Ralph Hygden, a monk of St. Werburgh's in Chester, wrote in Latin a universal history, from the creation up to his time, which in 1357 he published under the title of *Polychronicon*. A translation of this work, which was long the standard of history and geography in England, was completed in 1387 by John de Trevisa, a native of Cornwall, residing in Gloucestershire as chaplain to Thomas Lord Berkeley. The following passage from this work, relating to the corruption of the original vernacular through Norman influence, has been often quoted, and is especially interesting from the additional comments of the translator, in which it is positively stated that after the great pestilence of 1349 the new language began to be taught in preference to French, of which change he points out the advantage and the disadvantage:

#### DE INCOLARUM LINGUIS.

As hyt ys yknowe hou3 meny maner people buþ<sup>1</sup> in þis ylund, þer buþ also of so meny people longages & tonges; noþels Walsch-

men & Scottes, þat buþ noȝt<sup>2</sup> ymelled<sup>3</sup> wiþ oþer nacions, holdeþ wel nyȝ<sup>4</sup> here furste longage & speche, boteȝef<sup>5</sup> Scottes, þat were som tyme confederat & wonede<sup>6</sup> wiþ þe Pictes, drawe somewhat after here speche. Bote þe Flemmynges, þat woneþ in þe west syde of Wales, habbeþ yleft<sup>7</sup> here strange speche & spekeþ Saxonlych ynow.<sup>8</sup> Also Englysch men, þeyȝ<sup>9</sup> hy hadde fram þe bygynnyng þre<sup>10</sup> maner speche, Souþeron, Norþeron, & Myddel speche (in þe myddel of þe lond), as hy<sup>11</sup> come of þre maner people of Germania; noþeles,<sup>12</sup> by commyxstion & mellyng<sup>13</sup> furst wiþ Danes & afterward wiþ Normans, in menye þe contray longage ys apeyred,<sup>14</sup> & som vseþ strange wlaffyng,<sup>15</sup> chyteryng,<sup>16</sup> harrayng<sup>17</sup> & garrayng,<sup>18</sup> grisbittynng.<sup>19</sup> Þis apeyryng of þe burþ-tonge<sup>20</sup> ys bycause of twey<sup>21</sup> þinges:—on ys, for chyldern in scole, aȝenes<sup>22</sup> þe vsage and manere of al oþer nacions, buþ compelled for to leue here<sup>23</sup> oune longage, & for to construe here lessons & here þinges a Freynsch, & habbeþ, supthe<sup>24</sup> þe Normans come furst in-to Engelond. Also, gentil men children buþ ytauȝt<sup>25</sup> for to speke Freynsch fram tyme þat a buþ yrokked in here cradel, & conneþ<sup>26</sup> speke & playe wiþ a child hys brouch; and oplondysch men wol lykne ham-sylf to gentil men, & fondeþ<sup>27</sup> wiþ gret bysynes for to speke Freynsch, for to be more ytold<sup>28</sup> of.

Dys manere was moche y-vsede to-fore þe furste moreyn,<sup>29</sup> & ys seþthe somdel<sup>30</sup> ychaunged. For Iohan Cornwall, a mayster of gramere, chayngede þe lore<sup>31</sup> in gramere-scole, & construccion of Freynsch in-to Englysch; & Richard Pencrych lurnede þat manere techyng of hym, & oþer men of Pencrych; so þat now, þe ȝer of oure Lord a þousond þre hondred foure score & fyue, of þe secunde kyng Richard after þe conquest nyne, in al þe gramere-scoles of Engelond childern leueþ<sup>32</sup> Frensch & construeþ & lurneþ an Englysch, and habbeþ þer-by avauntage in on syde & desavauntage yn anoþer; here avauntage ys, þat a lurneþ here gramere yn lasse tyme þan childern wer ywoned<sup>33</sup> to do—disavauntage ys, þat now childern of gramere-scole conneþ no more Frensch þan can here lift heele,<sup>34</sup> & þat ys harm for ham, & a scholle passe þe se<sup>35</sup> & trauayle in strange londes, & in meny caas also. Also gentil men habbeþ now moche yleft for to teche here childern Frensch. Hyt semeþ a gret wondur houȝ Englysch, þat ys þe burþ-tonge of Englysch men & here oune longage & tonge, ys so dyuers of soun<sup>36</sup> in þis ylond; & þe longage of Normandy ys comlyng<sup>37</sup> of a-noþer lond, & haþ on maner soun among al men þat spekeþ hyt aryȝt<sup>38</sup> in Engelond. Noþeles þer ys as meny dyuers manere Frensch yn þe rem<sup>39</sup> of Fraunce as ys dyuers manere Englysch in þe rem of Engelond.

1, are. 2, not. 3, mixed. 4, nigh. 5, except that. 6, dwelled. 7, left off. 8, quite; enough. 9, through. 10, three. 11, they. 12, nevertheless. 13, mingling. 14, impaired. 15, babbling. 16, chattering. 17, growling, snarling like a dog. 18, rough talking. 19, gnashing, grinding of teeth. 20, native tongue. 21, two. 22, against. 23, their. 24, since. 25, taught. 26, can.



27, strive. 28, thought. 29, plague. 30, somewhat. 31, method of instruction. 32, leave off. 33, accustomed. 34, than can their left heel. 35, if he should cross the sea. 36, sound. 37, stranger. 38, aright; correctly.

### JOHN WYCLIF.

Ever since the Hermits of Hampole, there had been a great stirring of the English mind; many works on religion had been put forth in various parts of England, and even the universities commenced lending their sanction to the speech of the common folk. In 1384, William of Nassington laid a translation into English rhymes before the learned men of Cambridge, which was pronounced correct and grounded on the best authority. Oxford had been roused by the preaching of Wyclif, and she was glowing with a fiery heat unknown to her since the days of the earlier Franciscans. The questions in debate had the healthiest effect upon the English tongue, and brought out a talent in our author himself, which he was far from possessing in his earlier attempts at writing. About the year 1383 he published his translation of the Bible, made in the common dialect of the native, and there the unrivaled combination of pure simplicity, dignity, and feeling in the original compel his old English, as they seem to do in every other language into which it is translated, to be clear, interesting, and energetic. In reading Wyclif's version of the Bible, we are struck by various peculiarities of speech in which he differs from his contemporaries, and which have left their impress upon the religious dialect of England. The following translation of the "Prodigal Son" shows the merit of his style, which compares favorably with the best of that time, and reads with peculiar interest in his venerable diction:

#### THE PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON.

*St. Luke, Ch. xv, verses 11-32.*

Summan had two sones, & the 3onger seyde to his fadir / fadir 3yue to me þe porcioune of substaunce (or catel) þat bifallip me / and he departide to hem substaunce / and not aftir manye dayes alle þingis gederide to gedir, and þe 3onger sone wente fer on pilgrymage into afer cuntre · & þere wastide his substaunce (or goodis) in lyuyng leccherously / and aftir þat he had endide alle þingis, a stronge hunger is made in þat cuntre · & he bigan for to haue nede / and he wente and cleuede to one of þe burgeysis of þat cuntre, and he sente hym into his toune · þat he schulde feede hoggis / and he coueytide for to fulfille his wombe of the coddis þat þe hoggis eten, and no man 3aue to hym / sopely he turnede a3en into hym self, and seyde / how manye hiride men in my fadir hous abounden in looues, and I forsoþe perische heere in hunger / I schal risen vp & go to my fadir, and I schal seye to hym / fadir I haue synned into heuene & bifore þee, and nowe I am not worpi for to be clepide þi sone · make me as one of þin hiride men / and he risynge came to his fadir / sopely whanne he was 3it fer, and his fadir si3e hym · & is styrede by mercy, and he rennyng to · felde vpon his necke, and kisside hym / and þe sone seyde to hym / fadir I haue synned into heuene and bifore

þee, and nowe I am not worþi for to be clepide þi sone / forsoþe þe fadir seyde to his seruauntis / soone brynge ʒee forþe þe firste stool & cloþide hym · & ʒyue ʒee a rynge on his hande, & schoon into feet / and brynge ʒee to · a calue made fatte, and slee ʒee & ete we & glade we in plenteuouse etynge · for þis my sone is deade & haþ lyuede aʒen, he perischide & is founde / and alle men bigunnen for to ete gladely / forsoþe his elder sone was in þe feelde / and whanne he came & neyʒede to the hous, he herde a symphonye & carole (or croude) / and he clepide one of the seruauntis, and axide what þes þingis weren / and he seyde to hym þi broþer is comen · and þi fadir slewe a fattide calue · for he receyuede hym saaf / forsoþe he was wroþe, and wolde not entre / þerfore his fadir gon oute bigan to preye hym / & he answeyng to his fadir seyde / lo so manye ʒeeris I serue to þee · and I neuer passide ouer (or brake) þi commaundment, & þou neuer haste ʒouen to me a kide þat I schulde wiþ my frendes be fulfillide / but aftir þat þis þi sone þat haþ deuouride his substaunce wiþ hooris came, þou hast slayne to hym a fattide calue / and he seyde to hym / sone þou art euermore wiþ me, and alle my þingis ben þin / forsoþe it bihouede for to ete plenteuously & to ioye, for þis þi broþer was deade & lyuede aʒen / he perischide & is founden.

## AUTHORIZED VERSION OF THE SAME PASSAGE.

11 A certain man had two sons :

12 And the younger of them said to *his* father, Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth *to me*. And he divided unto them *his* living.

13 And not many days after the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country, and there wasted his substance with riotous living.

14 And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land ; and he began to be in want.

15 And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country ; and he sent him into his fields to feed swine.

16 And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat : and no man gave unto him.

17 And when he came to himself, he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger !

18 I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee,

19 And am no more worthy to be called thy son : make me as one of thy hired servants.

20 And he arose, and came to his father. But when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him.

21 And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against

heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.

22 But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best robe, and put *it* on him ; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on *his* feet :

23 And bring hither the fatted calf, and kill *it* ; and let us eat, and be merry :

24 For this my son was dead, and is alive again ; he was lost, and is found. And they began to be merry.

25 Now his elder son was in the field : and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard music and dancing.

26 And he called one of the servants, and asked what these things meant.

27 And he said unto him, Thy brother is come ; and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe and sound.

28 And he was angry, and would not go in : therefore came his father out, and entreated him.

29 And he answering said to *his* father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandment ; and yet thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends :

30 But as soon as this thy son was come, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calf.

31 And he said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine.

32 It was meet that we should make merry, and be glad : for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again ; and was lost, and is found.

#### PERES THE PLOUGHMAN'S CREDE.

This poem, consisting of 850 lines, was written in alliterative verse by a disciple of Wyclif, whose name has not been ascertained. The title and form of it are both imitated from William Langland's more famous poem, known as "The Vision of William concerning Piers the Ploughman." Though these two poems, the "Crede" and the "Vision" are, in fact, by different authors, and express different sentiments on some points, they are continually being confounded with each other. There is every reason to believe that the anonymous author of the "Crede" was also author of "The Ploughman's Tale," a satirical poem which has often been wrongly ascribed to Chaucer.

The dialect is of a Midland character, and less full of unusual words than most of the poems in the same metre. The poem may have been written in the neighborhood of London, about A. D. 1394.

#### DESCRIPTION OF A DOMINICAN CONVENT.

Danne þouȝt y to frayne þe first · of þis foure ordirs,<sup>1</sup>  
 And presede<sup>2</sup> to þe prechoures<sup>3</sup> · to proven here wille.<sup>4</sup>  
 Ich hiȝede<sup>5</sup> to her house · to herken of more ;

And whan y cam to þat court · y gaped<sup>6</sup> aboute.  
 Swich a bild bold,<sup>7</sup> y-buld · opou erþe heizte<sup>8</sup>  
 Say i nouzt in certeine<sup>9</sup> · siþþe<sup>10</sup> a longe tyme.  
 Y zemed<sup>11</sup> vpon þat house · & zerne<sup>12</sup> þeron lokod,  
 Whouþ þe pileres weren y-peynt<sup>13</sup> · and pulched ful clene,<sup>14</sup>  
 And queynteli i-corven<sup>15</sup> · wiþ curiouse knottes,<sup>16</sup>  
 Wiþ wyndowes well y-wrouzt · wide vp o-lofte.<sup>17</sup>  
 And þanne y entrid in · and even-forþ<sup>18</sup> went,  
 And all was walled þat wone<sup>19</sup> · pouþ it wid were,  
 Wiþ posternes in pryuytie<sup>20</sup> · to pasen when hem liste ;<sup>21</sup>  
 Orchezardes and erberes<sup>22</sup> · euesed well clene,<sup>23</sup>  
 & a curious cros · craftly entayled,<sup>24</sup>  
 Wiþ tabernacles y-tizt<sup>25</sup> · to toten all abouten.<sup>26</sup>  
 Þe pris of a plouþ-lond · of penyes so rounde  
 To aparaile þat pyler · were pure lytel.<sup>27</sup>  
 Þanne y munte me forþ<sup>28</sup> · þe mynstre to knowen,  
 And a-waytede a woon<sup>29</sup> · wonderlie well y-beld,  
 Wiþ arches on eueriche half · & belliche y-corven,<sup>30</sup>  
 Wiþ crochetes on corners · wiþ knottes<sup>31</sup> of golde,  
 Wyde wyndowes y-wrouzt · y-written full þikke,<sup>32</sup>  
 Schynen wiþ schapen scheldes<sup>33</sup> · to schewen aboute,  
 Wiþ merkes of marchauntes<sup>34</sup> · y-medled bytwene,  
 Mo þan twenty and two · twyes y-noumbred.  
 Þer is none heraud þat hap · half swich a rolle,  
 Riht as a rageman<sup>35</sup> · hap rekned hem newe.  
 Tombes opou tabernacles · tyld opou lofte,<sup>36</sup>  
 Housed in hirnes<sup>37</sup> · harde set a-bouten,  
 Of armede alabaustre · clad for þe nones,<sup>38</sup>  
 [Made vpon marbel · in many maner wyse,  
 Knyghtes in her conisantes<sup>39</sup> · clad for þe nones,]  
 All it seemed seyntes : y-sacred opou erþe ;  
 And louely ladies y-wrouzt · leyen by her sydes  
 In many gay garmentes · þat weren gold-beten.<sup>40</sup>  
 Pouþ þe tax of ten þer · were trewly y-gadered,<sup>41</sup>  
 Nolde it nouzt maken þat hous<sup>42</sup> · half, as y trowe.  
 Þanne kam I to þat cloister · & gaped abouten  
 Whouþ it was pilered and peynt · & portred well clene,<sup>43</sup>  
 All y-hyled wiþ leed<sup>44</sup> · lowe to þe stones,  
 And y-paued wiþ peynt til<sup>45</sup> · iche poynte after oþer ;  
 Wiþ kundites<sup>46</sup> of clene tyn · closed all aboute,  
 Wiþ lauoures of latun<sup>47</sup> · louelyche y-greithed.<sup>48</sup>  
 I trowe þe gaynage of þe ground · in a gret schire  
 Nolde aparaile þat place · oo poynt til other ende.<sup>49</sup>  
 Þanne was þe chaptire-hous wrouzt · as a greet chirche,  
 Coruen and couered · and queyntliche entayled ;<sup>50</sup>  
 Wiþ semlich selure<sup>51</sup> · y-set on lofte ;  
 As a Parlement-hous · y-peynted aboute.  
 Þanne ferd y into fraytour<sup>52</sup> · and fond þere an oþer,

An halle for an hey3 kinge · an housholde to holden,  
 Wip brode bordes aboute · y-benched wel clene,  
 Wip windowes of glas · wrou3t as a Chirche.  
 Panne walkede y ferrer<sup>53</sup> · & went all abouten,  
 And sei3<sup>54</sup> halles full hy3e<sup>55</sup> · & houses full noble,  
 Chambers wip chymneyes · & Chapells gaie;  
 And kychens for an hy3e kinge · in castells to holden,  
 And her dortour y-dixte · wip dores ful stronge;<sup>56</sup>  
 Fermery<sup>57</sup> and fraitur · with fele mo<sup>58</sup> houses,  
 And all strong ston wall · sterne opon hei3e,  
 Wip gaie garites<sup>59</sup> & grete · & iche hole y-glased;  
 & oþere houses y-nowe · to herberwe þe queene.<sup>60</sup>  
 & 3et þise bilderes wilne beggen<sup>61</sup> · a bagg-ful of wheate  
 Of a pure pore man · þat maie oneþe<sup>62</sup> paie  
 Half his rente in a 3er · and half ben behynde!  
 Panne turned y a3en · whan y hadde all y-toted,  
 And fond in a freitour · a frere on a benche,  
 A greet cherl & a grym<sup>63</sup> · growen as a tonne,<sup>64</sup>  
 Wip a face as fat · as a full bledder,  
 Blown bretfull of breþ · & as a bagge honged  
 On boþen his chekes, & his chyn · wip a chol lollede,  
 As greet as a gos eye · growen all of grece;  
 Þat all wagged his fleche · as a quyk myre.<sup>65</sup>  
 His cope þat biclypped him<sup>66</sup> · wel clene was it folden,  
 Of double worstede y-dy3t<sup>67</sup> · doun to þe hele;<sup>68</sup>  
 His kyrtel of clene whijt · clenlyche y-sewed;  
 Hyt was good y-now of ground · greyn for to beren.<sup>69</sup>  
 I haylsede þat herdeman<sup>70</sup> · & hendliche<sup>71</sup> y saide,  
 'Gode syre, for godes loue · canstou me graiþe tellen<sup>72</sup>  
 To any worþely wij3t<sup>73</sup> · þat wissen me couþe<sup>74</sup>  
 Whou y schulde conne<sup>75</sup> my crede · Crist for to folowe,  
 Þat leuede lelliche<sup>76</sup> him-self · & lyuede þerafter,<sup>77</sup>  
 Þat feynede non falshede · but fully Crist suwede?<sup>78</sup>  
 For sich a certeyn man · syker wold y trosten,<sup>79</sup>  
 Þat he wolde telle me þe trewþe · and turne to none oþer.  
 And an Austyn<sup>80</sup> þis ender daie<sup>81</sup> · egged me faste;<sup>82</sup>  
 Þat he wold techen me wel · he ply3t me his treuþe,<sup>83</sup>  
 And seyde me, "serteyne · syþen Crist died  
 Oure ordir was euellles<sup>84</sup> · & erst y-founde."<sup>85</sup>  
 'Fyrst, felawe!' quaþ he<sup>86</sup> · 'fy on his pilche!<sup>87</sup>  
 He is but abortijf · eked wip cloutes!<sup>88</sup>  
 He holdeþ his ordynaunce · wipþe hores and þeues,<sup>89</sup>  
 And purchaseþ hem pryuilleges · wipþe penyes so rounde;  
 It is a pur pardoners craft · proue & asaye!<sup>90</sup>  
 For haue þei þi money · a moneþ þerafter,  
 Certes, þei3 þou come a3en<sup>91</sup> · he nyl<sup>92</sup> þe nou3t knowen.  
 But, felawe, our fundament · was first of þe oþere,  
 & we ben founded fullliche · wip-outen fayntise;<sup>93</sup>

& we ben clerkes y-cnoven · cunnynge in scole,<sup>94</sup>  
 Proued in procession · by processe of lawe.  
 Of oure ordre þer beþ · bichopes wel manye,  
 Seyntes on sundry stedes<sup>95</sup> · þat suffreden harde ;  
 & we ben proued þe prijs · of popes at Rome,<sup>96</sup>  
 & of grettest degre · as godspelles telleþ.  
 ‘A ! syre,’ quap y þanne · ‘þou seyst a gret wonder,  
 Siþen crist seyð hym-self · to all his disciples.  
 “Which of þou þat is most · most schal he werche,”<sup>97</sup>  
 & who is goer byforne · first schal he seruen.”  
 & seyde, “he sawe satan · sytten full heyþe<sup>98</sup>  
 & ful lowe ben y-leyd ;<sup>99</sup> · in lyknes he tolde,<sup>100</sup>  
 Þat in pouernesse<sup>101</sup> of spyrit · is spedfullest hele,<sup>102</sup>  
 And hertes of heynesse · harmeþ þe soule.  
 And þerfore, frere, fare well · here fynde y but pride ;  
 Y preise nouþt þi preching · but as a pure myte.’

I, the four orders here referred to are:

(1) The Minorites, Franciscans, or *Gray Friars*, called in France *Cordeliers*. Called Franciscans from their founder, St. Francis of Assisi ; Minorites (in Italian *Fratri Minori*, in French *Frères Mineurs*), as being, as he said, the humblest of the religious foundations ; Gray Friars, from the color of their habit ; and *Cordeliers*, from the hempen cord with which they were girded. For further details, see *Monumenta Franciscana*, which tells us that they were fond of physical studies, made much use of Aristotle, preached pithy sermons, exalted the Virgin, encouraged marriages, and were the most popular of the orders, but at last degenerated into a compound of the pedlar or huckster with the mountebank or quack doctor. They arrived in England in A. D. 1224. Friar Bacon was a Franciscan.

(2) The Dominicans, *Black Friars*, Friars Preachers, or Jacobins. Founded by St. Dominick, of Castile ; order confirmed by Pope Honorius in A. D. 1216 ; arrived in England about 1221. Habit, a white woollen gown, with white girdle ; over this, a white scapular ; over these, a *black* cloak with a hood, whence their name. They were noted for their fondness for preaching, their great knowledge of scholastic theology, their excessive pride, and the splendor of their buildings. The *Black Monks* were the Benedictines.

(3) The Augustine or Austin Friars, so named from St. Augustine of Hippo. They were clothed in black, with a leathern girdle. They were first congregated *into one body* by Pope Alexander IV, under one Lanfranc, in 1256. They are distinct from the Augustine *Canons*.

(4) The Carmelites, or *White Friars*, whose dress was white, over a dark-brown tunic. They pretended that their order was of the highest antiquity and derived from Helias, i. e., the prophet Elijah ; that a succession of anchorites had lived in Mount Carmel from his time till the thirteenth century ; and that the Virgin was the special protectress of their order. Hence they were sometimes called “Mary’s men.”

As the *priority* of the foundation of these orders is discussed in the poem, it will be well to notice that the dates of their *first* institution are, Augustines, 1150 ; Carmelites, 1160 ; Dominicans, 1206 ; Franciscans, 1209.

2, pressed forward ; hurried. 3, The Preachers, that is, the Dominican friars. 4, to test their good will. 5, hastened. 6, stared. 7, such a stately building. 8, erected on high ground. 9, for sure I never saw. 10, since. 11, I gazed. 12, closely ; diligently. 13, how the pillars were painted. 14, neatly polished. 15, carved. 16, round bunches of leaves ; referring to the capitals of

the pillars. 17, well shaped, wide and high. 18, straightway; directly onward. 19, dwelling. 20, private back-doors. 21, to go out when they pleased. 22, orchards and vegetable gardens. 23, neatly bordered. 24, cut; carved; sculptured. 25, solidly-built cells. 26, to spy everything around. "A *tote-hill* is a hill to spy from, now shortened to *Tothill*. 27, the price of a large farm would not raise such another building. 28, then I went forth. 29, and beheld a dwelling. 30, with arches on every side, beautifully sculptured. 31, projecting leaves, flowers, etc., such as are used in Gothic architecture to decorate the angles of spires, canopies, etc. 32, inscribed with many texts or names. 33, coats of arms of benefactors painted on the glass windows. 34, *Merkes of marchauntes*, "their symbols, cyphers, or badges, drawn or painted in the windows. . . . Mixed with the arms of their founders and benefactors stand also the *marks* of tradesmen and merchants, who had no arms, but used their marks in a shield like arms. Instances of this sort are very common." 35, alluding to the Ragman Rolls, originally "a collection of those deeds by which the nobility and gentry of Scotland were tyrannically constrained to subscribe allegiance to Edward I of England, in 1296, and which were more particularly recorded in four large rolls of parchment, consisting of thirty-five pieces, bound together, and kept in the Tower of London."—Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary. See also Halliwell's Dictionary, where it is explained that several kinds of written rolls, especially those to which many seals were attached, were known by the name of *Ragman* or *Ragman-roll*. In the Prologue to Piers the Ploughman, p. 414, the name is given to a papal bull. The modern *rigmarole* is a curious corruption of this term. 36, *Tyld opon lofte*, set up on high. It means that the tombs were raised some three or four feet above the ground. 37, *housed in hirnes*, inclosed in corners or niches. 38, for the occasion. 39, surcoats of arms. 40, adorned with beaten gold. 41, if the tax of ten years were honestly collected. 42, it would not build that house. 43, neatly decorated. 44, all covered with lead. 45, paved with painted tiles. 46, conduits. 47, lavoirs of latoun, a mixed metal much resembling brass. 48, graveled. 49, I trow the produce of the land in a great shire would not furnish that place from one end to the other. 50, the chapter-house was magnificently constructed in the style of church architecture, finely vaulted, and richly carved. 51, beautifully decorated ceiling. 52, I went into the refectory. 53, farther. 54, saw. 55, very high. 56, a dormitory closed with heavy doors. 57, infirmary. 58, many more. 59, garrets. 60, houses enough to lodge a queen. 61, will beg. 62, with difficulty. 63, a stout, grim-looking fellow. 64, shaped like a barrel. 65, with a face as fat as a full bladder that is blown quite full of breath; and it hung like a bag on both his cheeks, and his chin lolled (or flapped) about with a jowl (or double chin) that was as great as a goose's egg, grown all of fat; so that all his flesh wagged about like a quick mire (quagmire). 66, enveloped him. 67, made of double worsted. 68, down to his heels. 69, The *kirtle* was the under-garment, which was worn *white* by the Black Friars. The outer *black* garment is here called the *cope*, and was made, very comfortably, of double worsted, reaching down to his heels. The *kirtle* was of clean white, cleanly sewed, and was good enough in its *ground* or texture to admit of its being dyed *in grain*, i. e., of a *fast* color. 70, I saluted that pastor. 71, politely. 72, can you direct me. 73, worthy person. 74, that could teach me. 75, know. 76, that truly believed. 77, and lived accordingly. 78, follows. 79, I would surely trust. 80, an Augustine friar. 81, the other day. 82, urged me strongly. 83, plighted me his troth. 84, evil-less; without stain. 85, founded first. 86, said he. 87, fur garment. 88, tattered rags. 89, harlots and thieves. 90, it is merely a pardoner's trick, rest and try it. 91, though you come again. 92, will not. 93, pretence. 94, an allusion to the reputation of the Dominicans for scholastic learning. 95, places. 96, "Three popes, John XXI, Innocent V, and Benedict XI, were all taken from the order of Black Friars, between A. D. 1276-1303." 97, work; labor. 98, he saw satan sit very high. 99, laid very low. 100, by way of parable. 101, poverty. 102, most helpful salvation.

## THOMAS WYMBILTON.

In 1388 we have another indication of the style of the metropolis in the sermons preached at St. Paul's Cross by "maister Thomas Wymbilton." They prove that the old dialects were then out of use in large towns, and that the present English was substantially formed. Being addressed to a London audience, they may be presumed, by making allowance for the more solemn style of the pulpit, to come very near the usual diction of those for whom they were intended. At all events they show the increased cultivation which the old English was receiving. The following extract is quite interesting for the *naïve* manner in which it establishes the relationship between the nobility, the clergy, and the people:

For right as ȝee<sup>1</sup> seen,<sup>2</sup> þat in tiliyng<sup>3</sup> of þe material vyne þer ben<sup>4</sup> diverse labouris; for summe<sup>5</sup> kutte away the voide braunchis; summe maken forkis and railis to bere up the vynes; and summe diggen away þe olde eerþe from þe roote and leven<sup>6</sup> þere fatter.<sup>7</sup> And alle þese officers<sup>8</sup> ben so necessary to þe vyne, þat ȝif ony of them faile, it shal harme gretly or destroye þe vyne. But<sup>9</sup> þe vyne be kut, it shal wexe wilde. But ȝif she be railed, she shal be overgoo<sup>10</sup> wiþ nettes and weedis. But þe roote be fattid wiþ dunge, she for feebilnesse shulde wexe bareyne.

Rightsoo in þe chirche been needful þese p̄re officers, p̄reesþod, knyghþod, and laboureris. To prestis it falleþ to kutte away þe voide braunches of synnes, wiþ þe swerd<sup>11</sup> of her<sup>12</sup> tunge. To knyghtis it falleþ to lette no wrongis and þeftis to be doo;<sup>13</sup> and to mayntene Goddis lawe and hem<sup>14</sup> þat ben teachers þer of, and also to kepe þe londe fro enemyes of oþere londes. And to laboureris it falleþ to travaile<sup>15</sup> bodily, and wiþ her soor swet gete out of þe eerþe þe bodily lufode,<sup>16</sup> for hem and for oþere parties. And þese statis ben also needful to þe chirche þat noon may wel be wiþouten oþere. For ȝif p̄reshod lackide, þe peepil for defaute of knowyng Goddis lawe schulden wexe wilde on vices and dye goostli. And ȝif knyghthod lackide to rule þe peepil bi lawe and hardnesse, þeves and enemyes schulden so encrease þat no man schulde lyve in pees. And ȝif þe laboureris weren not, boþ p̄restis and knyghtis mosten<sup>17</sup> ben acremen<sup>18</sup> and herdis,<sup>19</sup> and ellis<sup>20</sup> þey schulden for defaute of bodily sustenaunce dye.

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1, you. 2, see. 3, cutting. 4, are. 5, some. 6, leave. 7, manure. 8, operations. 9, unless. 10, overgrown. 11, sword. 12, their. 13, done. 14, them. 15, work. 16, livelihood. 17, must. 18, peasants. 19, herdsmen. 20, else.

## ENGLISH AND LATIN LINES MIXED.

The following mixture of English and Latin rhymes is similar to what we have seen in chapter viii in English and French of the same period:

"Joyne all now in thys feste  
*ffor Verbum caro factum est.*



- “ Jhesus almyghty king of blys  
*assumpsit carnem Virginis.*  
 He was ev' and ev'more ys  
*consors p'rni lumis.*
- “ All holy churche of hym mak mynd  
*intravit ventris thalamum ;*  
 ffrom heven to erthe to save mankynd  
*pater misit filium.*
- “ To Mary came a messenger,  
*fferens sal'm homini ;*  
 and she answered w' myld chere,  
*ecce ancilla Domini.*
- “ The myght of the holy goste  
*palacium intrans uteri ;*  
 of all thyng mekenesse is most  
*in conspectu Altissimi.*
- “ When he was borne that made all thyng  
*pastor creator oium ;*  
 angellis then began to syng  
*veni redemptor gentium.*
- “ Thre kynges come the xii day  
*stellâ nitente previd ;*  
 to seke the kyng they toke the way  
*bajulantes munera.*
- “ A sterre furth ledde the kynges all  
*inquirentes Dominum ;*  
 lygging in an ox stall  
*invenerunt puerum.*
- “ For he was kyng of kyngis ay  
*primus rex aurü optulit ;*  
 ffor he was God and Lord verray  
*secundus rex thus protulit,*
- “ ffor he was man ; the thyrd kyng  
*incensum pulcrum tradidit :*  
 He us all to hys blys brynge  
*qui mori cruce voluit.”*

MS. Harleian, No. 275.

## JOHN GOWER.

We now approach the men who first gave English poetry permanent beauty and form. The authors hitherto noticed were but the heralds who announced the possibility of better things, and excited the taste for their attainment. Gower and Chaucer were contemporaries, and notice each other in their

works with affectionate commendation. But Gower was born before Chaucer, and also survived him (he died in 1402). The poem which has ranked him among the fathers of English poetry is his "*Confessio Amantis*," though it has been more criticized than read. It seems to have been judged from its title, and by the form in which it has been arranged, rather than by its actual contents. But it must be borne in mind that he lived at the period in which the refined spirit of chivalric gallantry had attained its highest polish. Love was, in the estimation of the age, the perfection of human excellence and the worthiest object of human life. Gower felt with his age, but tried to incorporate into that feeling every virtue and knowledge, and to free it from every vice. It is certain that the apostrophe of Chaucer, "O moral Gower," breathes a volume of praise which language can scarcely exalt, and which few poets have deserved. Gower was highly popular in his own days, and celebrated long afterward, till the widely diffused cultivation of English literature diminished his intrinsic value, and multiplied his rivals. The following lines are extracted from the work referred to above:

What thyng she byt<sup>1</sup> me don,<sup>2</sup> I do,  
 and where she byt me gon,<sup>3</sup> I go,  
 and whan hir list<sup>4</sup> to clepe,<sup>5</sup> I come.  
 I serve, I bowe, I loke, I lowte,<sup>6</sup>  
 myn ere foloweth hir aboute;  
 what so she wolle,<sup>7</sup> so wolle I,  
 whan she wolle sit, I knele by,  
 and whan she stont,<sup>8</sup> than wolle I stonde,  
 and whan she taketh hir werke<sup>9</sup> on honde<sup>10</sup>  
 of weving<sup>11</sup> or of embroudrie,  
 than can I not but muse<sup>12</sup> and prie  
 upon hir fingers longe and smale. . . .  
 etc. Gower's *Confess.*, iv, p. 103.

1, prays. 2, to do. 3, to go. 4, pleasure. 5, to call. 6, loiter. 7, will. 8, stands. 9, work. 10, hand. 11, weaving. 12, gaze.

### JEFFREY CHAUCER.

The most illustrious ornament of the reign of Edward III, and his successor Richard II, was Jeffrey Chaucer, a poet with whom the history of English poetry is by many supposed to have commenced, and who has been pronounced to be the first English versifier who wrote poetically. The precise date of his birth is unknown, but, from circumstances alluded to in his works, may be placed at 1340. His knowledge, as well as his natural gaiety of disposition, soon recommended him to the patronage of a magnificent monarch, and rendered him a very popular and acceptable character at his brilliant court. In the mean time he added to his accomplishments by frequent tours into France and Italy, which he sometimes visited with the advantages of a public character. Hitherto the English poets had been persons of a private and circumscribed education, and the art of versifying, like every other kind of composition, had been confined to recluse scholars, but Chaucer was a man of the world, and from this circumstance we are to account in a great measure for the many new embellishments which he conferred upon the language and poetry. Familiarity with a variety of things and objects, opportunities of acquiring the fashionable and courtly modes of speech, connections with the great at home, and a personal ac-

quaintance with the illustrious poets of foreign countries, opened his mind and furnished him with new lights. He was held in the highest estimation by his contemporaries. John the Chaplain calls him "Flour of rhetoric." Occleve laments him as a dear master and father, and styles him "the honour of English tongue; floure of eloquence; mirroure of fructuous entendement; universal fader of science." Lydgate, speaking of him says, "my master," and calls him "chiefe poet of Britaine, the loadsterre of our language, the notable Rhetore," etc. His writings are very numerous, but his most famous and best known work is the "Canterbury Tales," which is dated about 1390, though it was never finished. These tales are twenty-four in number, with short introductions to each, called prologues, in addition to which there is a General Prologue in which the narrators of the tales are severally described, often in a style almost unmatched for its brilliancy and truthfulness.

Chaucer was a native of London, and his dialect is the East Midland of the second half of the fourteenth century mixed with some Kentish and East Saxon elements. At that time the language had absorbed a vast number of French words and phrases, and retained many Dutch forms which constantly appear in the works of this author, and seem to have been current especially in the South-east of the Island. Such are:

OLD ENGLISH.	DUTCH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
eten and drynken	<i>eten en drinken</i>	to eat and drink
freten	<i>veten</i>	to devour
kerven	<i>kerven</i>	to carve
sterven	<i>sterven</i>	to starve
weten	<i>weten</i>	to know
meten	<i>meten</i>	to measure
gaderen	<i>gaderen</i>	to gather
geven	<i>geven</i>	to give
nemen	<i>nemen</i>	to take
lenen	<i>lenen</i>	to lend
tellen	<i>tellen</i>	to count
rekenen	<i>rekenen</i>	to account
shryven	<i>schryven</i>	to write; to confess
leren	<i>leeren</i>	to learn
delen	<i>deelen</i>	to deal
laten	<i>laten</i>	to let
leggen	<i>leggen</i>	to lay
seggen	<i>zeggen</i>	to say
menen	<i>meenen</i>	to mean
stelen	<i>stelen</i>	to steal
smeren	<i>smeren</i>	to grease
schenken	<i>schenken</i>	to pour out
smyten	<i>smyten</i>	to smite
werken	<i>werken</i>	to work
werpen	<i>werpen</i>	to throw
wreken	<i>wreken</i>	to avenge
gaan, gan	<i>gaan</i>	to go
doon	<i>doen</i>	to do
halen	<i>halen</i>	to haul
wit	<i>wit</i>	white
swart	<i>swart</i>	black

OLD ENGLISH.	DUTCH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
hals	<i>hals</i>	neck
bek	<i>bek</i>	beak
crul	<i>krul</i>	curl
vel	<i>vel</i>	skin
men	<i>men</i>	some one
sone	<i>zoon</i>	son
doghter	<i>dochter</i>	daughter
fader, vader	<i>vader</i>	father
leeve mooder	<i>lieve moeder</i>	dear mother
alderliefst	<i>allerliefst</i>	dearest of all
alderbest	<i>allerbest</i>	best of all
overall	<i>overal</i>	everywhere
wereld	<i>wereld</i>	world
woning	<i>woning</i>	dwelling
staat	<i>staat</i>	state
prelaat	<i>prelaat</i>	prelate
engel	<i>engel</i>	angel
ei, eieren	<i>ei, eieren</i>	egg, eggs
hyt, hit	<i>het</i>	it
fyn	<i>fyn</i>	fine
wyn	<i>wyn</i>	wine
prys	<i>prys</i>	price
wys	<i>wys</i>	wise
wyf	<i>wyf</i>	wife
lyf	<i>lyf</i>	life
styf	<i>styf</i>	stiff
rym	<i>rym</i>	rhyme
Latyn	<i>Latyn</i>	Latin
grys	<i>grys</i>	gray
Parys	<i>Parys</i>	Paris
reysen	<i>reisen</i>	to travel
dryven	<i>dryven</i>	to drive
ryden	<i>ryden</i>	to ride
spore	<i>spoor</i>	spur
somer	<i>zomer</i>	summer
drogte	<i>droogte</i>	draught
thonder	<i>donder</i>	thunder
dronken	<i>dronken</i>	drunk
yong	<i>jong</i>	young
hondred	<i>honderd</i>	hundred

and a vast number of other familiar words which Dutch and English have in common, and in which the author invariably follows the Dutch mode of spelling which seems to indicate a very similar mode of pronunciation still existing in both England and Holland.

In words of French origin the terminal *ier, ière* he always writes *er, ere* with the stress on *er*, as *carpenter, taverner, tapicer, bachelor, manere, mestere*, etc. The terminal French *eur* and Latin *or* he makes *our*, as *errour, honour, emperour*; and *on, om, oun* and *oum*, as *pardoun, capoun, heroun, poysoun, prysoun, persoun*,

*champioun, cleccioun, opynyoun, menciou, noumbre*, etc. In the same way he writes *aun* for *an* and *aum* for *am*, as *Fraunce, Romaunce, aquecynhtaunce, chaunge, marchaunt, repentaunt, chaumbre*, etc. See pages 339-342.

The following extracts from the *Prologue of the Canterbury Tales* are good specimens of the author's style, his language and his wit :

Ther was also a nonne, a Prioesse,  
 that of hir smylyng was ful symple and coy ;  
 hire gretteste ooth ne was but by Seint Loy ;  
 and she was cleped<sup>1</sup> madame Eglentyne.  
 Ful weel she soong the service dyvyne,  
 entuned in hir nose ful semely.  
 And Frenssh she spak ful faire and fetisly,<sup>2</sup>  
 after the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,  
 for Frenssh of Parys was to hire unknowe.  
 At mete wel ytaught was she with alle :  
 she leet no morsel from hir lippes falle,  
 ne wette hir fyngres in hir sauce depe ;  
 wel koude she carie a morsel, and wel kepe,  
 that no drope ne fille upon hire brest.  
 In curteisie was set ful muche hir lest :<sup>3</sup>  
 hire overlippe wyped she so clene  
 that in hir coppe was no ferthyng<sup>4</sup> sene  
 of grece, whan she dronken hadde hir draughte ;  
 ful semely after hir mete she raughte ;<sup>5</sup>  
 and sikerly she was of greet desport,  
 and ful plesaunt, and amyable of port ;  
 and peyned hire to countrefete<sup>6</sup> cheere  
 of court, and been estatlich<sup>7</sup> of manere,  
 and to ben holden digne of reuerence.  
 But for to speken of hire conscience,  
 she was so charitable and so pitous,  
 she wolde wepe, if that she saugh a mous  
 kaught in a trappe, if it were deed or bledde.  
 Of smale houndes hadde she that she fedde  
 with rosted flessh, and milk, and wastel<sup>8</sup> breed ;  
 but soore she wepte, if oon of hem were deed,  
 or if men smoot it with a yerde smerte ;  
 and al was conscience and tendre herte.  
 Ful semely hir wympel<sup>9</sup> pynched was ;  
 hire nose tretys,<sup>10</sup> hir yen greye as glas ;  
 hir mouth ful smal, and therto softe and reed.  
 But sikerly she hadde a fair forheed ;  
 it was almoost a spanne brood, I trowe,  
 for hardily she was nat undergrowe.  
 Ful fetys was hir cloke, as I was war.  
 Of smal coral aboute hire arm she bar  
 a peire of bedes, gauded<sup>11</sup> al with grene ;  
 and theron heng a brooch of gold ful sheene,<sup>12</sup>

on which ther was first write a crowned a,  
and after, Amor vincit omnia.  
Another nonne with hire hadde she,  
that was hire chapeleyne, and preestes thre.

1, called. 2, neatly, elegantly. 3, lust, pleasure. 4, speck. 5, retched, belched. 6, imitate. 7, stately. 8, fine bread. 9, white neckcloth. 10, well shaped. 11, adorned. 12, bright, beautiful.

A Frankeleyn<sup>1</sup> was in his compaignye ;  
whit<sup>2</sup> was his heed as is a dayes-ye ;<sup>3</sup>  
of his complexioun he was sangwyn.  
Wel loved he by the morwe a sop in wyn ;  
to lyven in delit was evere his wone,  
for he was Epicurus owene sone,  
that heeld opinioun that pleyn delit  
was verrayly felicittee parfit.  
An housholdere, and that a greet was he ;  
seint Julian<sup>4</sup> was he in his contree.  
His breed, his ale was always after oon ;  
a better envyned<sup>5</sup> man was nowher noon ;  
withoute bake mete was nevere his hous,  
of fissh and flesh, and that so plentevous,  
it snewed in his hous of mete and drynke.  
Of alle deyntees that men koude thynke,  
after the sondry sesouns of the yeer  
he chaunged him his mete and his soper.  
Ful many a fat partrich hadde he in muwe,  
and many a breem, and many a luce<sup>6</sup> in stuwe.  
Wo was his coke, but if his sauce were  
poynant,<sup>7</sup> and sharp, and redy al his geere.  
His table dormaunt in his halle alway  
stood redy covered al the longe day.  
At sessionis ther was he lord and sire ;  
ful ofte-tyme he was knyght of the shire.  
An anlaas,<sup>8</sup> and a gipser<sup>9</sup> al of silk  
Heeng at his girdel, whit as morne milk.  
A shirreve<sup>10</sup> hadde he been and a countour ;<sup>11</sup>  
Was nowher such a worthy vavasour.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fortescue, *De Legibus Anglie*, c. 29, describes "a franklein" as *pater familias—magnis dilatus possessionibus*. And his translator continues: "The country is so filled and replenished with landed menne, that therein so small a thorpe can not be found wherein dwelleth not a knight or an esquire, or such a householder as is there commonly called a 'franklein,' enriched with great possessions, and also other freeholders and many yeomen, able for their livelyhood to make a jury in form aforementioned." 2, white. 3, daisy. 4, St. Julian was the patron of hospitality. 5, stored, provided with wine. 6, pike. 7, strong-flavored, piquant. 8, dagger. 9, pouch. 10, sheriff. 11, controller, auditor. 12, squire, country gentleman.

In addition to the many words which modern English, Dutch, and Anglo-Saxon have in common, there are some, now obsolete or much altered in form, that are met with here and there in ancient English manuscripts, where we find them variously modified according to the phonetic notions of authors and copyists, but in general assuming an orthography resembling the Dutch more than the Anglo-Saxon. As from the meter and the rhyming syllables of Early English poetry it appears that both sound and accent were very much the same in English and in Dutch, a knowledge of the pronunciation of vowels in the latter tongue will greatly assist us in understanding the forms which mark the transition from Anglo-Saxon to Modern English. A glance at the following table will be sufficient to show that the difference between corresponding words is far more a difference of spelling than of utterance :

DUTCH	HAS THE VALUE OF THE ENGLISH	
<i>a</i> , articulated by a following consonant,	<i>a</i>	in man
<i>a</i> , not so articulated, and <i>aa</i> ,	<i>a</i>	" father
<i>e</i> , in the prefixes <i>be</i> and <i>ge</i> , and final <i>e</i> ,	<i>e</i>	" battery
<i>e</i> , articulated by a following consonant,	<i>e</i>	" met
<i>e</i> , not so articulated, and <i>ee</i> ,	<i>a</i>	" cable
<i>i</i> , articulated by a following consonant,	<i>i</i>	" pin
<i>ie</i> , articulated or not,	<i>ee</i>	" bee
<i>ei</i> , articulated or not,	<i>ie</i>	" lie
<i>o</i> , articulated by a following consonant,	<i>o</i>	" lot
<i>o</i> , not so articulated, and <i>oo</i> ,	<i>o</i>	" more
<i>oe</i> , articulated or not,	<i>oo</i>	" room
<i>ou</i> , articulated or not,	<i>ou</i>	" house
<i>u</i> , articulated by a following consonant,	<i>u</i>	" us
<i>u</i> , not so articulated = French <i>u</i> .		
<i>ui</i> has no equivalent in English.		
<i>y</i> , articulated or not,	<i>i</i>	" like

This will be further illustrated by the following glossary ; and by pronouncing the Dutch words as indicated, we shall probably very nearly give the true sound to the corresponding Anglo-Saxon words as they were pronounced in the days of Alfred :

ANGLO-SAXON.	DUTCH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
<i>æcer</i>	<i>akker</i>	tilled land
<i>addre</i>	<i>ader</i>	vein
<i>adel</i>	<i>adel</i>	nobility
<i>bán</i>	<i>been</i>	bone
<i>bát</i>	<i>boot</i>	boat
<i>bedstede</i>	<i>bedstede</i>	bedstead
<i>besom</i>	<i>bezem</i>	broom
<i>betera ; betst</i>	<i>beter ; best</i>	better ; best
<i>bil</i>	<i>byl</i>	ax
<i>blæc</i>	<i>bleek</i>	bleak
<i>blæd</i>	<i>blad</i>	leaf
<i>blóm</i>	<i>bloem</i>	bloom
<i>bróc</i>	<i>broek</i>	breeches
<i>canne</i>	<i>kan</i>	can
<i>cetel</i>	<i>ketel</i>	kettle

X *y*, *u* had = *oi* in foil  
*... in (how) as*

ANGLO-SAXON.	DUTCH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
cicn	<i>kieken</i>	chicken
ctn	<i>kin</i>	chin
cneo	<i>knie</i>	knee
crume	<i>kruim</i>	crumb
cú	<i>koe</i>	cow
cus	<i>kus</i>	kiss
dæd	<i>daad</i>	deed
dæg	<i>dag</i>	day
deóp	<i>diep</i>	deep
deór	<i>dier</i>	animal
dohtor	<i>dochter</i>	daughter
dóm	<i>doem</i>	doom
dol	<i>dol</i>	dull
dón	<i>doen</i>	to do
dwæs	<i>dwaas</i>	foolish
dwerg	<i>dwerg</i>	dwarf
earm	<i>arm</i>	arm
eðel	<i>edel</i>	noble
erst	<i>eerst</i>	first
esol	<i>ezel</i>	ass
finc	<i>vink</i>	finch
flæsc	<i>vleesch</i>	flesh
flód	<i>vloed</i>	flood
folc	<i>volk</i>	folk
fót	<i>voet</i>	foot
gast	<i>gast</i>	guest
geat	<i>gat</i>	hole ; opening
gebed	<i>gebed</i>	prayer
gebod	<i>gebod</i>	commandment
gebrec	<i>gebrek</i>	want
gebúr }	<i>buur</i>	neighbor
	<i>boer</i>	boor ; peasant
genóg	<i>genoeg</i>	enough
gesam	<i>gezaam</i>	together
geweald	<i>geweld</i>	violence
geolu	<i>geel</i>	yellow
glæs	<i>glas</i>	glass
gód	<i>goed</i>	good
grund	<i>grond</i>	ground
græs	<i>gras</i>	grass
gréne; groen	<i>groen</i>	green
hær	<i>haar</i>	hair
hagol	<i>hagel</i>	hail
háleg	<i>heilig</i>	holy
hæliand	<i>heiland</i>	savior
hamor	<i>hamer</i>	hammer
hana	<i>haan</i>	cock



ANGLO-SAXON.	DUTCH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
<i>hæn</i>	<i>hen</i>	hen
<i>hæfene</i>	<i>haven</i>	haven
<i>heals</i>	<i>hals</i>	neck
<i>heard</i>	<i>hard</i>	hard
<i>héla</i>	<i>hiel</i>	heel
<i>hit</i>	<i>het</i>	it
<i>hú</i>	<i>hoe</i>	how
<i>hund</i>	<i>hond</i>	hound
<i>hunig</i>	<i>honig</i>	honey
<i>hús</i>	<i>huis</i>	house
<i>langsum</i>	<i>langzaam</i>	slow
<i>lic</i>	<i>lyk</i>	dead body
<i>lif</i>	<i>lyf</i>	living body
<i>lim</i>	<i>lym</i>	glue
<i>list</i>	<i>list</i>	ruse
<i>lús</i>	<i>luis</i>	louse
<i>mús</i>	<i>muis</i>	mouse
<i>nægel</i>	<i>nagel</i>	nail
<i>niwe</i>	<i>nieuw</i>	new
<i>nu</i>	<i>nu</i>	now
<i>ofer</i>	<i>over</i>	over
<i>pol</i>	<i>poel</i>	pool
<i>pund</i>	<i>pond</i>	pound
<i>regn</i>	<i>regen</i>	rain
<i>regal</i>	<i>regel</i>	rule
<i>ric</i>	<i>ryk</i>	rich
<i>rúm</i>	<i>ruim</i>	room
<i>sadol</i>	<i>sadel</i>	saddle
<i>sal</i>	<i>saal</i>	hall
<i>scólu</i>	<i>school</i>	school
<i>scyld</i>	<i>schuld</i>	debt
<i>seolfor</i>	<i>silver</i>	silver
<i>slæp</i>	<i>slaap</i>	sleep
<i>smæc</i>	<i>smaak</i>	taste
<i>snel</i>	<i>snel</i>	quick
<i>sorg</i>	<i>zorg</i>	care
<i>spik</i>	<i>spek</i>	bacon
<i>spræc</i>	<i>spraak</i>	speech
<i>stán</i>	<i>steen</i>	stone
<i>steór</i>	<i>stier</i>	steer
<i>stól</i>	<i>stoel</i>	stool
<i>swær</i>	<i>zwaar</i>	heavy
<i>sweart</i>	<i>zwart</i>	black ; swarthy
<i>tæfel</i>	<i>tafel</i>	table
<i>tam</i>	<i>tam</i>	tame
<i>tán</i>	<i>teen</i>	toe
<i>treów</i>	<i>trouw</i>	faith

ANGLO-SAXON.	DUTCH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
trog	<i>trog</i>	trough
wác	<i>week</i>	weak
wæpen	<i>wapen</i>	weapon
wang	<i>wang</i>	cheek
weder	<i>weder</i>	weather
weoruld	<i>wereld</i>	world
wic	<i>wyk</i>	distrit
wid	<i>wyd</i>	wide
wif	<i>wyf</i>	wife
wín	<i>wyn</i>	wine
wræc	<i>wraak</i>	vengeance
wul	<i>wol</i>	wool
wund	<i>wond</i>	wound
wundor	<i>wonder</i>	wonder
yfel	<i>euvel</i>	evil

Noticing in the verbs the constant change of *an* to *en* in the final syllable, we shall find in the roots a similar difference of spelling :

ANGLO-SAXON.	DUTCH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
beorgan	<i>bergen</i>	to put in a safe place
berstan	<i>bersten</i>	to burst
biddan	<i>bidden</i>	to pray
blæsan	<i>blazen</i>	to blow
brecan	<i>breken</i>	to break
breówan	<i>brouwen</i>	to brew
brúcan	<i>bruiken</i>	to use; endure; brook
búgan	<i>buigen</i>	to bend
cennan	<i>kennen</i>	to be able
clifian	<i>kleven</i>	to cleave
cnedan	<i>kneden</i>	to knead
cráwan	<i>kraijen</i>	to crow
cwecan	<i>kweeken</i>	to cultivate
cwellan	<i>kwellen</i>	to torment; to kill
cyssan	<i>kussen</i>	to kiss
dragan	<i>dragen</i>	to carry
drifan	<i>dryven</i>	to urge on
drincan	<i>drinken</i>	to drink
etan	<i>eten</i>	to eat
fretan	<i>vreten</i>	to devour
gán	<i>gaan</i>	to go
geápean	<i>gápen</i>	to yawn
genesan	<i>genezen</i>	to cure
hangian	<i>hangen</i>	to hang
hatian	<i>haten</i>	to hate
heawan	<i>houwen</i>	to hew
helpan	<i>helpen</i>	to help

ANGLO-SAXON.	DUTCH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
hladan	<i>laden</i>	to load
hwostan	<i>hoesten</i>	to cough
leornian	<i>leeren</i>	to learn
macian	<i>maken</i>	to make
mængan	<i>mengen</i>	to mix
melcan	<i>melken</i>	to milk
neman	<i>neemen</i>	to take
pluccian	<i>plukken</i>	to pluck
ridan	<i>ryden</i>	to ride
scafan	<i>schaven</i>	to plane
sceran	<i>scheren</i>	to shave ; shear
sceppan	<i>scheppen</i>	to create ; shape
sciftan	<i>schiften</i>	to shift
scufan	<i>schuiven</i>	to shove
snidan	<i>snyden</i>	to cut
spreotan	<i>spruiten</i>	to sprout
stempan	<i>stampen</i>	to stamp
steorfan	<i>sterven</i>	to die
streccan	<i>strekken</i>	to stretch
swefan	<i>zweven</i>	to hover
swelgan	<i>zwelgen</i>	to swallow
wacan	<i>waken</i>	to watch
weccan	<i>wekken</i>	to wake up
wegan	<i>wegen</i>	to weigh
witan	<i>weten</i>	to know

and many others. Some of these words disappeared in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, usually replaced by French equivalents, or else gradually assuming their present English form. There are, however, a certain number of words which exist only in Dutch and Modern English, no trace of them being found in Anglo-Saxon writings, except in rare instances, and then only as compounds and derivatives. From this circumstance, as well as from the fact that all these words are of a familiar nature, it is to be inferred that most of them formed also part of the ancient spoken language. The most common are:

ENGLISH.	DUTCH.	ENGLISH.	DUTCH.
ballast	<i>ballast</i>	clammy	<i>klam</i>
bank	<i>bank</i>	cony	<i>konyn</i>
boom	<i>boom</i>	cramp	<i>kramp</i>
boodle	<i>boedel</i>	creek	<i>kreek</i>
brake	<i>brake</i>	cripple	<i>kreupel</i>
brand-new	<i>brand-nieuw</i>	curl	<i>krul</i>
brink	<i>brink</i>	dam	<i>dam</i>
bruin	<i>bruin</i>	damp	<i>damp</i>
bull	<i>bul</i>	dapper	<i>dapper</i>
bundle	<i>bundel</i>	drift	<i>drift</i>
buoy	<i>boei</i>	earnest	<i>ernst</i>
busy	<i>besig</i>	fore-arm	<i>voorarm</i>
cable	<i>kabel</i>	forebode	<i>voorbode</i>

ENGLISH.	DUTCH.	ENGLISH.	DUTCH.
forefather	<i>voorvader</i>	mole	<i>mol</i>
forefinger	<i>voorvinger</i>	navel	<i>navel</i>
foreground	<i>voorgrond</i>	nut	<i>neut</i>
forehand	<i>voorhand</i>	pap	<i>pap</i>
foreland	<i>voorland</i>	plank	<i>plank</i>
foreman	<i>voorman</i>	plough	<i>ploeg</i>
foretooth	<i>voortand</i>	poodle	<i>poedel</i>
foundling	<i>vondeling</i>	puss	<i>poes</i>
gang	<i>gang</i>	quackdoctor	<i>kwakzalver</i>
glib	<i>glibberig</i>	reef	<i>reef</i>
groove	<i>groeve</i>	rover	<i>roover</i>
handy	<i>handig</i>	sake	<i>zaak</i>
handsome	<i>handsaam</i>	since	<i>sinds</i>
holla ; hollo	<i>holla</i>	sketch	<i>schets</i>
hoop	<i>hoep</i>	skipper	<i>schipper</i>
hop	<i>hop</i>	sleigh ; sled	<i>slee ; slede</i>
hump	<i>homp</i>	slot	<i>slot</i>
hut	<i>hut</i>	smack	<i>smak</i>
keel	<i>kiel</i>	snaffle	<i>snavel</i>
kit	<i>kit</i>	snare	<i>snaar</i>
knapsack	<i>knapsak</i>	snout	<i>snoet</i>
knob	<i>knop</i>	snuff	<i>snuif</i>
knuckle	<i>kneukel</i>	sod	<i>zode</i>
log	<i>log</i>	sop	<i>sop</i>
lot	<i>lot</i>	span	<i>span</i>
luck	<i>luk</i>	spar	<i>spar</i>
lukewarm	<i>leukwarm</i>	split	<i>split</i>
maid	<i>meid</i>	spool	<i>spoel</i>
mangle	<i>mangel</i>	sprout	<i>spruit</i>
mat	<i>mat</i>	stoker	<i>stoker</i>
mate	<i>maat</i>	tattoo	<i>taptoe</i>
meager	<i>mager</i>	trigger	<i>trekker</i>
middle	<i>middel</i>	yacht	<i>yacht</i>

Among the verbs which Dutch and English have in common, and of which there is no record in Anglo-Saxon writings, we find the following :

ENGLISH.	DUTCH.	ENGLISH.	DUTCH.
to babble	<i>babbelen</i>	to crinkle	<i>krinkelen</i>
to blink	<i>blinken</i>	to dabble	<i>dabbelen</i>
to beseech	<i>besoeken</i>	to drill	<i>drillen</i>
to brabble	<i>brabbelen</i>	to foresee	<i>voorzien</i>
to brawl	<i>brallen</i>	to fumble	<i>fommelen</i>
to bubble	<i>bobbelen</i>	to gobble	<i>gobbelen</i>
to cackle	<i>kakelen</i>	to growl	<i>grollen</i>
to clap	<i>klappen</i>	to guess	<i>gissen</i>
to crimp	<i>krimpen</i>	to hack	<i>hakken</i>

ENGLISH.	DUTCH.	ENGLISH.	DUTCH.
to haggle	<i>hakkelen</i>	to puff	<i>puffen</i>
to hanker	<i>hunkerem</i>	to rattle	<i>ratelen</i>
to haul	<i>halen</i>	to ravel	<i>rafelen</i>
to hobble	<i>hobbelen</i>	to rumble	<i>rommelen</i>
to knap	<i>knappen</i>	to scrape	<i>schrapen</i>
to laugh	<i>lachen</i>	to scrub	<i>schrobben</i>
to loiter	<i>leuteren</i>	to slabber	<i>stobberen</i>
to loll	<i>lollen</i>	to smart	<i>smarten</i>
to loof	<i>loeven</i>	to snap	<i>snappen</i>
to lull	<i>lullen</i>	to spatter	<i>spatten</i>
to mingle	<i>mengelen</i>	to sprinkle	<i>sprenkelen</i>
to mope	<i>moppen</i>	to stammer	<i>stameren</i>
to nibble	<i>knibbelen</i>	to stipple	<i>stippelen</i>
to nip	<i>knypen</i>	to stop	<i>stoppen</i>
to ogle	<i>oogelen</i>	to tap	<i>tappen</i>
to pick	<i>pikken</i>	to tattle	<i>tateren</i>
to plunder	<i>plunderen</i>	to twine	<i>twynen</i>

A long list might thus be made out of English, Dutch, and Anglo-Saxon words that offer but little difference in spelling, still less in sound, and none at all in meaning. The little we have shown, however, will be sufficient to enable our readers to form their own opinion as regards the common origin of the people among whom these words were current; for although identity of speech is not a test of identity of race when taken by itself, it is the strongest test of all when it confirms the evidences drawn from history. These, it is true, are incomplete as regards the details of Early English settlements; but inasmuch as there is no evidence either of any subsequent immigration from Holland large enough to account for the numerous Dutch terms found in Early English writings, we may safely conclude that most of these words and forms of expression have existed in the spoken language of the English people fully as long as those used in writing which we call Anglo-Saxon. The vitality of the former was due to their popular nature, which not only carried them through the long period of national depression which followed the Norman conquest, but even preserved them, without any change of meaning, up to the present day, in both England and Holland; which fact, more strongly than any other, confirms and corroborates the more slender evidences of history concerning the origin and continental homes of the first Teutonic settlers in Britain.

#### JOHN BARBOUR.

John Barbour was born, according to some, in 1316; according to others, as late as 1330. He is described as being Archdeacon of Aberdeen in 1357. He died about the year 1395. His great work, entitled "The Bruce," was partly written in 1375, as he himself tells us. It extends to more than 13,000 lines, and describes the life and adventures of Robert Bruce, King of Scots, and his companions.

In Barbour's day, the language of Teutonic Scotland was distinguished from that of the South of England (which was fast acquiring ascendancy over that of the northern counties as the literary dialect) by little more than the retention, perhaps, of a good many vocables which had become obsolete among the English, and a generally broader enunciation of the vowel sounds. Hence, Barbour never supposes that he is writing in any other language than English any

more than Chaucer does, and by this name not only he, but his successors, Dunbar and even Lyndsay, always designate their native tongue. Down to the latter part of the sixteenth century, by the term *Scotch* was generally understood what is now called the *Gaelic*, or the *Erse* or *Ersk*, that is, Irish, the speech of the Celts or Highlanders. Divested of the peculiar spelling of the old manuscripts, the language of Barbour is quite as intelligible at the present day to an English reader as that of Chaucer; the obsolete words and forms are not more numerous in the one writer than in the other, though some that are used by Barbour may not be found in Chaucer, in the same way as many of Chaucer's are not in Barbour; the chief general distinction being the greater breadth given to the vowel sounds in the dialect of the Scottish poet. The old termination of the present participle in *and* is also more frequently used than in Chaucer, to whom, however, it is not unknown, any more than its modern substitute *ing* is to Barbour. The most remarkable peculiarity of the more recent form of the Scottish dialect that is not found in Barbour is the abstraction of the final *l* from syllables ending in that consonant preceded by a vowel or diphthong: thus he never has *a', fa', fu' or fou', pow, how, for all, fall, full, poll, hole*, etc. The subsequent introduction of this habit into the speech of the Scotch is perhaps to be attributed to their imitation of the liquefaction of the *l* in similar circumstances by the French, from whom they have also borrowed a considerable number of their modern vocables, never used in England, and to whose accentuation, both of individual words and of sentences, theirs has much general resemblance, throwing, as it does, the emphasis, contrary to the tendency of the English language, upon one of the latter syllables, and also running into the rising in many cases where the English use the falling intonation.

Barbour's work, though called by himself a "romaunt," is, and has always been, regarded as an authentic historical monument; it has no doubt some incidents or embellishments which may be set down as fabulous, but these are in general very easily distinguished from the main texture of the narrative, which agrees substantially with the most trustworthy accounts drawn from other sources, and has been received and quoted as good evidence by all subsequent writers and investigators of Scottish history. The following passage, which occurs near the commencement of his poem, is a fair exemplification of the characteristics of his poetry. It describes the oppressions endured by the Scots during the occupation of their country by the English King, Edward I, after his deposition of Baliol:

And gif that ony man them by  
 Had ony thing that wes worthy,  
 As horse, or hund, or other thing,  
 That war pleasand to their liking!  
 With right or wrang it wald have they.  
 And gif ony wald them withsay,  
 They suld swa do, that they suld tine<sup>1</sup>  
 Other<sup>2</sup> land or life, or live in pine.  
 For they dempt<sup>3</sup> them efter their will,  
 Takand na kepe<sup>4</sup> to right na skill.<sup>5</sup>  
 Ah! what they dempt them felonly!<sup>6</sup>  
 For gud knightes that war worthy,  
 For little enchesoun<sup>7</sup> or then<sup>8</sup> nane  
 They hangit be the neckbane.  
 Als<sup>9</sup> that folk, that ever was free,  
 And in freedom wont for to be,  
 Through their great mischance and folly,  
 Wor treated then sa wickedly,

That their faes<sup>10</sup> their judges ware :  
 What wretchedness may man have mair?<sup>11</sup>  
 Ah! Freedom is a noble thing!  
 Freedom may<sup>12</sup> man to have liking;<sup>13</sup>  
 Freedom all solace to man gives :  
 He lives at ease that freely lives !.  
 A noble heart may have nane ease,  
 Ne elles nought that may him please  
 Giff freedom failye : for free liking  
 Is yarnit<sup>14</sup> ower<sup>15</sup> all other thing.  
 Nay he that aye has livit free  
 May nought know well the property,<sup>16</sup>  
 The anger, na the wretched doom,  
 That is couplit<sup>17</sup> to foul thirldoom.<sup>18</sup>  
 But gif he had assayit it,  
 Then all perquer<sup>19</sup> he suld it wit ;  
 And suld think freedom mair to prise  
 Than all the gold in warld that is.

---

1, lose. 2, either. 3, doomed, judged. 4, taking no heed, paying no regard. 5, reason. 6, Ah! how cruelly they judged them! 7, cause. 8, both the sense and the metre seem to require that this *then* (in orig. *tha*) should be transferred to the next line; "they hangit then." 9, also, thus. 10, foes. 11, more. 12, makes. 13, pleasure. 14, yearned for, desired. 15, over, above. 16, the quality, the peculiar state or condition? 17, coupled, attached. 18, thraldom. 19, exactly.

#### THOMAS OCCLEVE OR HOCCLEVE.

Another poet who has not had his just share of celebrity is Occleve, whose compositions greatly assisted the growth, and diffused the popularity of the infant English poetry. He knew Chaucer personally, and calls himself Chaucer's disciple. He wrote his principal poems in the reign of Henry IV; they are generally placed at 1420. In the following lines he complains that the labors of an author are generally much undervalued:

Many men, fadir, wenen<sup>1</sup> that writyng  
 No travaile<sup>2</sup> is. They holde it but a game.  
 A writer mote<sup>3</sup> thre thinges to hym knitte,<sup>4</sup>  
 And in tho<sup>5</sup> may be no disseveraunce.  
 Mynde, eye, and hond.<sup>6</sup> None may from other flitte,<sup>7</sup>  
 But in him mote be joynte continuaunce.  
 The mynde all hole, without variaunce,  
 On eye and hond awaite<sup>8</sup> mote alway.  
 And they two eke.<sup>9</sup> On hym it is no nay.<sup>10</sup>  
 These artificers see I, day by day,  
 In the hottest of all her besynesse,  
 Talken<sup>11</sup> and syng and make game and play,  
 And forth her labour passeth with gladnesse.

But we labouren in travaillous<sup>12</sup> stilnesse.  
 We stoupe<sup>13</sup> and stare upon the shepeskyn,<sup>14</sup>  
 And kepe most our songe and oure wordes in.

1, think. 2, labor. 3, must. 4, unite. 5, those. 6, hand. 7, fly. 8, watch. 9, also. 10, not to be denied. 11, talk. 12, laborious. 13, stoop. 14, sheepskin.

## JOHN LYDGATE.

John Lydgate, a monk of Bury, was born in the village of Lydgate, near Newmarket, about A. D. 1373, and died about A. D. 1460; but these dates are uncertain. He was ordained subdeacon in the Benedictine Monastery of Bury St. Edmunds in 1389, deacon in 1393, and priest in 1397. He is remarkable for the great ease, fluency, and extent of his writings, a catalogue of which would take up a considerable space. He composed verses with such facility that we can not expect to find his poetry of a very lofty character; still, he is generally pleasing, though too much addicted to prolixity. Some of his best poems are his minor ones, of which the following deserves to be cited from its connection with the manners of the age. It is the poet's description of his own youth:

Voyde of reason; gyven to wilfulnes,  
 Frowarde to vertue; of Christ gave letell hede.  
 Loth to lerne; lovede no vertuous besynes,  
 Save play or myrth. Straunge to spell or rede;  
 Folowyng all appetitis longyng to childhede;  
 Lyghtlye tournynge; wild and selde sadde;  
 Wepyng for nought, and anone after gladde.

For lytel werth to stryve with my felawe,  
 As my passyons dyd my brydell lede;  
 Of the yarde stode I sometyme in awe;  
 'To be scoured that was all my drede.  
 Lothe towarde scole; lost my time indede;  
 Lyke a yonge colt that ranne withoute brydell,  
 Made my frendes gyve goode to spende in ydell.

I had in custom to come to scole late;  
 Not for to lerne but for a countenaunce.  
 With my fellowes redy to debate;  
 To jangle<sup>1</sup> and jape<sup>2</sup> was set all my pleasaunce.  
 Wherof rebuked this was my chevisaunce,<sup>3</sup>  
 To forge a lesynge<sup>4</sup> and therupon to muse.  
 Whan I trespassed, myself to excuse.

For my better dyd no reverence,  
 Of my soveraynes gave no force at all,  
 Wel obstynate by inobediencie;  
 Ranne into gardeyns, appels there I stale,  
 To gather frutes spared hedge nor wall;  
 To plucke grapes on other mennys vynes,  
 Was more redy than for to saye mattynes.



My lust was alway to scorne folke and gape,  
 Shrewede tournes ever amonge to use  
 To scoffe and move<sup>5</sup> lyke a wanton ape,  
 When I dyd evyll, other I dyd abuse.  
 Redyer cheristones<sup>6</sup> for to tell  
 Than go to churche or here the sacrynge bell.

Lothe to ryse, lother to bed at eve;  
 With unwashe hondes redy to dyner,  
 My paternoster, my crede or my beleve,  
 Last at the looke. Lo this was my maner,  
 Warred<sup>7</sup> with ecke<sup>8</sup> wynde as doth a rede spere.<sup>9</sup>  
 Snobbed of my frendes such thatches<sup>10</sup> to amende,  
 Made deffe eare, list not to them attende.

My port, my pase, my fate alway unstable;  
 My looke, myn eyen unsure and vagabounde,  
 In all my werkes sodeynly chaungeable.  
 To all goode themes<sup>11</sup> contrary was I founde.  
 Now oversad, now mornynge, now jocounde.  
 Wilful, recheles, madd, startynge as a hare;  
 To folowe my luste, for no thyng wolde I spare.

1, to babble. 2, to jest. 3, agreement. 4, lie. 5, to mock. 6, nonsense.  
 7, turning. 8, each. 9, sapling. 10, roguery. 11, qualities. x, unwilling.

EXTRACT FROM THE MAISTER OF OXFORD'S CATECHISM, WRIT-  
 TEN TOWARD THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

*Questions bitwene the Maister of Oxinford and hys Scoler.*

*The Clerkys Question.* Say me where was God whan he made  
 heven and erthe?

*The Maister's Answer.* I saye, in the ferther ende of the  
 wynde.

*C.* Tell me what worde God first spake?

*M.* Be thowe made light, and light was made.

*C.* Whate is God?

*M.* He is God, that all thyng made, and all thyng hath in  
 hys power.

*C.* In howe many dayes made God all thyngis?

*M.* In six dayes. The first daye he made light; the second  
 daye he made all thyng that helden heven; the thirde daye he  
 made water and erthe; the fourth daye he made the firmament  
 of heven; the v<sup>th</sup> daye he made sterrys;<sup>1</sup> the vj<sup>th</sup> daye he made  
 almaner<sup>2</sup> bestis, fowlis, and the see, and Adam, the firste man.

*C.* Wherof was Adam made?

*M.* Of viij thyngis : The first of erthe, the second of water, the iiij<sup>th</sup> of fyre, the iiij<sup>th</sup> of wynde, the v<sup>th</sup> of clowdys, the vj<sup>th</sup> dewe wherby he sweteth, the vij<sup>th</sup> of flowres, wherof Adam hath his ien,<sup>3</sup> the viij<sup>th</sup> is salte wherof Adam hath salt teres.<sup>4</sup>

*C.* Wherof was founde the name of Adam ?

*M.* Of fowre sterrys, this been the namys : *Arcax, Dux, Aros-tolym,* and *Momfumbres.*

*C.* Of what state was Adam whan he was made ?

*M.* A man of xxx wynter of age.

*C.* And of what length was Adam ?

*M.* Of iiij score<sup>5</sup> and vj enchys.

*C.* How longe lyved Adam in this worlde ?

*M.* ix, c, and xxx<sup>vj</sup> wynter, and afterwarde in hell tyll the passion of our lord God.

*C.* How longe was Adam in Paradyse ?

*M.* vij yere, and at vij yeres ende he trespased ayenst God for the apple that he hete on a Fridaye, and an anjell drove him owte.

*C.* Howe many children had Adam and Eve ?

*M.* xxx men children and xxx wymen children.

*C.* Whate citie is there the son goth to reste ?

*M.* A citie that is called *Sarica.*

*C.* Whate be the best erbes that God loved ?

*M.* The rose and the lillie.

*C.* Whate fowle loved God best ?

*M.* The dove, for God sent his spiret from heven in likenes of a dove.

*C.* Whiche is the best water that ever was ?

*M.* From *Juridan,* for God was baptysed thereyn.

*C.* Wher be the anjelles<sup>6</sup> that God put owte<sup>7</sup> of heven and bycam<sup>8</sup> devilles ?

*M.* Som into hell, and som reyned in the skey, and som in the erth, and som in waters and in wodys.<sup>9</sup>

*C.* Of whate thyng be men moste ferde ?<sup>10</sup>

*M.* Men be moste ferde of deth.

*C.* Who cleped<sup>11</sup> first God ?

*M.* The devyll.

*C.* Whiche is the heviest thyng be bring ?

*M.* Syn is the heviest.

*C.* Whiche be the iiij thyngis that never was ful nor never shalbe ?

*M.* The first is erth, the second is fyre, the thirde is hell, the fourth is a covitous man.

*C.* Howe many maner of birdis been there, and howe many of fisshes ?

*M.* liij of fowles, and xxxvj of fisshes.

*C.* Whate hight the iiij waters that renneth through paradyse ?<sup>12</sup>

*M.* The one hight<sup>13</sup> Fyson, the oder<sup>14</sup> Egeon, the iij<sup>de</sup> hight Tygrys, and the iij<sup>th</sup> Effraton. These been milke, hony, oyll, and wyne.

*C.* Wherefor is the son<sup>16</sup> rede<sup>16</sup> at even?

*M.* For he gothe toward hell.

*C.* Howe many langagis been there?

*M.* lxij, and so many discipules had God withowte hys apostoles. MS. Lansdowne, No. 762.

1, stars. 2, every kind of. 3, eyes. 4, tears. 5, twenty yards. 6, angels. 7, out. 8, became. 9, woods. 10, afraid. 11, called. 12, run. 13, is called. 14, other. 15, sun. 16, red.

A BILL OF DINNER FARE FOR A FEAST AT OXFORD IN OCTOBER, 1452.

*Primus Cursus.*

A sutteltee.<sup>1</sup> The bore hed<sup>2</sup> and the bulle. Brawne<sup>3</sup> and mustarde. Frumenty<sup>4</sup> with venysoun. Fesaunt in brase.<sup>5</sup> Swan with chawduen.<sup>6</sup> Capon of grece. Herunsew.<sup>7</sup> Poplar.<sup>8</sup> Custard ryalle.<sup>9</sup> Graunt fflaupant<sup>10</sup> departid.<sup>11</sup> Lesshe damask.<sup>12</sup> Frutour lumbert.<sup>13</sup> A sutteltee.

*Secundus Cursus.*

Viant in brase. Crane in sawse.<sup>14</sup> Yong pocok.<sup>15</sup> Cony.<sup>16</sup> Pyions.<sup>17</sup> Buttor.<sup>18</sup> Curlew. Carcelle.<sup>19</sup> Partriche. Venysoun bake. Fried mete in past.<sup>20</sup> Lesshe lumbert. A frutour. A sutteltee.

*Tertius Cursus.*

Gely<sup>21</sup> ryalle departid. Haunche of venysoun rostid. Wodecok.<sup>22</sup> Plover. Knottis.<sup>23</sup> Hyntis.<sup>24</sup> Quaylis. Larkys. Quynces bake. Viant in past. A frutour. Lesshe. A sutteltee.

Thys was the service at the coman . . . of maister Nevell the sone of the erle of Sarisbury, which commenced at Oxenford the . . . daye of Oct. . . the yere of our Lord MCCCCLIJ, and the yere of Kyng vj<sup>th</sup> xxxj<sup>th</sup>.

MS. Cotton, Tit. B. xi, fol. 21 v.

1, devises made of sugar and paste. 2, boar's head. 3, a large piece of meat. 4, hulled wheat boiled in milk and seasoned with cinnamon, sugar, etc. 5, ragout. 6, a kind of forced meat. 7, heron soup. 8, a pottage with a peculiar kind of herbs. 9, royal. 10, pancake. 11, distributed. 12, perfumed. 13, high-seasoned meat-pie. 14, sauce. 15, peacock. 16, rabbit. 17, seeds of the piony. 18, butter. 19, sanderling. 20, paste (pie). 21, jelly. 22, woodcock. 23, small birds. 24, sea-larks.

## OLD ENGLISH GASTRONOMY.

Ther was a marchaunt of Ynglond whyche awenturyd<sup>1</sup> unto ferre cuntre. When he had byn a monyth<sup>2</sup> or more, there dwellyd a grete lorde of that contre whyche badd this Englysse marchaunte to dener. And when they were at dyner, the lord bad hym prophesyat, or myche goode do hyt hym, and he sayd he merravlyd<sup>3</sup> that he ete no better hys mete. And he sayd that Englysshemen ar callyd the grettyste fedours<sup>4</sup> in the worlde, and one man wolde ete more then vj of anoder nacyoun, and more vetelles<sup>5</sup> spend then in ony regioun. And then the Englysshe marchaunte anssweryd and sayd to the lorde that hyt was so, and for iij reasonable cawsys<sup>6</sup> that they were servyd with grete plenty of veteyll; one was for love, anoder for phesyke, and the thyrde for drede.<sup>7</sup> Sir, as towchyn<sup>8</sup> for love, we use to have mony<sup>9</sup> dyvers metys for owr frendes and kynnesfolke, some lovythe one maner of mete and some anoder, because every man shulde be contente. The second cawse ys for phesyke, for dyvers maladyes that men have, some wyll ete one mete and some anoder, because every man shold be pleasyd. The thyrde cawse is for drede; we have so grete abowndance and plente in ower realme, yf that we shulde not kyll and dystroye them, they wolde dystroy and devoure us, bothe beste<sup>10</sup> and fowles.

MS. Harl., 2252.

1, adventured. 2, month. 3, marveled. 4, feeders. 5, provisions. 6, causes. 7, dread. 8, touching. 9, many. 10, beasts.

## MISCELLANEA.

The following miscellaneous scraps, all written about the middle of the fifteenth century, may give us, from their familiar nature, some idea of the spoken language of that time:

## RULES FOR PRACTICAL LIFE.

Arise erly,  
 Serve God devowtely,  
 And the worlde besely,<sup>1</sup>  
 Doo thy work wysely,  
 Yeve<sup>2</sup> thyn almes secretely,  
 Goo by the waye sadly,  
 Answer the people demeurly,<sup>3</sup>  
 Goo to thy mete<sup>4</sup> apetitely,  
 Sit therat discretely,  
 Of thy tunge be not to liberally,  
 Arise therfrom temperally,  
 Goo to thy supper soberly,

And to thy bed merely,<sup>5</sup>  
And slepe suerly.<sup>6</sup>

MS. Lansdowne, No. 762.

1, busily. 2, give. 3, demurely. 4, dinner. 5, merrily. 6, surely.

THE EVILS OF LENDING.

I wolde lene<sup>1</sup> but I ne<sup>2</sup> dare,  
I have lant<sup>3</sup> I will bewarre,  
When y lant y had a frynd,  
When y hym asked he was unkynd :  
Thus of my frynd y made my foo,  
Therefore darre I lene no moo.<sup>4</sup>  
I pray ys of your gentilnesse  
Report for no unkyndnesse.

MS. Harl., 941.

1, lend. 2, not. 3, lent. 4, more.

PROVERBS.

Whersoever thou traveleste, este, weste, northe or southe,  
Learne never to loke a geven horsse in the mouthe.

MS. Harl., No. 4294.

Wyssdome dothe warne the in many a place,  
To truste no suche flatteres as gill jere in thy face.

MS. Harl., No. 4298.

He that spendes myche<sup>1</sup> and getythe<sup>2</sup> nowghte,<sup>3</sup>  
And owith myche and hathe nowghte,  
And lokys<sup>4</sup> in hys purse and fynde nowghte,  
He may be sary,<sup>5</sup> thowe<sup>6</sup> he seythe nowghte.

MS. Harl., 2252.

Two wymen in one howse,  
Two cattes and one mowse,  
Two dogges and one bone,  
Maye never accorde in one.

1, much. 2, gets. 3, nothing. 4, looks. 5, sorry. 6, though.

EARLY RECEIPT FOR MAKING GUNPOWDER.

*To make Gode Gonepoudre.*

Take the poudre of ij unces of salpetre and half an unce of brymston, and half an unce of lyndecole,<sup>1</sup> and temper togidur<sup>2</sup> in a mortar with rede<sup>3</sup> vynegre,<sup>4</sup> and make it thyk<sup>5</sup> as past<sup>6</sup> til the tyme that ye se<sup>7</sup> neyther salpetre ne<sup>8</sup> brymston, and drye it en<sup>9</sup>

the ffyre in an erthe pan with soft ffyre, and when it is wele dried grynde it in a morter til it be smalle poudre, and than sarse it throuw<sup>10</sup> a sarse,<sup>11</sup> etc.

MS. Art. Soc. lib., 101.

1, charcoal made of the wood of the linden tree. 2, together. 3, red. 4, vinegar. 5, thick. 6, paste. 7, see. 8, nor. 9, on. 10, through. 11, sieve.

RECEIPTS FOR COPYISTS AND SCRIBES.

*To make Texte Ynke.*

Take ij unces of grene vitriole, and cast hym together yn a quarte of standyng rayne water, and lett yt rest iiij days, and than take iij unces of gome,<sup>1</sup> and put therto, and lett yt stond iij dayes togedur and rest, and thou hast gode ynke for texte lettre and for almaner bokys.<sup>2</sup> (Ibid.)

*For to Wryte Golde.*

Take grey pomys, grynde yt smalle, temper yt with gleyre<sup>3</sup> as rede ynke, and wryte therwith; and gwhan<sup>4</sup> yt ys drye, rub theron gold or sylver, and as the metal ys so yt wylle be sene,<sup>5</sup> and than borne<sup>6</sup> yt with the tosch<sup>7</sup> of a kalf.

MS. Cambr. Pub. Lib., I, 73.

*To done away what is Y-wreten<sup>8</sup> in Velyn or Parchement with-owte any Pomyce.*

Take the juyst<sup>9</sup> of rewe<sup>10</sup> and of nettyl,<sup>11</sup> in Marche, in Auerel, or in May, and medyl<sup>12</sup> hit<sup>13</sup> with chese, mylke of a kow, or of shepe, put therto unqueynt<sup>14</sup> lym, medle hem wele togedur, and make therof a lofe,<sup>15</sup> and dry hit at the sonne, and make therof powdur. When thou wolt do away the lettre, wete a pensel with spotil<sup>16</sup> or with watur, and moist therwith the lettres that thou wolt do away, and then cast the powdur therupon, and with thi nail thou maist done away the lettres, that hit schal nothyng been a-sene,<sup>17</sup> withowte any apeyrement.<sup>18</sup>

MS. Sloane, 1313.

1, gum. 2, all kinds of books. 3, any slimy matter like the glair of an egg. 4, when. 5, seen. 6, burnish. 7, tooth. 8, written. 9, juice. 10, rue. 11, nettles. 12, mix. 13, it. 14, unquenched (quick). 15, loaf. 16, spittle, saliva. 17, seen. 18, injury.

RECEIPT FOR TO MAKE A WOMAN'S NEKE WHITE AND SOFTE.

Tak fresch swynes gres<sup>1</sup> molten, and hennes gres and the white of egges half rosted, and do thereto a lytel<sup>2</sup> popyl<sup>3</sup> mele,<sup>4</sup> enoynt hir therwith ofte.—*Reliquia Antiqua*, p. 53.

1, grease. 2, little. 3, poppy. 4, meal, flour.

RECEIPT FOR HYM THAT HAVES THE SQUYNANSY.<sup>1</sup>

Tak a fatte katte, and fla<sup>2</sup> hit wele,<sup>3</sup> and clene,<sup>4</sup> and draw oute the guttes, and tak the gres of an urcheon,<sup>5</sup> and the fatte of a bare, and resynes and sauge, and gumme of wodebynde, and virgyn wax; al this mye<sup>6</sup> smal, and farse<sup>7</sup> the cattē within als thu farses a gos,<sup>8</sup> rost hit hale,<sup>9</sup> and geder<sup>10</sup> the gres and enoynt hym tharwith.—*Idem.*, p. 54.

1, quinsy sore throat. 2, flay. 3, neat. 4, clean. 5, hedge-hog. 6, pound. 7, stuff. 8, goose. 9, whole. 10, gather.

## NOTES OF OWNERSHIP.

It was a common custom in the early times for owners of books to write in them metrical notes of their right of ownership. The following was written on a book of Maister Johan Shirley:

Yee that desyre in herte and have plesaunce  
 Olde stories in bokis<sup>1</sup> for to rede,  
 Gode matiers<sup>2</sup> putt hem in remembraunce,  
 And of the other take yee none hede;  
 Byseching yowe<sup>3</sup> of your godely<sup>4</sup> hede,  
 Whane<sup>5</sup> yee thys boke have over-redde and seyne,<sup>6</sup>  
 To Johan Sherley restore yee it ageine.<sup>7</sup>

MS. Ashm., 59.

1, books. 2, matters. 3, you. 4, kind. 5, when. 6, seen. 7, again.

## ANOTHER, WRITTEN BY THE COUNTESS OF WORCESTER, ABOUT THE YEAR 1440.

And I yt los, and yow yt fynd,  
 I pray yow hartely to be so kynd,  
 That yow wil take a letel payne,  
 To se my boke brothe home agayne.

MS. Harl., 1251.

## PRINTING IN ENGLAND.—CAXTON.

The art of printing had been practised nearly thirty years in Holland and Germany before it was introduced into England—with so tardy a pace did knowledge travel to and fro over the earth in those days, or so unfavorable was the state of the country for the reception of even the greatest improvements in the arts. At length a citizen of London secured a conspicuous place for his name forever in the annals of English literature, by being, so far as is known, the first of his countrymen that learned the new art, and certainly the first who either practised it in England, or in printing an English book. William Caxton was born, as he tells us himself, in the Weald of Kent, it is supposed, about the year 1412. In 1441 he was appointed by the Mercers' Company to be their agent in Holland, Zealand, Brabant, etc., and in this employment he spent twenty-three years, after which he passed into the service of the King's sister, Margaret of

York, who married Charles, Duke of Burgundy. His expertness in penmanship, his knowledge of different languages, and his intercourse with men of learning on the Continent, would naturally render him very serviceable to an enlightened princess, at a time when the newly-invented art of printing was just beginning to give an extraordinary impulse to the cultivation of literature among persons in the higher ranks of society. And as his opportunities must have led him to watch with interest the progress of typography abroad, it is not surprising that the duchess should encourage him in his efforts to introduce into his own country an art which was going to mark a new era in the history of the world. She employed him in translating from the French Raoul le Fèvre's *Recueil des Histoires de Troye*, a task which he commenced in 1468, and finished in 1471. The original was the first book ever printed in England, and his translation of it was the third. He modestly apologizes for the imperfections of his translation by saying that he had never been in France, and that he had resided out of England for nearly thirty years; and in fact his orthography betrays a long residence in Holland. The usual supposition has been that he brought the art of printing into England in 1474. From a very curious placard, a copy of which in Caxton's largest type is now at Oxford, we learn that he exercised his business at Westminster in the Almonry. It is as follows:

If it plesse any man spirituel or temporel to bye any Pyes of two or thre comemoracyons of Salisburi enprynted after the forme of this present lettre whiche ben wel and trewly correct, late hym come to Westmonaster in to the Almonesrye at the reed pale and he shal have them good chepe.

The following extract from his preface to a translation of Vergil's *Æneid* is important in the history of the English language, for its mentioning the great diversity of dialects existing at that time, and changing from one generation to another. It moreover shows the continual tendency of the age to introduce foreign words and expressions, and also implies that the old English had fallen entirely into disuse toward the latter part of the fifteenth century:

I toke an olde boke and redde thereyn, and certainly the Englysshe was so rude and brood, that I coude not wele understonde it. . . . Our langage now vsed varyeth ferre from that whiche was vsed and spoken when I was borne. For we Englysshe men ben borne under the domynacyon of the mone, whiche is neuer stedfaste, but ever wauerynge, wexynge one season, and waneth and dyceased another season; and that comyne Englysshe that is spoken in one shyre varyeth from another, inso-muche, that in myne dayes happened, that certayn marchauntes were in a shippe in Tamyse, for to have sayled ouer the see into Zelande, and for lacke of wynde thei taryed atte Forlond, and wente to londe for to refresshe them; and one of theym, named Sheffelde, a mercer, came into a hows, and axed for mete and specyally he axyd for eggys, and the goode wyf answerde, that she coude speke no Frensshe. And the marchaunt was angry, for he also coude speke no Frensshe, but wolde haue hadde eggys, and she vnderstode hym not. And thenne at laste another sayd, that he wolde haue eyren; and the goode wyf sayd that she understode hym wele. Loo what sholde a man in thysse dayes now wryte, eggys or eyren? Certainly it is harde to playse euery man by cause of dyuersyte and change of langage; for in thysse dayes



euery man that is in ony reputacyon in his countre, wil utter hys comynycacyon and maters in suche maners & termes, that fewe men shal vnderstonde theym, and som honest and grete clerkes haue been wyth me, and desyred me to wryte the moste curyous termes that I coude fynde. And thus between playne, rude, and curyous, I stand abashed. But in my iudgemente the comyn termes that ben dayli vsed ben lyghter to be vnderstonde than the olde and auntyent Englysshe.

We here close the list of specimens of Early English, which represents the language of all classes of people in England—poets, chroniclers, divines, preachers, citizens, noblemen, etc., from the time of the conquest to the end of the fifteenth century. These have been presented to the reader in a chronological succession, so as to enable him to follow the progress of the language, and the gradual changes which most contributed to produce it. In their selection care has been taken not to omit such pieces as from their familiar nature better represent the colloquial language, and which to the philologer are often of more importance than the elegant phrases of learned authors. In fact, it can not have escaped attention that in the former the language is generally more intelligible, and seems almost more advanced than in the latter; but it must not be forgotten that in all tongues the principal and most needed terms and expressions have been made by the people at large in the daily course and business of life, long before literature began. It is language that shapes literature, rather than literature language. The busy world creates the phrases which the student uses. Writers may prune and polish them, and sometimes multiply; but they never improve language in its stages of formation as the active talking public, ever thinking and discoursing, though rarely composing.

## APPENDIX.

ALPHABETICAL

## FRENCH SOURCES OF MODERN ENGLISH.

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"It is owing to the coming of William," says Dr. Freeman, in his *History of the Norman Conquest*, "that we can not trace the history of our native speech, that we can not raise our wail for its corruption without borrowing largely from the store of foreign words which, but for his coming, would never have crossed the sea. So strong a hold have the intruders taken on our soil that we can not tell the tale of their coming without their help."

This language is strong, but true nevertheless; and though there is hardly occasion, it would seem, to dwell so despondingly on the corruption of an idiom from which English literature has derived but little if any value, and which, after its so-called "corruption," has given to the world a Chaucer, a Spencer, a Shakespeare, a Milton—"each in his own field as great as the mightiest that ever wielded a pen," it is not the less certain that the changes which transformed the original speech of England into modern English are greatly due to the influence named, "which began," as Dr. Freeman further observes, "in the eleventh century, and has never been stopped."

If, then, we would account for the real nature of this influence, something more is necessary than a mere acquaintance with modern French, which, much as it may assist the student in apprehending the original meaning of many English words, can do so only to a limited extent, unless he be acquainted also with the sources from which such words have been derived. In this respect etymological dictionaries, even when correct, are of little or no avail. Nothing, indeed, is gained by learning that

certain English words are derived from either French or Latin ; nor is the distinction itself of any value to the student, unless he knows both idioms, and by a previous acquaintance with the causes and circumstances of their transformation, and a correct knowledge of the rules which govern the change of forms which words assume in passing from one language into another, he has acquired the habit of generalizing so as to recognize at a glance the inherent meaning of each word in the foreign text, independently of the many transformations through which it may have gone, and by which its original stamp is often much disguised. The number of French words that once were Latin and have found their way into the English vocabulary being quite extensive, a clear understanding of this important part of the national language may require some special assistance, which the student who has gone thus far through this volume will undoubtedly be pleased to find in the following brief chapters on the origin and formation of the French language.

## CHAPTER I.

### HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE.

As far back as evidence can be traced we find the soil of France occupied by two distinct races—the Gauls, by far the most numerous and occupying almost the entire country, and the Iberians who, under the name of Aquitanians, inhabited the southwestern parts comprised between the Garonne and the Pyrenees. At a later, though also very remote, epoch, other Iberians, called Ligurians, coming from Spain, invaded Gaul, and spread along the Mediterranean. Later still, about six hundred years before our era, some Greek colonies, in order to escape the Persian yoke, left their country, and settled among these very Ligurians in the southeast of Gaul, where, near the mouths of the Rhone, they founded the city of *Mas-silia*, now called Marseilles.

All we know of the Gauls and their early history is through their enemies the Romans, by whom they are described as a wandering people and of constant annoyance to them, either attacking them with overwhelming forces, as in the case of Brennus, or uniting with hostile neighbors, as the Etruscans and Samnites. Later on they were found in almost every war against the Romans. Hannibal made them his allies, and in the battles of Cannes and Trasimene they formed a large part of his army. About 283 B. C. a body of Gauls under Brennus settled in Asia Minor, where they became known as the *Galatians*, to whose very descendants the Apostle Paul addressed his Epistle. Wherever they went, we find them always described as keeping exclusively to their own manners and their own language.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Galatas, excepto sermone græco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem pene habere quam Treviros; nec referre, si aliqua exinde corruerint, cum et Afri phœniciam linguam nonnulla ex parte maturint, et ipsa latinitas et regionibus quotidie mutetur et tempore.—Saint Jerome, *Comon. Epist. ad Galatas*, lib. ii, *Proœm.* There are many Celtic names in Galatia and the neighboring parts of Bithynia and Magnesia; such as the rivers *Æsius*, *Æsyros*, and *Æson*, which apparently contain the root *es*, water. *Abr-os-tola*

When Cæsar entered Gaul he found there three races, different in speech, manners, and laws—the *Aquitanians* still occupying the land between the Garonne and the Pyrenees; the *Belgians* between the Rhine, the Seine, and the Marne; and the *Celts*, whose country extended from the frontiers of Belgium to those of Aquitania,<sup>1</sup> with the exception of certain parts between the Seine and Loire on the Atlantic coast, where the Belgians prevailed, and which bore the name of *Armorica*.<sup>2</sup> This classification of the various tribes originally inhabiting the country now called France does not include an old Roman settlement around Narbonne (Narbo Martius) nor the Greek colonies aforementioned, nor some German tribes that of late had commenced to cross the Rhine and to settle on the left bank of that river.

Each of these peoples had its own peculiar speech, with this difference, that while the language of the Aquitanians bore a close resemblance to that of the Spanish Iberians, and none whatsoever to that of the Gauls and the Belgians, the idioms of the latter two differed but little, and might be considered as dialects of the same language.<sup>3</sup> This language is generally known as the *Celtic*.

seems to contain the root *aber* as well. *Vindia*, *Cinna*, and *Briantia* call to mind the roots *gwent*, *cenn*, and *bryn*. *Armorium* reminds us of *Armorica*. *Olenus*, in Galatia, reminds us of *Olenæum* in Britain, and *Olin* in Gaul. *Agannia* reminds us of *Agennum* in Gaul. An Episcopus *Taviensis* came from *Galatia* to attend the Nicene Council. We have also the apparently Celtic names *Acitorizacum*, *Ambrenna*, *Eccobriga*, *Landrosia*, *Roslogiacum*, and the river *Siberis*.—Diefenbach, *Celtica*, ii, part i, pp. 256, 313; Thierry, *Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. i, pp. 145, seq.; De Belloguet, *Ethnogenie*, vol. i, p. 249.

<sup>1</sup> Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt *Belgæ*, aliam *Aquitani*, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua *Celtæ*, nostra *Galli* appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. *Gallos* ab *Aquitanis* *Garumna* flumen, a *Belgis* *Matrona* et *Sequana* dividit.—Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, lib. i.

Οἱ μὲν δὲ, τριχῆ διήρουν, Ἀκουῦτανούς καὶ Βέλγας καλοῦντες καὶ Κέλτας.—Strabo, iv.

Celtarum quæ pars Galliæ tertia est.—Livy, V, c. xxxiv.

Temporibus priscis cum laterent hæ partes ut barbaræ, tripartitæ fuisse creduntur; in *Celtas* eosdem *Gallos* divisæ, et *Aquitanos* et *Belgas*.—Amman. Marcellin. XV, c. xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> Μετὰ δὲ τὰ λεχθέντα ἔθνη, τὰ λοιπὰ Βελγῶν ἐστὶν ἔθνη, τῶν παρωκεανῶν· οὐδένοι μὲν εἰσὶν οἱ ναυμαχῆσαντες πρὸς Καίσαρα.—Strabo, iv.

In this passage of Strabo, Παρωκεανῆτες seems to be the translation of the Celtic *Armorik*, an adjective formed of *ar*, "on, by, or at," and *mor*, "sea," from which we have the name of *Armorica*, in French *Armorique*.

<sup>3</sup> Τοὺς μὲν Ἀκουῦτανούς, τελέως ἑλλησμενούς οὐ τῆς γλώττης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἐμφερεῖς Ἴβηρσι μᾶλλον ἢ Γαλάταις.—Ἀπλῶς γὰρ εἶπεῖν, οἱ Ἀκουῦταοὶ διαφέρουσι τοῦ γαλατικοῦ φύλου, κατὰ τε τὰς τῶν σωμάτων κατασκευὰς, καὶ κατὰ τὴν γλώτταν· εὐκασί δὲ μᾶλλον Ἴβηρσιν.—Τοὺς δὲ λοιπούς, γαλατικὴν μὲν τὴν ὄψιν, διογλώττους δ' οὐ πάντας, ἀλλ' ἐνλοῦς μικρὸν παραλλάττοντας ταῖς γλώτταις.—Strabo, iv.

As the Gauls far outnumbered the other tribes, the country at large was usually called Gaul, and always so referred to by Roman writers. The people are described as men tall and fair, fond of dress and ornament, quick-witted, eager for excitement and display, whose ambition it was to fight well and to speak well. Strabo acknowledges their advanced condition in civilization, and, according to Cæsar, they differed but little from the Romans in their general mode of life. The colony at Marseilles, though Greek in language, was almost entirely Romanized in manners and customs, owing to its long and steady intercourse with Rome, many of whose merchants resided among them. It was even the close relations thus established which contained the germ of all the woes that subsequently befell the entire Gallic nation.

The success and wealth of the Greek colony of Marseilles, exciting the envy of the neighboring Ligurians, often led to disturbances, which finally culminated in open war. Given to business and to the arts of peace exclusively, and unable to cope with their warlike neighbors, the former felt constrained to call in the aid of their ancient allies, the Romans. The latter eagerly seized the opportunity, and took possession of the entire southeastern part of Gaul, to which they gave the name of Transalpine Roman Province (154 B. C.). One century later, Julius Cæsar, being sent to this province to govern it as proconsul, took advantage of some pretext to attack the Gauls that were still independent, after which he undertook the conquest of the whole land. The Gauls resisted heroically, but had to yield at last to superior skill and discipline. Cæsar broke their spirit by the most cruel measures; at Bourges he massacred ten thousand women and children; at Uxellodunum he cut off his prisoners' heads; at Vannes he slew the chiefs of a tribe, and sold the rest at auction. After ten years of this work Gaul was subdued and placed under Roman rule. Then the ambitious Cæsar, having become the rival of Pompey, felt the necessity of making friends and partisans of those very enemies, on whom his bravery and skill had brought so many disasters. In order to succeed he spared neither favors nor promises, admitted natives to the senate,<sup>1</sup> and established schools in various parts of the country.

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<sup>1</sup> Gallos Cæsar in triumphum ducit; idem in curiam.

Galli braccas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumpserunt.

Suetonius, *Jul. Cæs.*, c. lxxx, 3.



After Cæsar's death, the Emperor Augustus made a new division of Gaul, and gave it an organization entirely Roman. From that time forward the Latin language spread rapidly throughout all Gaul by the administration, the courts of justice, the laws, the political, civil, and military institutions, religion, commerce, literature, the theatre, the circus, public sports and games, and all the other means which Rome knew so well how to use in order to impose her language upon other nations as she imposed on them the yoke of her dominion.<sup>1</sup> All resistance was crushed by extermination or deportation, and the vacuum filled up with colonists and freedmen from Rome. By this method conquerors and conquered were in a few years welded into one mass. Thus, in less than a century after the conquest, Latin was spoken in many parts of Gaul outside the Transalpine Roman Province, where, long before Cæsar's time, the Latin language had already become current. Plotius and Gniphon, two Latin scholars, whom history mentions as having opened in Rome a school of rhetoric and grammar, eighty-seven years before Christ, were Gauls; many Roman families resided in Gaul along the banks of the Rhone, and Cicero informs us that even in his time the country was full of Roman merchants, and that hardly any business was transacted there without some Roman having a hand in it.<sup>2</sup> But what contributed more than any thing to the spread of Latin throughout the land was the necessity for its inhabitants to apply to Roman magistrates for obtaining justice, as all cases were pleaded in Latin, and prætors were expressly forbidden to issue decrees in any language but Latin.<sup>3</sup>

Claudius, the successor of Augustus, who was born at

<sup>1</sup> Imperiosa nimirum civitas (*Roma*) non solum jugum, verum etiam linguam suam domitis gentibus imponere voluit.—Saint Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XIX, c. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Referta Gallia negotiatorum est, plena civium Romanorum; nemo Gallorum, sine cive Romano, quidquam negotii gerit.—Cic., *Orat pro Fonteio*, I. For a more detailed account, see Herbermann's *Business Life in Ancient Rome*.

<sup>3</sup> Decreta a pretoribus latine interponi debent.—*L. Decreta*, D., lib. xlii, tit. i, *De re judicata*.

Magistratus vero prisci quantopere suam populique Romani majestatem retinentes se gesserint, hinc cognosci potest, quod, inter cætera obtinendæ gravitatis indicia, illud quoque magna cum perseverantia custodiebant, ne Græcis unquam nisi latine responsa darent. Quin etiam ipsa linguæ volubilitate, qua plurimum valet, excussa, per interpretem loqui cogebant; non in urbe tantum nostra, sed etiam in Græcia et Asia; quo scilicet latinæ voces honos per omnes gentes venerabilior diffunderetur.—Valerius Maximus, lib. ii, c. 2.

Lyons among the Gauls, always liked the province where he had passed his childhood, and it was he who granted to all the Gallic towns the Right of City, which opened the road for every citizen to the highest offices and dignities of the empire. Thus ambition, interest, daily relations with the Roman administration, everything in short that could Romanize the people, induced the Gauls to make themselves familiar with the Latin language, especially under such a protector as Claudius, who did not admit that one could be a Roman citizen without knowing the Roman language;<sup>1</sup> and so strictly did he carry out these views that a distinguished magistrate, a Greek by birth, having presented himself before him, and not being able to express himself correctly in Latin, was by his order not only struck off the roll of magistrates, but also deprived of his right of citizenship.<sup>2</sup> Under such influences the Latin language made most rapid progress throughout the whole country, so much so that, only a few years after the death of Claudius, Martial writes that at Vienne even the women and children read his verses;<sup>3</sup> and Pliny boasted that his works were known throughout all Gaul.<sup>4</sup> Even in Strabo's time, the Gauls, he says, could no longer be looked upon as barbarians, inasmuch as most had adopted the language and the mode of living of the Romans.<sup>5</sup> When Caracalla had given the right of citizenship to all the inhabitants of the provinces (212 A. D.), the laws of Rome became the common law of almost all Gaul; the majority of the inhabitants took Roman names, assumed the toga, and delighted in calling their country Roman Gaul or *Romania*; numerous marriages drew closer the individuals of the two nations; Roman manners prevailed everywhere, and the larger cities had their public baths, their circuses, their amphitheatres, and gladiatorial shows. In less than two centuries, schools of rhetoric and grammar had sprung up almost everywhere

<sup>1</sup> Μὴ δέῃ Ῥωμαίων εἶναι τὸν μὴ καὶ τὴν διάλεξιν σφῶν ἐπιστάμενον.—Dion Cassius, LX, xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Splendidum virum, Græciæque provinciæ principem, verum latini sermonis ignarum, non modo albo judicum erasit, sed etiam in peregrinitatem redegit.—Suetonius, *Claud.*, c. xvi, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Me legit ibi senior, juvenisque, puerque,

Et coram tetrico casta puella viro.—Martial, VII, *Epig.* 87.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *Ep.*, ix, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Οὐδὲ βαρβάρους ἐτι ὄντας, ἀλλὰ μετακειμένους τὸ πλεον εἰς τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶπον, καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ, καὶ τοῖς βίοις.—Strab., IV. The word barbarian was applied by the Egyptians, and afterward by the Greeks and Romans, to all who did not speak their language.

in Gaul, and those of Autun, Lyons, Trèves, Reims, Besançon, Poitiers, Narbonne, Marseilles, and Toulouse became renowned throughout the land. Henceforth the Gauls cultivated Latin literature with an ardor and activity at that time unequalled in any portion of the Western Empire. They were particularly distinguished by an unbounded enthusiasm for the disputes of the forum. Juvenal called Gaul "the nurse for lawyers,"<sup>1</sup> and such was the high character of the Gallic academies, that at one time the emperors, either from policy or from preference, sent their sons there for education. Thus Crispus, a son of Constantine, and Gratianus, made their studies at Trèves; Dalmatius and Annibalianus, grandsons of Constantius Chlorus, followed a course of eloquence at Toulouse. In all the cities of Roman Gaul the education of youth was entrusted to masters of grammar and rhetoric, who were elected by the magistrates, maintained at the public expense, and distinguished by many lucrative and honorable privileges.<sup>2</sup> There are still extant many imperial edicts relating to these public seminaries, in which privileges are conferred upon the teachers, and regulations laid down as to the manner in which they were to be appointed, the salaries they were to receive, and the branches of learning they were to teach. They were held in high respect, and enjoyed many of the immunities and privileges afterward conferred on the clergy. Several of the Gallic professors, not satisfied with their high renown as teachers, aimed at the still higher distinction of Latin authors, and quite a number among them, such as Petronius, Lactantius, Ausonius, Sidonius Apollinaris, Cornelius Gallus, Trogus-Pompeius, and Sulpicius Severus attained a well-deserved celebrity.<sup>3</sup>

But while Latin had made such wonderful progress among the upper classes in the large cities and the main centers of civilization, it was not so with the working-

<sup>1</sup> Nutricula causicorum.—Juvenal, *Sat.*, vii, 147.

<sup>2</sup> To this Juvenal (xv. 110) refers in the following lines:

Nunc totus Graias, nostrasque habet orbis Athenas,  
Gallia causicos docuit facunda Britannos,  
De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule.

<sup>3</sup> Claudianus could not find anything more flattering for the Emperor Honorius than calling him, attended upon by the learned men of Gaul and the Roman Senate—

. . . . . "Te Gallia doctis  
Civibus, et toto stipavit Roma Senatu.  
Claud., *de IV, Consulatu Honorii August. Panegyris*, vers. 582.

classes, and especially not with the country people, who at first had not the same inducements to learn the language, nor the same facilities for its acquisition. Not having the advantage of teachers or schools, they only gradually, generation after generation, gained what they could, partly from contact with the Roman legions, by the natural affinity which always draws the people to the soldiers, partly from necessity in their daily dealings with Roman tradesmen and shop-keepers. In remote districts it was learned second-hand from other Celts, returned from the service perhaps, or settling in their native village after having made some money among Latin-speaking people, where they had learned enough of the language to affect a superiority, or to make themselves useful as interpreters among their less favored friends and relatives. One may easily imagine the thousand various ways in which the overwhelming influence of Roman civilization caused the diffusion of its language among the Celtic population.

In the same manner as honey varies in color and flavor, according to the nature of the flowers from which it is collected and the breed of the bees that elaborated it, so the Latin spoken in Gaul approached more or less to the common Latin of Italy according to the location, dialect, and degree of instruction of the people who used it. Even in those centers where the educated prided themselves on their correct use of the Roman language, the people clung for a long time to their ancient Celtic vernacular. In the latter part of the second century Saint Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, was still obliged to speak the Celtic language in order to be understood by the people among whom he preached the Gospel.<sup>1</sup> In the third century a Druidess, wishing to address some prophetic words to Alexander Severus, did so in Celtic, probably knowing no other language.<sup>2</sup> It was only in the course of the fourth century that Latin began to be of general use, badly pronounced, of course,<sup>3</sup> and considerably mixed with Celtic, which for

<sup>1</sup> Orationis artem non exquires à nobis qui apud Celtas commoramur, et in barbarum sermonem plerumque avocamur.—Saint Irenæus, *Præm. libri adversus hæres.*

<sup>2</sup> Mulier druidas eunti (*Alexandro Severo*) exclamavit gallico sermone: "Vadas, nec victoriam speres, nec militi tuo credas."—Ælius Lampridis, *Collect. script. lat. veter.*, ii, p. 354.

<sup>3</sup> Claudianus said in the fourth century: "Video enim os romanum non modo negligentiae sed pudori esse Romanis, grammaticam uti quendam barbaram barbarismi et solœcismi pugno et calce propelli."—*Miscellanea*, iii, p. 27.

a long time after remained the home speech of the poor and the lowly, especially in the mountainous districts, and such as were remote from the main centers of the population and from the principal ways of communication that were opened by the Romans. Thus we find in the fifth century the Celtic language still lingering on the mountains of Auvergne, as appears from a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont, who congratulates Ecdice that, thanks to his efforts, the nobility of that district had got rid at last of their coarse Celtic speech;<sup>1</sup> Saint Jerome informs us that some of the language he heard in Trèves differed but little from that of the Gauls in Galatia; and Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers, wishing to compliment Bertechram on the excellence of his Latin poetry, predicts that his verses would some day become popular even among the lower classes;<sup>2</sup> from all of which we may infer that a good deal of Celtic was still current among the people at that advanced period. Still, in the course of that century the Celtic idiom as a vernacular gradually died out, except in Brittany, the ancient Armorica, where it is spoken at the present day.

What most powerfully contributed to spread the Latin language among the masses was the establishment of Christianity throughout Gaul. The church had adopted it as the leading literary language in the West, where it became the natural exponent of the new faith, and the most efficacious means to secure its propagation. Thus Christian Rome completed, by the diffusion of its doctrines, what pagan Rome had commenced by its laws, its institutions, and the powerful influence of its literature and its civilization.

It would be difficult to assign the exact time when Latin had entirely displaced the original Celtic, though it is generally assumed that by the end of the fifth century the change was accomplished. Few there were who could not say something in Latin, partly from pride and vanity, which always leads the people to imitate those whom they consider their betters; but more generally from necessity, in their endeavors to obtain employment from the nobles and the rich, who regarded the Celtic

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<sup>1</sup> Quod sermonis celtici squamam depositura nobilitas, nunc oratorio stylo, nunc etiam camænalibus modis imbuebatur.—Sid. Apollin., lib. iii, *Epist.* 3.

<sup>2</sup> Per loca, per populos, per compita cuncta videres

Currere versiculos, plebe favente, tuos.

Venant. Fortunati *opera*, p. 89.

idiom with disdain, and knew no other language than that which became a Roman citizen.

This universality of the Latin tongue, however, which caused so much pride to the Romans,<sup>1</sup> led that language directly to its ruin. When an idiom becomes the means of communication between so many diverse tribes, so many opposite races, it loses in perfection what it gains in extent. It does not penetrate the unintelligent masses, and still it suffers from their influence; it wears out in this perpetual friction, and does not polish what it touches. We may therefore suppose that, outside the more cultivated classes, the Latin, as spoken in Gaul, was much affected by the contact not only with the native language, but also with that of the colonists and Roman soldiers themselves, which was far from being refined, and, according to the authors of the period, who disdainfully called it *sermo plebeius, rusticus, militaris sermo, castrense verbo*, full of barbarisms. This popular Latin was unwritten, and we might have remained ignorant of its existence had not the Roman grammarians revealed it to us by exhorting their students to avoid, as low and trivial, certain expressions, which they told them were of vulgar use. Cassiodorus informs us that the feigned combats of gladiators and the exercise drill of the army were called *batalia*,<sup>2</sup> whereas *pugna* was the literary term; *pugna* has disappeared and *batalia* has survived in the French *bataille*. So, "to strike" is *verberare* in literary Latin, but the popular Latin said *batuere*, whence the French *battre*. The words *cheval, semaine, aider, doubler*, were in the classical Latin *equus, hebdomas, juvare, duplicare*; in the popular language, *caballus, septimana, adjutare, duplare*; a marked difference, which made the Popular Latin a language within a language, but not the less Latin. The Literary Latin of Gaul was undoubtedly as elegant and refined as that of Rome itself;<sup>3</sup> but there, as elsewhere, it

<sup>1</sup> It was not only in Gaul, but also in Spain, in Illiria, in the north of Africa, and more or less everywhere in all the Roman dependencies, that Latin became the prevalent language. Saint Augustine tells us that, preaching to the people of Hippone in Africa, on the site of Carthage, he was obliged to translate a Punic proverb into Latin: *Proverbium notum est punicum, quod quidem latine vobis dicam, quia punice non omnes nostis; punicum autem proverbium est antiquum: nummum quærit pestilentia, duos illi da, et ducat se.*—S. Aug., *sermon* 168, *De verbis apostol.*

<sup>2</sup> Quæ vulgo *batalia* dicuntur, exercitationes gladiatorum vel militum significant.—Cassiodorus, *Adamant.*, p. 2,300.

<sup>3</sup> Ut ubertatem gallici nitoremque sermonis gravitas romana condiret.—Saint Jerome, *epistola* XCV, *ad Rust.*

was confined to the use of the upper classes, the orators and poets, more select, but less numerous than the people, by whose language it was absorbed after the classical dialect had disappeared as a colloquial idiom.

The progress of the Popular Latin, henceforth the national language of Gaul, did not remain long undisturbed. Even before Cæsar's time, some German tribes, as we have seen, had commenced to find their way on Gallic soil, and, as during the following centuries they gradually increased in numbers and pretensions, it was deemed unsafe to allow this kind of immigration to go on without restriction. To protect Northern Gaul against invasion, the Romans garrisoned their frontiers with a chain of legions or military colonies, as was their custom. When, however, these veterans were no longer able to defend the sanctity of Roman territory, the Romans employed an expedient, which for a century or more kept the invaders at bay, or at least modified the nature of their encroachments. It was determined to let the barbarians settle in the north of Gaul, in order to attach them to the empire, and to use them as a new and durable barrier against all further invasions. These tribes went by the name of *Lati*—probably only the Latin way of pronouncing the German word *leute*—and formed armed colonies; they recognized the nominal sovereignty of the emperors, and enjoyed lands granted them under a kind of military tenure. At the same time the emperors hired some Franks, Burgundians, and Visigoths to fill up the blanks in their legions.

The first consequence was an ever-increasing introduction of Teutonic words into the common Latin. These, as may be supposed, are chiefly connected with warfare. Vegetius tells us that the Roman soldiers began to give the name of *burgus*<sup>1</sup> to a small fortified work. This is the old word *burg*, which has survived in French and all Teutonic idioms. Thus, nearly a century before Clovis, certain German terms had already found their way into the Gallo-Roman language; the mixed character of the new national idiom favored their admission, and many foreign words of Teutonic origin slipped in unperceived among those who had occasion for their use.

Meanwhile the Roman empire was sinking beneath the weight of its own grandeur; the want of moral ear-

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<sup>1</sup> Castellum parvum quod *burgum* vocant.—Vegetius, *De re militari*, iv, 60.

nestness, the extinction of the old families, the inequalities of wealth, the decrease of the numbers of free citizens, the corrupting effects of slavery, the dissoluteness of those who ought by their example to have ennobled the supreme power, the venality of the law courts, were gradually leading the empire to its dissolution; and the nations of the north, profiting by its weakness, burst the barriers upon all sides. The Gallo-Romans, abandoned by the emperors who, harassed in every quarter, ordered them "to defend themselves," were overcome, as in Britain, for want of military experience, and by the middle of the fifth century the Germanic league, whose members for two centuries had borne the name of Franks,<sup>1</sup> descending in several bands from the mouths of the Rhine and the Maas, had taken possession of all the northern part of Gaul. Two other nations of Teutonic race had already thoroughly invaded and fixed their abode in the provinces of the south, between the Loire and the two seas. The western Goths or Visigoths<sup>2</sup> occupied the country west of the Rhone; the Burgundians<sup>3</sup> that to the east. The establishment of the latter two barbarous nations had not taken place without violence and ravage; they had usurped a portion of the possessions of each native family; but the love of repose, when wealth was once acquired, and a certain spirit of justice, which distinguished them among all other German tribes, had speedily softened their manners; they contracted relationships with the conquered, whom their laws treated with impartiality, and they gradually came to be regarded by them as simply friends and

<sup>1</sup> It is a popular notion that the word *Frank* means "free, open, candid; a free man"; this is not, however, its original meaning, though in a secondary sense the word has borne these significations. In the Teutonic languages, *frank*, *frak*, *frék*, *fréch*, *vrek*, *vrang*, mean "bold, warlike, intrepid." Ethnical names, in addition to their primitive meaning, are often used as expressive of certain qualities, whether the use is complimentary or not. *Assassin*, *gascon*, *vandal*, *Goth*, are attributive words in French as well as English; the word "slave," *esclave*, has been derived from the low estate of the Slavonians. To designate civil liberty there was, in the language of France during the ninth and tenth centuries, no other word for it than that of *frankise* or *franchise*, a dialectic difference of pronunciation; and when we remember how the soldier-like fidelity, and the self-reliant courage of the Franks enabled them with ease to subjugate the civilized but effeminate inhabitants of northern Gaul, we can understand how the name of a rude German tribe has come to denote the *frank*, bold, open, manly character of a soldier and a freeman, and the word *franchise* to denote the possession of the full civil rights of the conquering race. (See page 76.)

<sup>2</sup> *West-Gothen*, in Latin *Visigothi*.

<sup>3</sup> *Burg-hunds*, dwellers in *burghs* or fortified towns; in Latin *Burgundiones*.



neighbors. The Goths, for the most part, adopted the Roman manners, which they found generally in use among the civilized inhabitants of Gaul; their laws were, in great measure, mere extracts from the imperial code; they prided themselves on a taste for the arts, and affected the polished elegance of Rome.<sup>1</sup> The Franks, on the contrary, filled the north of Gaul with terror and devastation; strangers to the manners and arts of the Roman cities and colonies, they ravaged them with indifference, and even with a sort of pleasure. They being pagans, no religious sympathy tempered their savage humor. Sparring neither sex nor age, destroying churches as readily as dwelling-houses, they gradually advanced toward the south, invading the whole extent of Gaul; while the Goths and Burgundians, impelled by a similar ambition, but with less barbarous manners, sometimes at peace with each other, but more often at war, tried to make progress in the opposite direction. In the weak condition of the central provinces, which still formed part, though only in name, of the Roman empire, with which they were utterly disgusted, and which, in the words of an ancient Gaulish poet, made them feel the weight of its shadow,<sup>2</sup> there was reason to suppose that the inhabitants of these provinces, incapable of resisting the conquering nations, who pressed upon them on three sides, would come to terms with the least ferocious; in a word, that the whole of Gaul would submit either to the Goths or to the Burgundians, Christians like themselves, to escape the grasp of the Franks; but fate had decided otherwise.

The portion of the Gaulic territory which in the latter part of the fifth century was occupied by the Franks extended from the Rhine to the Somme, and the tribe most advanced into the west and south, was that of the Merowings or children of Merowig,<sup>3</sup> so called from the name of one of their ancient chiefs, renowned for his bravery,

<sup>1</sup> Burgundiones . . . blande, mansuete, innocenterque vivunt, non quasi cum subjectis Gallis, sed vere cum fratribus Christianis.—Paulus Orosius, *apud Script. rer. gallic. et francic.*

<sup>2</sup> Portavimus umbram imperii.—Sidon. Apoll., *Carmina*.

<sup>3</sup> Merovicus . . . a quo Franci et prius *Merovinci* vocati sunt, propter utilitatem videlicet et prudentiam illius, in tantam venerationem apud Francos est habitus, ut quasi communis pater ab omnibus coleretur.—Roriconis *Gest. Franc. apud Scriptores*, etc., iii, 4. Primum regem traduntur habuisse Meroveum, ob cujus potentes facta et mirificos triumphos, intermisso Sicambrorum vocabulo, *Merovingi* dicti sunt.—Hariulfi *Chronicon Centulense*. In the Frankish language, *Merowings*; the termination *ing* indicating descent. (Compare pages 191, 192, and 304.)

and respected by the whole tribe as a common ancestor.

At the head of the children of Merowig was a young man named Hlodowig or Clovis, who combined with the warlike ardor of his predecessors a greater degree of reflection and skill. The bishops of that portion of Gaul which was still subject to the empire entered, probably as a matter of prudence and of precaution for the future, into relation with this formidable neighbor, sending him frequent messages, replete with flattering expressions. Many of his envoys even visited him in his camp, which in their Roman politeness they dignified with the name of *Aula Regia*, or royal court. The king of the Franks was at first very insensible to their adulation, which in no way kept him from pillaging the churches and the treasures of the clergy; but a precious vase, taken by his men from the Cathedral of Reims, placed the barbarian chief in relations of interest, and ere long of friendship, with a prelate more able or more successful than the rest. This was Remigius or Remi, bishop of Reims, under whose skillful management events took the proper form to bring about the grand plan of the high Gaulish clergy. First, by a change too fortunate to have been wholly fortuitous, the king, whom they desired to convert to the Roman faith, married the only orthodox Catholic princess then existing among the Teutonic families; and "the love of the faithful wife," as the historians of the time express it, gradually softened the heart of the infidel husband.<sup>1</sup> In a battle with some Germans who sought to follow the Franks into Gaul, and to conquer a part thereof for themselves, Hlodowig, whose soldiers were giving way, invoked the god of Clothilda (such was the name of his wife), and promised to believe in him if he conquered. He conquered, and kept his word.

The example of the chief, the presents of Clothilda and the bishops, and perhaps the charm of novelty, which too often was the motive of these heathens in such matters, brought about the conversion of a number of Frank warriors, as many, indeed, say the historians, as three thousand.<sup>2</sup> The baptism took place at Reims, and all the splendor that could still be furnished by Roman art, which was soon to perish in Gaul, was displayed in pro-

<sup>1</sup> *Fidelis infideli conjuncta viro.*—Aimonii *chronicon*, lib. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> *De exercitu vero ejus baptizati sunt amplius tria millia*—Greg. Turr.

fusion to adorn this triumph of the Christian faith. From the time that King Hlodowig was declared a son of the Roman church, his conquests spread in Gaul almost without effusion of blood. All the cities of the northwest, to the Loire and to the territory of the Bretons, opened their gates to his soldiers, and their garrisons passed over to the service of the Frankish king. Goths and Burgundians had to yield to his power one after the other, and ere long the Frankish dominion extended from the Rhine to the Pyrenees.

Before their invasion of Gaul the Franks formed a league, composed of several tribes occupying the territory bounded by the Weser, the Main, the Rhine, and the North Sea. Within this zone, Franks, Dutch, Flemish, Frisians, Saxons, etc., were all one and the same race of people. Their laws, religion, and general character differed but little; and their language, though of the same stock and in the main alike, included as many dialects as there were confederate tribes. In Gaul, however, all the dialects of the invaders seem to have merged into two principal ones—the Salian and Ripuarian Franks in the north, and the Ne-Ostrian or Neustrian in the west, speaking the ancient Dutch and Flemish, which differed but little, and the Ostrasian Franks, in the eastern part of Gaul, speaking old High German, having come originally from Germany, whence their numbers were constantly increasing. In either of these districts Latin was well-nigh crowded out, together with the native population, most of whom, to escape murder or bondage, fled before the conquering enemy. Different it was in Neustria, however, at least in that portion which extends from the Scarpe to the Loire and from the Maas to the ocean, and which was the largest and most populous part. The Salian Franks, who occupied this country, were the farthest removed from the Rhine, and had but little intercourse with the Germanic tribes that dwelt on the other side of the river, while they mingled freely with the Gallo-Roman people, who were vastly superior in number, as well as in civilization and intellectual culture of every kind. Instead of being driven out, the latter were left in possession of a portion of their goods and of their civil rights. The kings of these Franks treated with particular favor the Christian clergy, as a matter of policy, perhaps, to secure their support with the people, and to separate their cause from that of the Germans beyond the Rhine,

whose invasions they dreaded as much as did the Gallo-Romans themselves. This conciliatory policy brought conqueror and conquered closer together, and, yielding to the irresistible influence of a higher civilization, the former gradually fell in with the manners and habits, and even the language of their new subjects.

Many causes led to this result. In the first place, the numeral paucity of the invaders—a few bands of armed men, fierce warriors, it is true, but scarcely more than twelve thousand in all, in the midst of six million of Gallo-Romans. Then, again, their language was not exactly one, as we have seen, each tribe having its own dialect—Frankish, Burgundian, Gothic, in all their divisions and subdivisions; and though these were all of the same stock, and more or less alike, it may have been found convenient, for the purpose of international, and to some extent even of local intercourse, to make use of a more cultivated idiom. The conquest of Gaul, moreover, was not systematic and simultaneous. At first only small bands of armed emigrants came in from time to time, and gradually paved the way for the great invasions of Clovis in the fifth century; and all these were thoroughly assimilated with the Gallo-Roman population in interest and language by the time of the Carlovingian invasion, which took place three centuries later. Then, among the first invaders there were probably many who had served in the Roman legions, and therefore were familiar with the language as well as with the mode of warfare of the Romans. Although all these invasions, large and small, partook of the nature of armed immigrations, it is not likely that many of the invaders were married men, and brought their wives with them in the first instance; and as most of the foreign warriors, after marrying Gallo-Roman women, became farmers and worked in the field when war did not call them to the standard of their chief, they left to their wives the care of their children, who thus naturally learned to speak their mother's tongue. Add to this the influence of the clergy, after their conversion to Christianity, and it becomes evident that a few thousand men, in the midst of a numerous population, could not but fall into the use of the language which they heard spoken on all sides.

In viewing the events, and the terrible mode of warfare of some of these northern tribes upon the peaceable inhabitants of Gaul, to possess themselves of their rich and cultivated lands, we are apt to exaggerate the wicked-

ness of their purposes, and to allow ourselves to be deceived by the name of *barbarian*, which the Romans gave indiscriminately to all uncivilized or semi-civilized nations, and which is now current in its most contemptuous meaning only. But these barbarians must have been possessed of remarkable qualities to cope successfully with the Roman power, even when in its decline, to wrest from it one of its richest provinces, and hold their sway over a numerous population, whose intellectual superiority was acknowledged by the Romans themselves. Nor does the language of these tribes, in its varied combinations, its remote origin, and extensive influences, exhibit such a low condition as would imply the epithet disdainfully bestowed by imperial Rome on Huns and Franks alike. The poetry of the latter, on the contrary, gives us quite a different idea of their intellectual character. It is true, this poetry dates from after the invasion; but from the testimony of Tacitus, Jornandès, Ammianus Marcellinus, and from the fragment of a Frankish epos lately discovered, it would seem that these Teutonic tribes must have had something like the Eddas, the Sagas, or the Nibelungen, before setting foot on Roman soil. Their war songs were impetuous and terrible, like the shock of their armies. Conquered, they sang their song of death in the midst of tortures; conquerors, they celebrated their successes by poetical recitals. If this poetry had not the noble and harmonious beauty, the majestic regularity of Greek odes, it exhibited sometimes a grandeur and simplicity that would have been worthy of Homer. Of course they stood below the Romans in point of elegance and social refinement; but they had brought with them what was better than effete Roman civilization—the spirit, at least, and the elementary forms of a new system of political arrangement, founded upon larger and juster views of human rights and duties, and, in its final development, more favorable to the general security of person and property, and to the promotion of all the other ends of good government and social compact, than any with which antiquity had been acquainted. They had brought with them from their forests principles of liberty and equality, of obedience to law and authority, of voluntary alliance of man to man, inviolate fidelity to the sworn oath, respectful deference to woman, protection to the weak from the strong—in a word, the worship and even the superstition of that kind of honor which afterward

we find in chivalry, and of which courage and scorn of meanness were the foundation.

All this, as much as the strength of their armies, secured their successes in Gaul, where the people began to look upon them as their deliverers from military tyranny and corrupt Roman officials. "In all the cities and villages," says Salvianus,<sup>1</sup> a priest of Marseilles who witnessed the first invasions, "there are as many tyrants as there are officers of the government; they devour the bowels of the citizens and their widows and orphans; public burdens are made the means of private plunder; the collection of the national revenue is made the instrument of individual peculation; none are safe from the devastations of these insatiable robbers. The public taxation is unequally imposed and arbitrarily levied; hence many desert their farms and dwellings to escape the violence of the exactors. There is but one wish among all Romans: that they may dwell under the barbarian government. Thus our brethren not only refuse to leave these nations, but they flee from us to them. Can we then wonder that the Goths are not conquered by us, when the people would rather become Goths with them than remain Romans with us? The Roman cities are full of the most dissolute luxury, and the foulest vices and debauchery. In this state of evil the Goths and Vandals, like a torrent, overran the Roman empire, and settled themselves in its cities and towns. Their speedy corruption was apprehended in the midst of a population thus abandoned; but to the astonishment of all, instead of degenerating into the universal depravity, they became its moral reformers. The luxuries and vices around them excited their disgust and abhorrence. Their own native customs were so modest, that, instead of imitating, they despised and punished, with all their fierce severity, the impurities they witnessed. They made adultery a capital crime, and so sternly punished personal debauchery, that a great moral change took place in all the provinces they conquered."

But while they waged war on Roman villainy and corruption, they also knew how to avail themselves of the advantages of an advanced civilization, and such was their progress in the language of the conquered that, in less than a century after the first invasion, Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers, had already occasion to compliment Haribert,

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<sup>1</sup> Salvianus, *de Gubernatione Dei*; *Patrologia*, vol. v.

king of Paris, on the great success of his efforts. He may have possibly used some poetical exaggerations in extolling the proficiency of this monarch in Latin as well as in his vernacular language;<sup>1</sup> but even so, it evinces a considerable amount of culture among the foreign princes. The same poet, undoubtedly also in the way of encouragement, has some words of praise for Chilperic,<sup>2</sup> who had written a work in prose on the Trinity and two books of poetry; but Gregory of Tours, more outspoken, and less given to flattery, condemns his theology as heretical, and his poetry as transgressing all the rules of Latin versification.<sup>3</sup>

If, however, this Frankish king, in spite of his claims to authorship was not much of a Latinist, we may readily imagine what must have been the bulk of his nation. The Franks had kept up in Gaul, like the Saxons in England, their love for independence, and they preferred the freedom of the open country to the restraints of city life.<sup>4</sup> They generally dwelt near the forests, in clusters of houses, which they called *ham*.<sup>5</sup> Living the life of farmers, and given to hunting, fishing, gaming, and good cheer in general, rather than to study, all they ever knew of any language not their own was from the Gallo-Roman country folks, among whom they lived and with whom they

<sup>1</sup> Cum sis progenitus clara de gente Sygamber (*Sicamber*),

Floret in eloquio lingua latina tuo;  
Qualis es in propria docto sermone loquela:  
Qui nos Romanos vincis in eloquio.

Fortunat. lib. vi, *car.* 4.

<sup>2</sup> Discernens varias sub nullo interprete voces,  
Et generum linguas unica lingua refert.

Fortunat. lib. ix, *Ad Chilpericum regem*.

<sup>3</sup> Confectique duos libros, quasi Sedulium meditatatus, quorum versiculi debiles nullis pedibus subsistere possunt, in quibus, dum non intelligebat pro longis syllabas breves posuit, et pro brevibus longas statuebat.—Greg. Turr. vi, c. xlvi.

<sup>4</sup> This characteristic of the Teutonic race did not escape the acute observation of Tacitus. Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. Vicos locant, non in nostrum morem connexis et coherentibus ædificiis: suam quisque domum spatio circumdat. *Germania*, § 16. See pages 101–105.

<sup>5</sup> Clovis granted to Saint Remy some land with a house on it, and called it *bischofesheim*. "Quas Ludovicus . . . *Bischofesheim* sua lingua vocatas mihi tradidit."—Duchesne, *Histor. Franc. script.*, t. ii, p. 385. From *ham* has come the diminutive *hamel*, afterward *hameau*. The word is still found in the name of many cities and villages in Germany and England, as: *Oppenheim*, *Papenheim*, *Hamburg*, *Buckingham*, *Nottingham*, *Walsingham*, etc., see page 193. In France, especially in Picardy, many localities bear the name of *Ham*, *Han*, *Hames*, *Hamel*, *Hamelet*; many others are composed of the word *ham* and the name of some person, as: *Grignan* (formerly *Greinhanum*); *Taulignan* (*Taulinhanum*); *Sérignan* (*Serinhanum*), etc.

were in daily intercourse. From them they learned a sort of Latin mixed with Celtic, which in their turn they further corrupted by an additional mixture of ancient Dutch and Flemish—the whole forming a jargon which varied in every locality, and which men of culture in the cities called *lingua romana rustica*, “peasant Latin.”

This rustic Latin, which originated in Neustria as a means of communication between the two races, spread from there to other parts in the course of the sixth century, and in the beginning of the seventh it had become the general language of almost the entire nation. Its diffusion had been favored by the complete abandonment of all studies among the upper classes, and an utter indifference of all in matters of language and literature.<sup>1</sup> The clergy themselves greatly contributed to this result, for many of them knew this vulgar Latin only, and what is more, all were obliged to know it in order to be understood by the people. Thus, while the cultivated classes, few as they were, affected to despise the half-formed jargon, the Church, which had never been afraid of using any vulgar speech wherever it could find hearers, quickly took in its whole importance, and, instead of resisting it and clinging to literary Latin, set herself to make a skillful use of the new movement. Even as early as the latter part of the fifth century, Saint Prosper advised the use of rustic Latin to the priests of his time.<sup>2</sup> In the sixth and seventh centuries, missionaries sent from Rome

<sup>1</sup> Philosophantem rhetorum intelligunt pauci, loquentem *rusticum* multi.—Greg. Turr., *Hist. Eccles. Franc.*, lib. v. The style of this very Gregory of Tours must have been quite rustic, too, from what he says of it himself:

“Sed timeo ne cum scribere cœpero, quia sum sine litteris rhetoricis et arte grammatica, dicat mihi aliquis: Ausu rustico et idiota, ut quid nomem tuum inter scriptores indi aestimas? Aut opus hoc a peritis accipi putas cui ingenium artis non suppeditat, nec ulla litterarum scientia subministrat! Qui nullum argumentum utile in litteris habes, qui nomina discernere nescis; sepius pro masculinis feminea, pro femineis neutra et pro neutris masculina, commutas; qui ipsas quoque præpositiones quas nobilium dictatorum observari sanxit auctoritas, loco debito plerumque non locas; nam pro ablativis accusativa, et rursum pro accusativis ablativa ponis.”—Greg. Turr., *De gloria confessorum*, præfatio.

<sup>2</sup> Tam simplex et apertus, etiam minus latinus, disciplinatus tamen et gravit debet esse sermo pontificis, ut ab intelligentia sui nullos, quamvis imperitos, excludat; sed in omnium audientium pectus cum quadam delectatione descendat. Alia enim est ratio declamatorum, et alia debet esse doctorum. Illi elucubratæ orationis pompam totis facundiæ viribus concupiscunt, illi rebus inani-bus pretiosa verborum indicant ornamenta; isti veracibus sententiis ornant et commendant verba simplicia; illi affectant suorum sensuum deformitatem tanquam velamine quodam phalerati sermonis abscondere; isti *eloquiorum sacrorum rusticitatem* pretiosis sensibus venustare.—*De vita contemp.*, lib. i, cap. xxiii.



had first to learn this language, "seeing that the people no longer understood Latin." In 813 the Council of Tours prescribed that "every bishop should order the priests in his diocese to expound the Scriptures in rustic Latin, and preachers to use the same in their pulpits." After this Council of Tours, those of Rheims in the same year, of Strasburg in 842, of Mayence in 845, and of Arles in 851, renewed the order, showing that, in the eyes of the Church, the Latin, as a spoken language in Gaul, was dead and gone from among the people. Even as early as the seventh century we find the rustic Latin employed in popular songs, several fragments of which have been preserved, among others two stanzas of one celebrating the victory of Chlotaire II, in 662, over the Saxons, and which became so popular that it was used as a dancing tune by the women.<sup>1</sup>

At first the rustic Latin differed from good Latin especially by the violation of grammatical rules, a vulgar pronunciation, and a ruthless admixture of Celtic and Teutonic words and turns of expression. But graver and more radical changes, to be explained later, gradually decomposed the language, so that by the end of the seventh century it became a new and distinct idiom, vastly differing from the Latin from which it had sprung, but in its further development always showing its parentage. It then took the name of *Lingua Romana*, from which comes

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<sup>1</sup> Ex qua victoria carmen publicum juxta rusticitatem per omnium pœne volitabat ora ita canentium, feminæque choros inde plaudendo componebant :

De Chlothario est canere, rege Francorum,  
Qui ivit pugnare in gentem Saxonum.  
Quam graviter provenisset missis Saxonum,  
Si non fuisset inclytus Faro de gente Burgundionum.

Et in fine hujus carminis :

Quando veniunt missi Saxonum in terram Francorum  
Faro ubi erat princeps,  
Instinctu Dei transeunt per urbem Meldorum,  
Ne interficiantur a rege Francorum.

Mabillon, *Acta sanct. ordinis S. Bened.*, p. 617.

Hallam quotes the following from Ravaillère, which is simple and quite pretty :

At quid jubes, pusiolo,  
Quare mandas, filiolo,  
Carmen dulce me cantare?  
Cum si longe exul valde,

Intra mare

O cur jubes canere?

*Intra* seems to be used for *trans*. This specimen is more pleasing than most of the Latin verse of this period, and is more in the tone of the modern languages. It seems to represent the song of a female slave, and is perhaps as old as the destruction of the empire.

the adverb *romanice* in the phrase *romanice loqui*, and by contraction *Romance*, which now designates all the idioms and dialects that resulted from the alteration of the Latin in Roman Gaul and elsewhere, under the influences to which we have referred.<sup>1</sup>

The first mention history makes of the new language by that name dates from the year 659, when Saint Mummolinus is appointed bishop of Noyon, as the successor of Saint Elvi, "because," says his biographer, "he can speak both German and Romance."<sup>2</sup> It was indeed important in those times that a bishop should know both idioms, so as to be able to address the people of the two races intrusted to his pastoral care, in their own languages; for, although at that time the Romance language was the speech of the entire Neustrian population, the Ostrasian kings and nobles kept much longer to the German of their fathers. Thus it was necessary for the upper clergy to be conversant with the vulgar idioms as well as with the Latin.<sup>3</sup> We read in the life of Saint Adalhard, abbot of Corbie in the year 750, that he preached in the popular tongue "with a sweet fluency"; and his biographer's remarks deserve especial notice by their establishing a clear distinction between the people's language, the German, and the Latin. "When Saint Adalhard spoke the *common*, that is the *Romance* tongue," he says, "you would have thought he knew no other; if he spoke *German*, he was still more brilliant; but when he used *Latin*, he spoke even better than in either of the others."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In addition to its original meaning, the word "romance" has also in English that of any tale of wild adventure in love and chivalry resembling those of the middle ages, and was first applied to translations from the French. In French, *roman* is simply a story of fiction, whereas *romance* corresponds to the English *ballad*, also of Provençal origin, from the Low Latin and Italian *ballare*, "to dance," the burden of such songs being originally often accompanied by dancing.

<sup>2</sup> Interea vir Dei Eligius, Noviomensis urbis episcopus, post multa parata miracula, in pace, plenus dierum, migravit ad Dominum (anno 659). Cujus in loco, fama bonorum operum, quia "prævalebat non tantum in teutonica, sed etiam in romana lingua," Lotharii regis ad aures usque perveniente, præfatus Mummolinus ad pastoralis regiminis curam subrogatus est episcopus.—*Vita S. Mummolini*, Ghesquier; *Acta Sanctorum Belgii selecta*, t. iv, p. 403.

<sup>3</sup> In the seventeenth canon of the Council of Tours we read: "Easdem homilias quisque episcopus aperte transferre studeat in *romanam rusticam linguam aut theotiscam*, quo facilius cuncti possint intelligere quæ dicuntur."—Labbe, *Concilia*, ix, p. 351.

<sup>4</sup> Qui si vulgari, id est *romana lingua*, loqueretur, omnium aliarum putares inscius (nec mirum, erat denique in omnibus liberaliter educatus), si vero *teutonice*, enitebat perfectius; si *latina*, in nulla omnino absolutius.—*Vie de saint Adalard*, S. Gérard; *Acta sancti ordinis S. Benedicti, sæculo quarto*, p. 355.

That he spoke Latin fluently seems to be well proved by the above testimony, but whether it was the classical Latin is less certain, to judge from the general corruption of the language, as shown by the chartularies and official documents of the time, in which instances like the following constantly occur: *Episcopi de regna nostra; Donabo ad conjux; In præsentia de judices*, and other similar forms in which terminations are mixed up in the wildest manner, cases ignored, and prepositions substituted. As this contagion of irregularity spread even in the Church, the Council of Narbonne, as far back as 589, had forbidden the conferring of orders on any one ignorant of literary Latin. Still, only a few years later, Pope Gregory the Great writes: "The rules as fixed by the grammarians seem to me little entitled to respect. . . . I am not afraid of barbarous confusions, and my indignation is stirred at the notion of bending the words of heavenly oracle to the rules of Donatus.<sup>1</sup> Saint Augustine says: "We are not afraid of the grammarians' rod." Saint Jerome observes, "Once and for all, I know *cubitum* to be neuter; but the people make it masculine, and so do I." Such was the spirit of the time, and it prevailed, not only in Gaul, but throughout all Roman Europe, though not without its occasional inconveniences. In 752, for instance, we find that Pope Zachary had to be referred to in order to determine the validity of a baptism conferred in the following terms: *Ego te baptizo in nomine patria et filia et spiritus sancti*; pretty bad Latin for a clergyman, even in those dark ages.

Little is known of the Romance language as spoken by the middle of the eighth century. Some traces of it are left in the litanies read in the diocese of Soissons,<sup>2</sup> in some

<sup>1</sup> Unde et ipsam artem loquendi quam magisteria disciplinæ exterioris insinuant, servare despexi. Nam sicut quoque hujus epistolæ tenor enunciat, non metatismi collisionem fugio, non barbarismi confusionem devito, situs motusque præpositionem, casusque servare contemno; quia indignum vehementer existimo ut verba cœlestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati.—Sanct Greg. Gr. *Comment.*, lib. *Job*.

<sup>2</sup> After reciting the litanies, the choir invoked the blessings of heaven upon Pope Adrian I and the Emperor Charlemagne; at every invocation the people present responded *Tu lo juva*, thus:

Adriano summo pontifice et universale, papæ vita,	
Redemptor mundi,	<i>Tu lo juva;</i>
Sancte Petre,	<i>Tu lo juva.</i>

Karolo excellentissimo et a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico rege Francorum et Longobardorum, at patricis Romanorum, vita et victoria,

Salvator mundi,	<i>Tu lo juva;</i>
Sancte Johannis,	<i>Tu lo juva.</i>

Mabillon, *Analecta vetera*.

scattered sentences of an ancient homily,<sup>1</sup> and especially in a manuscript, lately discovered in the library of Rheimenau, which contains a fragment of a glossary written about the year 768, and explains many of the different words of the Vulgate in the current language of the period. A few of these words will give an idea of the importance of that document:

CLASSICAL LATIN.	ROMANCE.	CLASSICAL LATIN.	ROMANCE.
Galea	<i>Helmo</i>	Cæmentarii	<i>Macioni</i>
Minæ	<i>Manatces</i>	Singulariter	<i>Solamente</i>
Sagma	<i>Soma</i>	Sindones	<i>Linciolo</i>
Tugurium	<i>Cabanna</i>	Vespertiliones	<i>Calves sorices.</i>

This interesting fragment is among the earliest specimens yet discovered of the popular language of the time. Though it was evidently compiled by a man of sufficient learning to understand the importance of such a glossary, and well versed in Latin, yet in spite of the Latin orthography of the Romance words then current, they show a very close resemblance to the corresponding words in modern French, in which *helmo*<sup>2</sup> has become *heaume*; *manatces*,<sup>3</sup> *menaces*; *soma*,<sup>4</sup> *somme*; *cabanna*,<sup>5</sup> *cabane*; *macioni*,

<sup>1</sup> Published by Bethman, *Voyage historique dans le nord de la France.*

<sup>2</sup> *Helmo, helme, healme*, from the old Dutch *helm*, "covering, protection"; in English "helmet."

E Saül de ses demeines vestemenz fist David revestir, le *helme* lascier e le halbert vestir.—*Livre des Rois*, p. 66.

*Et induit Saul David vestimentis suis, et imposuit galeam æream super caput eius, et vestivit eum lorica.*

De ces espées enheldées d'or mer  
Fierent e caplent sur ces *helmes* d'acer;  
Granz sunt les colps as *helmes* detrencher.

*Chans. de Rolland*, st. cclxxxiv.

Paien chevalchent par ces greignurs valées;  
Halberes vestuz e tres bien fermeez,  
*Healmes* lacez e ceintes lur espées,  
Escuz al colz e lances adubées;  
En un brull, par sum les puis, remestrent.—*Ibid.*, st. liv.

<sup>3</sup> *Manatces*, from the Latin *minatia* employed for *minæ* in several passages of Plautus, among others in *Miles gloriosus*, act iv, sc. ii, v. 2. Cicero uses *minatio* with the same meaning, "menace, threat." In Norman French it became *manace*, and it even occurs in that form in Chaucer. "Now cometh *manace*, that is an open folie; for he that ofte *manaceth*," etc.—*Pers. Tale. De Ira*, near the end.

<sup>4</sup> *Sagma*, quæ corrupte dicitur *salma*, says Isidore of Seville. *Salma* becomes *sauma* by regular contraction, and is found so written in eleventh century Latin text. Thus pronounced it became *soma* in Romance, meaning "a burden, a load." In Merovingian documents the substitution of *o* for *au* is general.

<sup>5</sup> *Cabanna*, originally *capanna*, found so in Isidore of Seville. *Tugurium parva casa est*; hoc rustici *capanna* vocant. In Celtic *caban*, "a little house, a hut," is the diminutive of *cab*, "a booth made with rods set in the ground and tied at the top."

*maçons; solamente, seulement; linciolo, linceul; and calves sorices, chauve-souris.*

After these fragments, which, interesting as they are, give us but little insight into the current language of the time, the first monument of real importance yet discovered of the Romance language is the oath which Louis the German took at Strasburg to his brother Charles the Bald, March, 842, after the battle of Fontanet.<sup>1</sup> These princes, having resolved to join their forces in order to resist the ambition of their brother, the Emperor Lothaire, met at Strasburg, each followed by a considerable army, and there, in the presence of their troops called in as witnesses and parties to the oath, they swore to lend each other support and mutual assistance. Louis the German addressed the French army of his brother in Romance, Charles read his oath in Teutonic to the soldiers of Louis, and both received of the troops their agreement in the same languages, respectively. The oath so sworn by Louis is expressly stated to have been in the *Lingua Romana*,<sup>2</sup> and as from the context of the history it appears that the oath was couched in this language in order that it might be understood by the French subjects of Charles the Bald, we may consider this document as a perfect specimen of the character which the Romance language had assumed toward the middle of the ninth century. What enhances the value of this document is its being preserved in manuscript of the time,<sup>3</sup> and recorded by Nithard, a grandson of Charlemagne, in his "History of the Franks," written at the command of Charles the Bald; and as he was the personal friend and political adviser of this monarch, it has been even surmised that it was he who framed the language of the oath so as to make it satisfactory to both the king and to all concerned.

However this may be, certain it is that the language so recorded was the Romance as current at the time among the Neustrian people who spoke and understood no other. Still, as the oath was taken both in German and in Ro-

<sup>1</sup> In Latin *Fontanctum*, now *Fontenay* near *Auxerre*.

<sup>2</sup> Ergo xvi kalende Marsii cum Ludhovicus et Karolus in civitate, quæ olim Argentaria vocabatur, nunc autem Strazburg vulgo dicitur, et sacramenta quæ subter notata sunt Ludhovicus romana, Karolus vero teudisca lingua, juraverunt; ac sic ante sacramenta circumfusam plebem, alter teudisca, alter romana lingua alloquuti sunt.—Nithardi *Hist. ap. Sacr. Rer. Francic.*, vii, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> The original manuscript is in the library of the Vatican in Rome. See plate opposite p. 600, where the language of the Oath is examined and explained.

mance, and as, moreover, both sovereigns are recorded, before taking the oath, to have harangued their people, each in his own idiom, it is evident that among the Ostrasian Franks the use of their original language was kept up much longer than elsewhere, and probably even gained ground, under Carolingian rule, all along the Rhine where, diversely modified, remnants of it may still be found in the local patois of some rural districts. Thus, while the fusion of the two races was more or less complete, according to the various localities, and while the name of Franks had everywhere superseded that of Gauls or Gallo-Romans, there was still a difference of speech, marked enough throughout the entire ninth century, to make a distinction between Latin Franks and Teutonic Franks,<sup>1</sup> which distinction, expressive as it was, not only of a difference of language but also of manners, customs, and interests, engendered feelings of antagonism, and often led to serious disturbances and even bloody encounters. Thus it is related that on one occasion, when Charles the Simple, a grandson of Charles the Bald, had gone to meet Henry the Fowler on the banks of the Rhine, for a political conference, some young men in the retinue of these princes were so disgusted at each other's language and accent that from taunts and sneers they came to open insults, which ended in a regular fight in which several were killed, among others Erlebold, Count of Castricum.<sup>2</sup> It seems that at all times there are people who hear something odd and comical in the sound of a foreign language, even when used on solemn occasions. So when Hrolf or Rollo, the first Duke of Normandy, on swearing fealty to Charles the Fat, declined to kiss the king's foot, unless he could lift it to his mouth, and expressed his determination with the words *Bi Got*,<sup>3</sup> all the company burst out laughing,

<sup>1</sup> Ejusdem Arnulfi tempore (anno 888) Gallorum populi elegerunt Odonem ducem sibi in regem. Hinc divisio facta est inter *teutones Francos et latinos Francos*.—*Chronique anonyme, Recueil des historiens de France*, t. viii, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> Germanorum Gallorumque juvenes *linguarum idioma offensi, ut eorum mos est*, cum multa animositate maledictis sese lacessere cœperunt, consertique gladios exerunt, ac se adorti, lethaliter sauciant. In quo tumultu, cum ad litem sedandam Erleboldus comes accederet, a furentibus occisus est.—Richeri *hist.*, lib. iv.

<sup>3</sup> Hic non est dignatus pedem Caroli osculari, nisi ad os suum levaret. Cumque sui comites illum ammonerent, ut pedem regis in acceptione tanti muneris oscularetur, lingua anglica respondit: *Ne se bi Got*; quod interpretatur; *Ne per Deum*. Rex vero et sui illum deridentes, et sermonem ejus corrupte referentes, illum vocaverunt *Bigoth*; unde Normanni adhuc *Bigothi* dicuntur.—Duchesne, *Historiæ Francorum scriptores*, t. iii, p. 359-360. The author evidently makes no distinction between Norse and English.

and this hilarity came very near breaking up the meeting, and bringing about a resumption of hostilities. But it is especially when one nation has vanquished another, and feels strong enough to hold the conquered in subjection, that people are apt to look down with contempt upon the language of those whom they consider of an inferior race. Such were the feelings of the Ostrasian Franks toward the unfortunate Gallo-Roman people that lived as by tolerance among them. Though actually small in number, they still outnumbered the latter, and this numerical superiority, as well as the fact of their having as neighbors friendly tribes of the same blood, gave the Franks a sense of importance which was still further increased by the prestige of the empire in Carlovingian times.

Charlemagne, the hero and founder of the Carlovingian dynasty, knew several foreign languages and spoke Latin fluently, according to Eginhard, his historian and biographer, but the Francic was his vernacular, and so fond was he of this rude but energetic idiom, that he even undertook to write a sort of grammar of it himself. His son, Louis the Pious, also preferred his native language, though he was equally familiar with Latin.<sup>1</sup> He ordered a Teutonic translation to be made of the Gospel, and it is probably to him that we owe the version of Otfrid, the monk, which is still extant.<sup>2</sup> It is not likely, therefore, that his grandson, Charles the Bald, though reigning over a Romance-speaking people, and speaking that language himself, could have forgotten the language of his sires, or even neglected it, obliged as he was to use it constantly in his

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*Bigot* remained for a long time a nickname among the French to designate the Normans, and had not then its present meaning of "a blind zealot; a hypocrite":

Por la discorde et grant envie  
 Ke Franceiz ont vers Normendie,  
 Mult ont Franceiz Normanz laidiz  
 E de mefaiz e de mediz.  
 Sovent lor dient reproviers  
 E claiment *bigos* e draschiers;  
 Sovent les ont medlé el rei,  
 Sovent dient: Sire por kei  
 Ne tollez la terre as *bigos*?  
 A vos ancessors et as noz  
 La tolirent lor ancessor  
 Ki par mer vinrent robeor.

*Rom. de Rou*, v. 9938 et suiv.

<sup>1</sup> Latinam vero sicut naturalem æqualiter loqui poterat.—Theganus, *De gestis Ludovici Pii*; *Recueil des histor. de France*, t. vi, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Otfrid's version of the Gospel is found in Shilter's *Thesaurus antiquitatum teutonicarum*, vol. ii.

relations with the Germanic princes, which were often complicated and of a delicate nature. So even his ministers, and those who took a leading part in the management of public affairs, were compelled to learn the language which at that time was indispensable for the transaction of political business. But by the middle of the ninth century a correct knowledge of the Francic language had become so rare in the kingdom, that Loup de Ferrière, one of the principal ministers of Charles the Bald, found it necessary to send his nephew and two other young gentlemen to Germany for the purpose of learning German.<sup>1</sup> And so it went on for a century or more, the Romance idiom steadily improving as it was gaining ground, the German rapidly declining, and studied only by those who had absolute need of it.

It was about this time that the Danish Vikings—Norman as they were called in Gaul—afflicted the country with incessant invasions. Their mode of conducting war, of which we have seen the direful effects in England, was here of the same character, and such as to disconcert even the best-framed measures of defense. Making their attacks by surprise, and retreating with the utmost rapidity after striking their blow, they devastated whole districts to such an extent that, to use the expression of a contemporary writer, “where they had passed, no dog remained to bark.” Castles and fortified places were the sole refuge against them; but at this first epoch of their irruptions, very few of these existed, and even the walls of the old Roman towns were falling into decay. While the rich nobles flanked their manor-houses with turreted towers, and surrounded them with deep ditches, the inhabitants of the plains emigrated in crowds from their villages to the neighboring forest, where they encamped in huts, defended by palisades and felled trees. Ill-protected by their rulers, who found themselves powerless, they sometimes became inspired with the courage of de-

<sup>1</sup> Filium Guagonis, nepotem meum, vestrumque propinquum, et cum eo duos alios pueros nobiles, et quandoque, si Deus vult nostro monasterio suo servicio profuturos, propter *germanicam linguam* nanciscendam scientiam, vestræ sanctitati mittere cupio.—Loup de Ferrière, *epist. xii, ad Marwardum abbatem*, anno 844; *Rec. des histor. de France*, t. vii, p. 488.

In a subsequent letter Loup de Ferrière acknowledges Marward's attention to his request and recommendation. Siquidem inter alia quæ nobis jam plurima præstitistis, linguæ vestræ pueros nostros fecistis participes, cujus linguæ usum hoc tempore pernecessarium nemo, nisi nimis tardus, ignorat.—Loup de Ferrière, *epist. lxx*; ap. Duchesne, *Histor. Franc. script.*, t. ii, p. 764.



spair, and, armed merely with clubs, would encounter the axes of the Normans. As in England, not a few, depressed and demoralized, renounced their baptismal vow to propitiate the pagan conqueror. This apostasy was more general in the quarters most exposed to the disembarkation of the pirates, who even recruited their ranks from among the very people that had lost all by their ravages; we are, indeed, assured by ancient historians, that the famous sea-king Hasting was the son of a laborer near Troyes.

Nearly a century elapsed between the first and the second descent of the Normans upon Gaul, in which interval was accomplished, amid calamities of every description, the dismemberment of the empire founded by Charlemagne. Brittany, which, independent under the first Frankish dynasty, had been subjected by the second, commenced the movement, and in the first half of the ninth century became once more a separate state. Fifty years later, the ancient kingdom of the Visigoths—the district between the Loire, the Rhone, and the Pyrenees—after having long, and with varied success, struggled against the Frank dominion, became, under the name of Aquitaine and Guienne, a distinct sovereignty; while, on the other side of the Rhone, a new sovereignty was formed of Provence and the southern part of the ancient kingdom of the Burgundians. At the same time, the provinces along the Rhone, whither the flood of Germanic invasions had brought the Teutonic idiom, raised a political barrier between themselves and the countries where the Romance dialect prevailed. In the intermediate space left by these new states, that between the Loire, the Maas, the Scheldt, and the Breton frontier, was compressed the kingdom of the Gallo-Franks, or France.

This new kingdom of France, the genuine cradle of modern France, contained a mixed population—Dutch and Flemish under one aspect, Gaulish or Roman under another—and foreigners applied to it different names, according to the different view under which they regarded it. The Italians, the Spaniards, the English, and the Danes called the people of Gaul Franks; but the Ostrasians, who claimed this noble appellation for themselves, denied it to their western neighbors, whom they termed *Wallons* or *Welches*.<sup>1</sup> In the country itself there prevailed

<sup>1</sup> Few Ethnic names are more interesting than that of the *Welsh*. The root enters into a very large number of the Ethnic names of Europe, and ap-

another distinction; the landed proprietor, in dwelling amidst his vassals and *coloni*, solely occupied in war or the chase, and who thus lived conformably with the manners of the ancient Franks,<sup>1</sup> assumed the title of *frankman*,<sup>2</sup> or that of *baron*,<sup>3</sup> both taken from the language of the conquest. Those who had no manor-house, and who inhabited towns (*villæ*), hamlets, or villages, in masses, after the Roman fashion, derived from that circumstance the names of *villains* and *manants*,<sup>4</sup> which, originally meaning "people living on the *villa*, people permanently dwelling on the farm, husbandmen, bondsmen, slaves," have since, by a further degradation, acquired the meaning of "churl, boor, knave,<sup>5</sup> rascal," in the sense of what

appears in German, in the form *wal*, which means anything that is "foreign," or "strange." Hence we obtain the German words *waller*, a stranger or pilgrim, and *wallen*, to wander, or to move about. A walnut is the "foreign nut," and in German a turkey is called *Wälsche hahn*, "the foreign fowl," and a French bean is *Wälsche bohne*, the "foreign bean." All nations of Teutonic blood have called the bordering tribes by the name of *Wälsche*, that is, Welshmen, or "foreigners." We trace this name around the whole circuit of the region of Teutonic occupancy. *Wälschland* is the German name of Italy. The Bernese Oberlander calls the French-speaking district to the south of him by the name of Canton *Wallis*, or *Wales*. *Wallenstadt* and the *Wallensee* are on the frontier of the Romansch district of the *Chur-walchen*, or men of the Grisons. The Slaves and Germans called the Bulgarians *Wlochi* or *Wolochi*, and the district which they occupied *Wallachia*; and the Celts of Flanders, and of the Isle of Walcheren, were called *Walloon*s by their Teutonic neighbors. Northwestern France is called *Valland* in the Sagas, and in the Saxon Chronicle *Wealand* denotes the Celtic district of Armorica. The Anglo-Saxons called their Celtic neighbors the *Welsh*, and the country by the name of *Wales*. See note, page 20. *Cornwall* was formerly written *Cornwales*, the country inhabited by the *Welsh* of the Horn. The chroniclers uniformly speak of *North-Wales* and *Corn-Wales*. In the charters of the Scoto-Saxon kings the Celtic Picts of Strath Clyde are called *Walenses*.

<sup>1</sup> Vivere, habitare, succedere more Francorum.—Ducange, *Glossar*.

<sup>2</sup> Francus homo.—*Ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> *Baro*, *barn*, *bearn*, *bairn*, *beorn*, originally meant "a male child; a man"; and by extension, "a husband." *Lo bar non est creat perla femna, mas la femna per lo baro*.—Raynourard, *Lexique Roman*.

<sup>4</sup> In Latin *villani* and *manentes*. The term *villa*, which, among the Romans only designated a country house, was at an early date applied, in the Neo-Latin languages, to every description of inhabited place.

<sup>5</sup> The terms *churl*, *boor*, *knave*, conveyed originally no opprobrium whatsoever. *Churl*, in Anglo-Saxon *ceort*, in German, Danish, and Swedish *karl*, in Dutch *kerel*, means "a man; a fellow." In the latter language *Karel* is the proper name for *Charles*. *Boor* is a Dutch word, written *boer*, and pronounced as in English, the Dutch *oe* having the sound of the English *oo* or *ou*. In that language it means "a peasant; a farmer; a tiller of the soil," and, in its English form, is part of the word *neigh-bour*. In Anglo-Saxon *gebūr* meant "a husbandman; a farmer; a countryman." *Knave* meant originally "a boy." It is the German *knabe*, the Dutch *knaap*, the Anglo-Saxon *cndfa* and *cndpa*, in every case meaning "a lad; a boy; a male child"; sometimes "a servant boy." Chaucer speaks of "a *knaue* child"; and in the Ancren Riwle we find "the *kokes knaue* thet wassheth the disshes," "the cook's boy that washes the dishes."

is lowest and most despicable. There were villains reputed free, and villains serfs of the glebe; but the freedom of the former, constantly menaced and even invaded by the lord, was feeble and precarious. Such was the kingdom of France, as to its extent and as to the different classes of the men who inhabited it, when, in the early part of the tenth century, it was again disturbed by that grand invasion of the Normans under the leadership of Rollo, referred to at length in Chapter V of this volume, and whose exploits and success in various parts of Europe, for a century and a half, culminated at last in their conquest of England.

Owing to the unsettled state of society, and the constant wars which followed the death of Charlemagne, learning was still rare in France, literature and science non-existent. The Carlovingian revival had certainly accomplished a good deal; it left its mark; but, after all, the permanent results were not great. Whether we look at the three centuries that preceded it, or the two hundred and fifty years that followed it, we do not find much that can be called learning, we find nothing that can be called literature. In spite of the labors of Alcuin and of Theodulf, the decrees of episcopal councils and edicts of kings, we are told by Loup de Ferrière, the favorite of Louis the Pious, and Charles the Bald, that the study of letters was in his time almost null. But while it is true that there were only a few great literary names during that period, it would not be correct to infer from this that there was absolutely no learning. Not to speak of the Irish monks and other scholars, such as Theodulf and Eginhard, and the patient and secluded learning of the greater monasteries and abbeys, such as St. Riquier, St. Galle, Fulda, and the famous schools of Orléans and Rheims and, later, of Paris, we have to remember that the Benedictines everywhere were teachers and to a certain extent students. While steadily accumulating materials and forming libraries, they maintained, with varying fortunes, the tradition of knowledge. Thus, after all, the ninth and tenth centuries, perhaps, did more for education, as that word was then understood, in proportion to the means and opportunities available, than any period since Alcuin and Charlemagne. Theological questions engaged the leaders of the Church, great political and social movements preoccupied men's minds. The Normans were invading France, the Danes were descending

on England, the Turks and Saracens were threatening all Christendom, and society was fighting for its life. Notwithstanding the savage struggle, Europe was being slowly penetrated by Christian ideas. The self-sacrifice of the religious orders kept steadily before men's minds the fact that the spirit lives by the spirit, and that the things of earth are not to be compared with the things that are eternal; and many men of noble birth and great possessions, to whom a conspicuous secular career was open, sought refuge in the monkish cowl, and a life in community.

Their monastic life was, however, not merely a religious life; in most cases it was an academic life, and education in those days devolved upon them alone. Each monastery was usually divided into two schools, and had two classes of pupils—the inner, or claustral school, in which the boys who were devoted by their parents to a monkish life (*oblats*) were taught, and the outer school, frequented chiefly by those intending to fill the office of parochial priest, or preparing themselves for secular appointments. These outer schools were also attended by some for education solely, without ulterior reference to any specific ecclesiastical or secular function. In the inner school the *oblats* were maintained, as well as educated, gratuitously; in the outer schools, pupils had to pay for their maintenance, but not for their instruction. At the same time, the giving of presents was largely encouraged, especially when the boys left. These presents, often of great value, went sometimes to the funds of the school, at other times as tips into the pockets of the master. For the poor in the outer school, the monasteries themselves often made provision. Land was also frequently bequeathed for this specific purpose, and even alms asked. Hence the origin of the foundations attached to cathedrals and monasteries, and afterward to universities.

The course of studies for beginners was much the same throughout the entire ninth and tenth centuries as had been laid down by Alcuin.<sup>1</sup> In the earlier stages of the higher instruction the master explained the Latin authors in the vernacular; but the more advanced scholars had explanations given them in Latin, and were required to show that they understood the author by rendering him in Latin prose. The main object always kept in view was

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<sup>1</sup> See pages 161-164.

a practical command of the Latin tongue—not literature or art; still a good metrical exercise seems always to have been regarded in the more learned schools as a high test of linguistic proficiency. Rhetoric received little or no attention; but the writing of letters, and the drawing up of public documents was taught with much care, and reduced to a regular system. In a letter of importance, for instance, the following order of composition was always strictly observed, viz., *Salutatio, Captatio, Benevolentia, Narratio, Petitio, Conclusio*. Young ecclesiastics looked forward to employment as secretaries at royal courts and in noble houses, and hence the attention paid to the teaching of correspondence. There were, of course, among the monks, some who had a larger conception of their work than others. John of Salisbury, in giving an account of the teaching of a distinguished monk of the beginning of the twelfth century, Bernard de Chartres, tells us that he accustomed his pupils to apply the rules of grammar to the texts they read, that he directed their attention to delicacies of language and beauty of expression, to the aptness of terms and metaphors, and the disposition of the argument. He criticised the varieties of style of different authors, and took advantage of allusions to give much collateral instruction. He also exercised his pupils daily in writing Latin prose and verse, and required them to learn fine passages by heart. This, it will be seen, was applied rhetoric as well as grammar, and indeed constitutes what we now understand by training in the humanities. No doubt this was an exceptional school, and it existed only after the university movement had begun.

As in England, so in France, school discipline was exceedingly severe, and in those days the rod, it seems, was considered the basis of all human understanding. Guizot, in his fifth lecture on the "History of Civilization," quotes the following passage taken from the autobiography of Guibert de Nogent<sup>1</sup> as an illustration:

"My mother," says the author, "brought me up with the most tender care. Scarcely had I learned the first elements of letters, when, eager to have me instructed, she confided me to a master of grammar. There was, shortly before this epoch, and even at this time, so great a scarcity of masters of grammar, that, so to speak, scarce one was

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<sup>1</sup> D'Archery, *Venerabilis Guiberti de Novigento opera*.

to be seen in the country, and hardly could they be found in the great towns. He to whom my mother resolved to confide me had learned grammar at a rather advanced age, and was so much the less familiar with this science, as he had devoted himself to it at a later period; but what he wanted in knowledge he made up for in virtue. From the time I was placed under his care, he formed in me such a purity, he so thoroughly eradicated from me all the vices which generally accompany youth, that he preserved me from the most frequent dangers. He never allowed me to go anywhere except in his company, to sleep anywhere but in my mother's house, to receive a present from any one without her permission. He required me to do everything with moderation, precision, attention, and exertion.

"Every one, seeing how my master excited me to work, hoped at first that such great application would sharpen my wits; but this hope soon diminished, for my master, altogether unskillful at reciting verses, or composing them according to rule, almost every day loaded me with a shower of cuffs and blows, to force me to know what he himself was unable to teach me. Still he showed me so much friendship, he occupied himself concerning me with so much solicitude, he watched so assiduously over my safety that, far from experiencing the fear generally felt at that age, I forgot all his severity, and obeyed with an inexpressible feeling of love. One day, when I had been struck, having neglected my work for some hours in the evening, I went and seated myself at my mother's knee, severely bruised, and certainly more so than I had deserved. My mother having, according to her custom, asked if I had been beaten that day, I, in order to avoid accusing my master, assured her that I had not. But she, pulling aside, whether I would or no, the garment they call a shirt, saw my little arms all black, and the skin of my shoulders all raised up and swollen by the blows of the rod which I had received. At this sight, complaining that they treated me with too much cruelty at so tender an age, all troubled and beside herself, her eyes full of tears, she cried, 'I will no longer have thee become a priest, nor, in order to learn letters, that thou thus endure such treatment.' But I, at these words, regarding her with all the anger of which I was capable, said to her: 'I would rather die than cease learning letters, and wishing to be a priest.'"

If such was the character of the best private instruc-

tion obtainable in those days. we may form an idea of the methods then in vogue in the conventual establishments which the mass of students had to resort to for their education.

“Up to the end of the eleventh century the instruction was, speaking generally, and allowing for transitory periods of revival, and for a few exceptional schools, a shrunken survival of the old *trivium et quadrivium*. The lessons, when not dictated and learned by heart from notes, were got up from bald epitomes. All that was taught, moreover, was taught solely with a view to ‘pious uses.’ Criticism did not exist; the free spirit of speculation could not, of course, exist. The rules of the orders inevitably cribbed and confined the minds of the learners, old and young. The independent activity of the human mind, if it could be called independent, showed itself only in chronicles, histories, *acta sanctorum*, and so forth. This was, doubtless, a necessary stage in the historical development of Europe, and it is absurd to talk of these ages as ‘dark ages,’ by way of imputing blame or remissness to the Catholic Church. All that could be done was done by the Catholic organizations, and by no other agency. The Catholic Church did not prohibit learning if it subserved the faith. Opinion was watched, certainly, but to look with superfluous alarm on possible developments of anti-theological speculation did not occur to the men of that time, and this is conspicuously shown in the attitude which the popes took to universities when they began to arise (1100–1150). When heresies did show themselves, they were, at least at first, met by labored argument, and the suppression of them by councils was, in truth, the last act in a series of able disputations—the judicial summing up and sentence, so to speak. In brief, the Christian schools were doing their proper work for Europe. They did not promote learning in any true sense; but they conserved learning, and, what was of more importance, they were leavening the life of the people.”<sup>1</sup>

But those early centuries not only were engaged in taking to heart the practical teachings of Christianity; in other directions than that of learning there also was great activity. In the century that saw the death of Charlemagne, there arose out of feudalism an educational force far more potent than the monastic schools. This was a

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<sup>1</sup> S. S. Laurie, *The Rise and Early Constitution of Universities*.

secular order, destined to work great changes in the political as in the moral world—the order of chivalry. The element of personality and individual merit was so all-powerful in this order, that, in this respect, it may be said to have contained the germs of reformation ideas. Taking its rise in the tenth century, it grew steadily in importance, and effloresced in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth. These last were also the centuries of intellectual revival, and it is interesting to note that together with this intellectual movement we have the assertion of moral freedom and personal moral responsibility in the chivalric order. Its creed was love of honor, personal courage, alone and against odds, truthfulness, an abstract love of justice, respect for woman, and courtesy. The Teutonic spirit thus illustrating itself in Christianity was a civilizing and spiritualizing agency of no mean character. This the Church soon saw, and it quickly brought chivalry within its own organization by consecrating with solemn ceremonies the sword of the knight to the defence of the faith. As it was an order of personal nobility as distinguished from the nobility attached to hereditary possessions, a career was thus opened for ardent and ambitious youth. At the great castles there arose what might be called baronial schools of gymnastic and military training, of courtesy and honor. High moral tone led to a corresponding refinement in thought, in taste and manners, and ere long not only singing and playing on stringed instruments were among the choicest pleasures, both of noble knights and ladies, but even the art of versification was cultivated and encouraged by them.

From the tenth century the French nation begins its real life. The circumstances which had kept up a knowledge of the Francic idiom among the Carlovingian princes had ceased to exist under the kings of the succeeding dynasty, and Hugh Capet, the first of these, though of German origin, was as ignorant of the language of Charlemagne as he was of that of Augustus. When he had an interview with Otto II, Emperor of Germany, who addressed him in Latin, he was obliged to call in the assistance of Arnulphus, Bishop of Orléans, as an interpreter.<sup>1</sup> Under his reign the Romance was the only language spoken

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<sup>1</sup> Otto gloriam sibi parere cupiens, ex industria egit ut omnibus a cubiculo regio emissis . . . . dux (*Hugo*) etiam solus cum solo episcopo (*Arnulfo*) introduceretur; ut rege latiariter loquente, episcopus latininitatis interpres duci quicquid diceretur indicaret.—Richeri *hist. lib.*, iv.



at his court, and such of the German princes as wished to keep up relations were obliged to send ambassadors who knew that language.<sup>1</sup> As the use of the French speech increased, the knowledge of Latin diminished, and its use as a colloquial language was finally abandoned even by the upper classes who had clung to it for three centuries after it had died out among the people.

Still, while by this time the language had assumed a distinct form which made it differ from Latin, its tendency was more and more to cast off Celtic and Germanic influences, and to remain Latin in spirit, although divested yet of that uniformity of vocabulary, grammar, and syntax which it had at the time of Augustus, and which it was to acquire again in the age of Louis XIV. Nothing, on the contrary, could be more diverse, more irregular, or more confused than the various dialects spoken in the Middle Ages, from the Rhine to the Atlantic, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. All these, however, were the continuation of the numerous Latin dialects which had found their way into Gaul, modified by contact with other dialects, and by the wear and tear of ages; but the same family resemblance found in the originals remained discernible also in their descendants. At first sight it may seem impossible, perhaps, to distinguish between all the provincial and local differences that may have risen from an ignorant use of a language already divided and subdivided into so many dialectic varieties; but after minute inquiry and careful observation, light appears, and order comes out of chaos. Then, under the infinite caprices of ignorance and local freaks and fancies, we discover peculiar tendencies depending on race, climate, food, occupation, intercourse with neighboring nations, and other influences which affect the human speech in different directions. Examined in this light, and considering the main characteristics only, we find in Early French two main dialects to which all the rest may be referred; the one spoken to the north of the Loire, in which the Teutonic influence was more sensibly felt, under the name of *Roman-Wallon* or *Langue d'oïl*; the other used to the southward of that

<sup>1</sup> Thierry, Duke of Lorraine, sent Nanter, Abbot of Saint Michel, as ambassador to the King of France, because he knew him to be a man of ready wit, and perfectly conversant with the language. Dux (*Lotharingia*) Theodoricus eum (*Nanterum*) . . . . ad quoscumque regni principes dirigebat legatum, et maxime ad consobrinum suum, regem Francorum, quoniam noverat eum in responsis acutissimum, et linguæ gallicæ peritia facundissimum.—*Chron. monast. S. Michaelis*; Mabillon, *Vetera analecta, Rec. des Histor. de France*, t. x, p. 286.

river, where Roman civilization, being better established, opposed that influence, and which was termed *Roman proper* or *Langue d'oc*.<sup>1</sup>

Of these, the most refined and polished was that which was spoken by the inhabitants of the southeastern district of France. Many causes combined to give this idiom an early development. The southeastern Provincials were more completely Romanized in the first instance;<sup>2</sup> they were less subject to foreign invasion than the other inhabitants of France; the Burgundians and Visigoths who settled among them were more adapted to social life than the other German tribes, and more readily assimilated their language and customs to those of their subjects; and when at last Provence became a part of the Frankish dominions they were no longer an overbearing foreign soldiery, but the civilized and Romanized subjects of a regular monarchy. The happy climate of Provence, and the wealth and commerce of the people, contributed to foster and encourage those arts which flourish only in a genial soil; and we are not to wonder if the southern Provincials outstripped at that time the northern Gauls in intellectual tastes as well as in physical comforts.

It is not within the limits of this chapter to enter into

<sup>1</sup> These curious names spring from the custom, not uncommon in the Middle Ages, of designating languages by the sign of affirmation; just as Dante calls Italian *la lingua di si*. The modern French *oui* was *oïl* in the north and *oc* in the south of France. *Oc* comes from the Latin *hoc* (that is it), and was sometimes further shortened into *o*. *Ne dire ni o ni non* was in the thirteenth century equivalent to *ne dire ni oui ni non*. Just as *hoc* became *oc*, so the compound *hoc illud* (just so) became *oïl*. As in many other French words, the final *l* was not pronounced. This form *oïl* had corresponding to it the form *nenni* from the Latin *non illud* (not so), and in the same way as *nenni* was afterward written *nenni*, so *oïl* became *oi*, whence *oui* in modern French. The *Langue d'oïl* is also known by the name of *Langue des trouveurs* or *trouvères*, and the *Langue d'oc* by that of *Langue des troubadours*, *Lemosi*, *Provensalesc*, from the inhabitants of southern Gaul calling themselves *Provinciales*, that is, *Romana Provincia inquilini*, as distinguished from the *Francigena* of the north. The word *trouvère* comes from the French *trouver*, and *troubadour* from the Provençal *trouba* with the same meaning, and the sense of which, like that of the Greek word *ποιεῖν*, "to make," from which we derive *poésie*, implies invention.

<sup>2</sup> It is right, perhaps, to say that Marseilles in particular was rather *Grecified* than *Romanised*; and as to its civilization Cicero remarks: "Neque vero te, Massilia, prætereo: cuius ego civitatis disciplinam atque gravitatem non solum Græciæ, sed haud scio an cunctis gentibus anteponebam dicam; quæ tam procul a Græcorum omnium regionibus, disciplinis linguaque divisa, quum in ultimis terris cincta Gallorum gentibus barbariæ fluctibus alluatur, sic optimatum consilio gubernatur, ut omnes ejus instituta laudare facilius possint quam æmulari."—*Orat. pro Flacco*, 26, § 36. And Justin: "Adeoq[ue] magnus et hominibus et rebus impositus est nitor, ut non Græcia in Gallia emigrasse, sed Gallia in Græciam translata videretur."—*Hist. Philipp.* lib. xliii, cap. 4.

any detailed history of the language spoken south of the river Loire, now generally known by the name of *Provençal*; we need only observe that in its forms it bore a much closer resemblance to the Latin than the *Langue d'oïl*, and that, as the literary language of the south of France during a great part of the middle ages, it has left numerous documents of rare value both for history and philology. The following extract, in which the two languages figure side by side, will give an idea of their analogy:

## LANGUE D'OC.

Totz hom que vol trobar ni  
entendre deu primierament sa-  
ber que neguna parladura no es  
tant naturals ni tant drecha del  
notre langage com aquella de  
Proenza o de Lemosi.

## LANGUE D'OÏL.

Toz hom qui vult trover ne  
entendre doit premierement sa-  
voir que nule parleure del nos-  
tre langage n'est tant droite  
com cele de Provence ou de  
Limousin.

This double quotation suffices to show the close relationship between the two languages. The only characteristic difference lies in the rich and brilliant tones of the *Provençal*, compared with the duller sound of the northern French. In *trobar*, *neguna*, *parladura*, *drecha*, *aquella*, *Proenza*, and *Lemosi*, all the final syllables are sonorous, while the *Langue d'oïl* substitutes nasal and muffled sounds, with a tendency to make the final *a* a silent *e* in all the words corresponding—*trover*, *nule*, *parleure*, *droite*, *cele*, *Provence*, *Limousin*—a dialectic difference, owing to a difference of character, temperament, and other influences alluded to already.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The final *e*, which is now only a whisper, and utterly silent before a vowel sound, was, up to about the middle of the sixteenth century, a distinct and well-marked sound, similar to the final *o*, still heard in the pronunciation of the *Provençal* peasantry, as in *francêso*, *musico*, *pôsto*, for *françoise*, *musique*, *poste*. Palsgrave, the old English grammarian, in his *Esclaircissement de la langue francoyse*, published in 1530, says expressly (lib. i, regula 5): "If *e* be the laste vowell in a Frenche worde, beyng of many syllables, eyther alone or with an *s* followynge hym, the worde not havynge his accent upon the same *e*, then shall he in that place sound almost lyke an *o*, and very moche in the noose, as these wordes, *hômme*, *femme*, *honêste*, *parle*, *hômmes*, *femmes*, *honêstes*, shall have theyr laste *e* sounded in maner lyke an *o*, as *hommo*, *femmo*, *honesto*, *parlo*, *hommos*, *femmos*, *honestos*; so that if the reder lyft up his voyce upon the syllable that commeth nexte before the same *e*, and sodaynly depresse his voyce when he commeth to the soundynge of hym, and also sounde hym very moche in the noose, he shall sounde *e*, beyng written in this place as the Frenchmen do; whiche upon this warnynge if the lerner wyll observe by the Frenchmen's spekyng, he shall easely percieve." Then, passing from theory to practice, he gives us the pronunciation as it ought to be: "*La très honnorée magnificence*";

The principal dialects of the *Langue d'oïl* were four in number—the Norman, Picard, Bourguignon, and the French of the Ile de France, which was the center of the triangle formed by the provinces where the other three were spoken. Each of these dialects had its own distinct features, mainly consisting of a difference of pronunciation and orthography, but marked enough to be noticed even by foreigners. Roger Bacon, in considering what the dialects of a language may be, thus states what he had observed in France. "The idioms of the same language," he says, "vary in different districts, as is clearly the case in France, which has numerous varieties of idiom among the French, the Normans, the Picards, and the Burgundians; and what is correct speech in Picardy, is looked upon as a barbarism by the Burgundians, and even by the French."<sup>1</sup>

This difference, which affected the forms of words only, and not the syntax, may be illustrated by a few nouns, adjectives, and verbs, which we have selected, and placed together with the Latin words from which they are derived, the Norman dialect being the elder, and the Picard the nearest to modern French in point of time of formation.

LATIN.	NORMAN.	BOURGUIGNON.	PICARD.	FRENCH.
<i>Calum</i>	Cel	Ciel	Chiel	Ciel
<i>Sol</i>	Soleus	Soloil	Solaus	Soleil
<i>Monachus</i>	Muine	Moine	Moignes	Moine
<i>Bonus</i>	Buen	Boin	Boin	Bon
<i>Bona</i>	Buene	Boine	Bonne	Bonne
<i>Bucca</i>	Buche	Boiche	Bouce	Bouche
<i>Gula</i>	Gule	Gole	Goule	Gueule
<i>Venatio</i>	Veneisuns	Venison	Venoison	Venaison
<i>Cadere</i>	Chair	Chaoir	Quer	Cheoir
<i>Dicebat</i>	Il diseit	Il disoit	Il disoit	Il disait
<i>Faciebat</i>	Il feseit	Il fesoit	Il fesoit	Il faisait

the French, he says, pronounce (" *la-tres onnorbo-manifisânso*): *secrétaire du roy nostre sire*, (*secretâyro-deu-roy-nôtro-sîro*); *glorieuse renommée* (*glorieuso-renouum-mêo*.)" This leaves us no room to doubt what was the pronunciation of the silent *e* at that time, and shows the difference of sound between northern and southern dialects to have been much less in that particular than it has been since.

<sup>1</sup> Nam et idiomata variantur ejusdem linguæ apud diversos, sicut patet de lingua Gallicana quæ apud Gallicos et Normannos, et Picardos, et Burgundos multiplici variatur idiomate. Et quod proprie dicitur in idiomate Picardorum horrescit apud Burgundos, imo apud Gallicos viciniore.—Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, iii, 44. In the middle ages the name of *Francoids*, "Frenchman" was exclusively that of the inhabitants of the Ile de France.

All these show a fundamental uniformity under a variety of outward forms, due to local influences, similar to those which caused the broader differences between the northern and southern dialects, which in some instances were so great as to make the dialects of one part of the country to be looked upon as foreign in the other; and so thoroughly foreign was French considered in the south of France, even as late as the fourteenth century, that in the *Leys d'Amor*, a poetical code of laws, it is classed with English, Spanish, and Lombard.<sup>1</sup> In 1229, in a municipal document of Albi, a notary excuses himself for not having read the inscription of a seal because it was in French, or some other foreign tongue.<sup>2</sup> Such ignorance of another dialect, however, was often affected, and generally accompanied by the expression of haughty disdain, the remnant of former international antagonism, often subsisting among immediate neighbors, who disliked each other simply for speaking a different dialect, or even the same, but with a different accent. Thus the monks of the abbey of Andres could hardly bear those of the abbey of Charroux, of which theirs was a dependency, on account of a difference of accent—*propter linguarum dissonantia*, says the chronicler.

Meanwhile the court of France had become, for all the northern provinces, the model and school of courtesy and refined manners, and the language spoken in the royal palace was the natural expression thereof. As early as the twelfth century no one was admitted at the court of France, were he prince or noble, who could not express himself in French, that is in the dialect of the Île-de-France;<sup>3</sup> and no trouvère had any chance of success un-

<sup>1</sup> Apelan lengatge estranh come frances, engles, espanhol, lombard.—*Leys d'Amor*, ii, 318.

<sup>2</sup> In lingua gallica vel alia nobis extranea, quam licet literæ essent integræ, perfecto non potuimus perspicere.

<sup>3</sup> About the year 1180, Quènes de Béthune was invited to court, when Alice de Champagne, and the prince her son, who afterward reigned under the name of Philippe-Auguste, expressed a desire to hear some of his poetry. So Quènes declaimed some of his best verses, but spoke with a strong Picard accent. The consequence was that he was laughed at by the courtiers, reproved by the queen and her son, and blamed by everybody, especially by a certain countess whom he had most at heart to please. He thus describes himself his misadventure:

“ Mon langage ont blasmé li *François*  
 Et mes chançons, oyant les *Champenois*  
 Et la contesse encoir, dont plus me poise (*p*o*ise*)  
 La rolne ne fit pas que courtoise,  
 Qui me reprist, elle et ses fiex li rois;

less he used that dialect for his compositions.<sup>1</sup> When not sufficiently acquainted with the prevailing dialect to venture upon its use, they generally make some statement to that effect in the preface of their works, often expressing sarcastic regrets for not being conversant with the more refined dialect of Paris.<sup>2</sup>

In using the word dialect, so often recurring in these pages, we mean some particular mode of speech peculiar to one locality, and differing from that of other provinces by changes of pronunciation, of orthography, and the arrangement of words in the sentence. As long as the dialects of a country have all the same literary importance, and no predominance one over another, they remain in the condition of dialects. Thus in Greece, the Ionian, Æolian, Attic, and Doric were dialects,<sup>3</sup> inasmuch as

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Encoir ne soit ma parole *françoise*,  
Si la puet-on bien entendre en *françois*.  
Ne cil me sont bien appris ne courtois  
Qui m'ont repris, si j'ai dit mot d'Artois,  
Car je ne fus pas norriz à Pontoise."

<sup>1</sup> It was for this reason that Aymon de Varennes, a trouvère of the twelfth century, wrote his "Roman de Florimont" in French, and not in the dialect of Lyons, where he composed his poem:

Il ne fut mie fait en *France*,  
Mais en la langue des *François* ;  
Le fist Aimes en Leonès (*Lyonnais*). . . .  
Aux *François* veult de tant servir,  
Car ma langue leur est sauvage,  
Que j'ay dit en leur language  
Tout au mieux que je ay sceu dire.

He did not write in French because he liked the language better than his own, for he says:

Mieux ains ma langue que l'aultrui ;  
but only for the sake of celebrity, since—  
Romans ne histoire ne plait  
Aux *François*, se ilz ne l'ont fait.

<sup>2</sup> A trouvère, born in Meun, and who is sometimes mistaken for Jehan de Meun, who continued the *Roman de la Rose*, expresses himself thus:

Si m'excuse de mon langage  
Rude, malostru et sauvage,  
Car nés ne sui pas de Paris,  
Ne si cointes com fu Paris.  
Mais me raporte et me compere  
Au parler que m'apprist ma mere  
A Meun, quant je l'alaitoie.

Another trouvère from Normandy, Richard de Lison, finds it necessary to warn his readers:

Qu'il est Normanz ; s'il a mepris,  
Il n'en doit ja estre repris,  
Se il y a de son langage.

<sup>3</sup> In respect to the origins of these dialects, Sharon Turner somewhat bluntly remarks: "The numerous conjugations of the Greek verbs seem, like those of the Sanscrit, to be a collection of barbarisms and cumbersome anoma-

none of these, at the expense of the other three, became the language of the entire country, but kept a separate and complete existence, each one by itself, with its own authors and its own masterpieces of literature. But when, from some cause or other, one dialect in particular becomes the exponent of governmental authority and literature, that is, of moral and material power, then the latter assumes an overwhelming importance, to the detriment of all around it, attracts and absorbs their best talent, and soon becomes the national language, while the others are gradually reduced to the condition of *patois*. These forms of speech, called "patois," therefore, are not, as is commonly thought, literary French corrupted in the mouth of ignorant peasants; they are, on the contrary, the remains of ancient provincial dialects which, through political events, have fallen from the position of official and literary languages to that of simple patois.

Such was the fate of the Norman, the Burgundian, the Picard, and all the other dialects of France, except that of the Ile de France, which, being the dialect of the dominant province, rose in importance, and, eclipsing the others, became the common language of the country. Hugh Capet, on ascending the throne, had made Paris the capital of France. Still, throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Capetian sovereigns, lords of little but the Ile de France and the Orléans territory, had no great influence outside the royal domain; and the dialects around it retained their independent equality. But by the middle of the thirteenth century the sovereignty of the Capets grew stronger, and with its growth the French dialect grew also in importance. In 1101 they took Berry; Picardy fell to Philip Augustus in 1203, and Touraine after it; Normandy followed in 1204; Languedoc was added in 1272, and Champagne in 1361. The French dialect followed the triumphant progress of the dukes of France, and drove out the dialects of the conquered provinces. First it was introduced through the official acts of

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lies. Four inflections to express the past tense! I am aware that our scholars have elaborately studied to explore the fine shades and distinctions of meaning between the perfect and imperfect, and the first and second aorist. Their acknowledged failure may be taken as evidence that what they search for did not exist. I suspect that they have arisen from the same language having been used by many rude tribes, who became afterward much intermixed. Some had used one tense, some the other, and the common practical language was at last compelled to retain all. The same remark is applicable to the several declensions of the Latin, Greek, and Sanscrit nouns.

the conquerors; then it was used in literary works, and finally adopted by all who wished to be thought gentlemen. The people alone resisted and kept up their ancient speech, which, gradually ceasing to be written, but spoken only by the lower classes, and thus, subject to incessant alterations, fell from the rank of dialects to that of mere patois—in which condition, with some rare exceptions, it still subsists in the rural districts of France.

But, though French is the only recognized national language, and every patois has only its own local existence, the study of the latter is not the less important to the etymologist, as in their remains especially he looks for the connecting links between the modern French and Latin, and even for the earlier forms of the latter, many of which are still lingering in some remote and isolated districts. All these changes and revolutions are the result of regular transformations, in which the philologist sees only the natural application of general laws; and, even as the solar beam in passing through the prism is decomposed into luminous rays of colors and intermediary shades, so a language, after its decomposition, still subsists in a series of linguistic degradations, which will often show traces of their noble origin, though eclipsed by the splendor of a rising luminary, to whose power and glory they have lent their best substance.

Thus the French language, not to speak of the various writers from all parts of France who have contributed to its luster, has largely drawn upon the neighboring dialects. From the Bourguignon it took the word *roi* for instance, and from the Norman *reine*. *Charger* was French, but *carguer* comes from the Langue d'oc. It needed such a word for a special meaning; and in the same manner it took *attaquer* from the Picard, though it had *attacher* already. Many words which in the latter dialect had retained the hard *c* of the Latin, had the form of *ch* in French. Thus the Latin *campus*, *carta*, *catus*, *castellum*, which in Picard had become *camp*, *carte*, *cat*, *castel*, were *champ*, *charte*, *chat*, *chastel*. In some cases modern French has adopted both forms, with different shades of meaning, though they are in reality the same word. In the same way we may account for the double forms of *fleurir* and *florir*; *grincer* and *grincher*; *écorcer* and *écorcher*; *laisser* and *lâcher*; *charrier* and *charroyer*; *plier* and *ployer*, etc.

It is difficult, in speaking of the history of a language, not to allude to the works it has produced, inasmuch as



they are the exact expression of its successive developments. We there follow the traces of its formation, and at every step discover the various influences by which its forms are modified; and although the study of the authors of a language belongs more particularly to the history of its literature, it will not be the less interesting to show how the same may be studied in chronological order from a philological point of view.

The French language, which had commenced as vulgar Latin, which in the sixth century was only the jargon of the lower classes, and which in the eighth and ninth centuries began to be cultivated by those who wanted to be heard and listened to by the masses, had in the eleventh century become almost a learned language, having its poets, its prose writers, and even its savans. In tracing the transition from Latin into French, in the Oath sworn at Strasburg, we find that the sense is still better explained by a translation into the former than into the latter language. A hundred years later appears a hymn or poem of great beauty, in French verse, on the martyrdom of St. Eulalia, which we quote on page 602, followed by its French translation. To show, however, how near the language of the time still came to the Latin, we give here the first four lines of this poem with a Latin interlinear translation:

Buona pulcella fut Eulalia,  
*Bona puella fuit Eulalia,*  
 Bel avret corps bellezour anima.  
*Bellum haberet corpus bellior anima.*  
 Voldrent la veintre li Deo inimi,  
*Voluerunt illam vincere illi Deo inimici,*  
 Voldrent la faire diavle servir.  
*Voluerunt illam facere diabolum servire.*

Compare this with the following extract of the *Chanson de Roland*, the original of which dates less than a hundred years later, and notice the remarkable progress of the language, which finds its explanation far better by a translation into French. The extract describes how Charlemagne, wishing to avenge the death of Roland, combats the Saracens, and is only saved from the terrible blows of the emir Baligant by the intercession of the archangel Michael:

Li amirals est mult de grant vertut !  
 Fiert Carlemagne sur l'elme d'acer brun,  
 Desur la teste li ad frait e fendut,

Met li l'espée sur les chevels menuz,  
 Prent de la carn grant pleine palme, e plus.  
 Iloec endreit remeint li os tut nut !  
 Carles cancelet, por poi qu'il n'est caüt,  
 Mais Deus ne volt qu'il seit mort ne vencut :  
 Seint Gabriel est repairet a lui,  
 Si li demandet : " Reis Magnes, que fais-tu ? "

LITERAL VERSION IN FRENCH.

L'Émir est plein de grand courage !  
 Il frappe Charlemagne sur son heaume d'acier brun,  
 Sur la tête l'a frappé et l'a fendu,  
 Lui met son épée sur ses cheveux clair-semés,  
 Prend de la chair une grande palme pleine, et plus.  
 En cet endroit reste l'os tout à nu !  
 Charles chancelle ; pour peu il se laisserait choir.  
 Mais Dieu ne veut pas qu'il meure ou qu'il soit vaincu.  
 Saint Gabriel est apparu à lui,  
 Et lui demande : " Grand Roi, que fais-tu ? "

As it was this song which in 1066 led the army of William the Conqueror to victory, it must have been known long before to be so popular among the soldiers. In the form here given it probably dates from the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup>

From this time forward we have a series of thoroughly original poetical productions, graceful and brilliant lyrics, and high epics which followed each other in rapid succession, and became exceedingly popular in other countries as well as at home. Even in the tenth century we find it the custom among the English nobles to send their sons to France for education,<sup>2</sup> and in the reign of Edward the Confessor, French was the language of his court. Adenet le Roy, a trouvère of French Flanders, who lived about 1210, informs us that in his time it was the custom among the German nobles to have French persons in the family to teach their children French.<sup>3</sup> Bru-

<sup>1</sup> See page 604.

<sup>2</sup> Ob usum armorum, et ad linguæ nativæ barbariem tollendam.—Duchesne, vol. iii, p. 370.

<sup>3</sup> Avoit une coustume ens el Tyois (Teuton) pails  
 Que tout li grant seignour, li comte et li marchis  
 Avoient entour eux gent francoyse tous dis  
 Pour aprendre francoys leur filles et leur fils.

"Frenchmen," says Max Muller, "became the tutors of the sons of the German nobility. French manners, dresses, dishes, dances, were the fashion everywhere, and German poets learned from French poets the subjects of their own romantic compositions."

netto Latini, Dante's master, wrote his "Thresor de Sapience" in French (1260), and as a reason for doing so he says: "S'aucuns demandoit porquoy chis livres est escript en romans selonc le parler de France, pour chose que nous somes Ytaliens, je diroie que ch'est pour deux raisons; l'une porce que nos somes en France, l'autre pour chou que la parleure en est plus delitauble et plus comune a tous gens." In 1275, Martino da Canale translated into French the Latin history of Venice, "parce que la langue francoise cort parmi le monde, et est plus delitauble a lire et a oïr que nulle aultre." Marco Polo wrote his travels in French (1295). In 1356, John Maundeville translated his "Voiage and Travaile" from Latin into French as well as into English, so that every one of his nation, he says, might understand it. Similar reasons determine Della Perena and Nicolo di Casola, contemporaries of Boccaccio, and after them Luigi di Porcia, the Marquis di Saluces, and many others to use the French language in preference to their own. French was, indeed, the language most generally understood, and learned authors, for the purpose of popularizing their works, translated them into that idiom. Guillaume de Nangis says it is "pour la commodité des bonnes gens qu'il a translaté son histoire de Latin en Romans." High in renown among all universities stood the University of Paris. Among the students on its rolls in the twelfth century are to be found nearly all of the most distinguished among the learned of every country. One of the teachers alone, the celebrated Abelard, is said to have had as pupils twenty persons who afterward became cardinals, and more than fifty who rose to be bishops and archbishops. Thomas à Becket and John of Salisbury were educated there, and so was Nicholas Breakspear, who afterward became pope by the title of Adrian IV. Paris was then wont to be styled, by way of pre-eminence, the City of Letters, and from every country of Europe students flocked to its university.<sup>1</sup>

The following passage of the first Psalm of David, as found in the versions of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth,

<sup>1</sup> The fact is referred to in the following lines of a mediæval Latin song:

Filii nobilium, dum sunt juniores  
Mittuntur in Franciam fieri doctores.

Notwithstanding the rising reputation of Oxford and Cambridge, so many Englishmen were constantly found among the students of the University of Paris, that they formed one of the four nations into which the members of the university were divided. See page 330. It would appear from the following verses of Nigellus Wireker, a German student at Paris in 1170, that these young gentle-

fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, will serve as specimens of the French language in its various stages of progress during that period, observing that the text of the Bible is in every language always more antiquated than the current idiom, probably from a sense of reverence for things sacred which refrains from translating Scriptures in too familiar language:

*Twelfth Century.*

Et iert ensemment cume fust tresplantet de juxte les ruisals des ewes, le quel sun fruit durrat en sun tens.

E la foille de lui ne decurrat ; e tuit ceo que il serrat fait prospere.

*Thirteenth Century.*

Et il sera si com arbre que plantée est juste le cours des eawes, le quel donra son fruit en temps sesonale.

La foille ne cherra ; et totes choses qecunque il fera, tut dis en prosperunt.

*Fourteenth Century.*

Et il sera come li fust qui est plantés de coste le decourement des yauwes qui donra son fruit en temps.

Et sa fueille ne cherra pas, et tout ce qu'il fera sera touz jours en prosperité.

*Fifteenth Century.*

Et il sera comme l'arbre qui est planté juxte le cours des eawes qui son fruit donnera en tout temps.

Et sa fueille ne descherra ; et toutes choses que le juste fera, tous jours prospereront.

*Sixteenth Century.*

Il sera comme l'arbre planté le long des eaux courantes, qui rend son fruit en sa saison.

Les feuilles ne tomberont point ; et tout ce qu'il produira viendra à souhait.

The great intellectual movement which was called the "revival of learning," and which resulted mainly, though not wholly, from the recurrence to Greek and Roman literature and art as models, had been working in Italy throughout the fifteenth century ; and the close connec-

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men were then already noted for certain national characteristics which still make a prominent part of their reputation :

Moribus egregii, verbo vultuque venusti,  
 Ingenio pollent, consilioque vigent ;  
 Dona pluunt populis, et detestantur avaros,  
 Fercula multiplicant, et sine lege bibunt.

tion between the French and Italian people was certain to spread its influence northward. Still independently of this, the studies of native Frenchmen pointed in the same direction. In Latin literature the chief works had long been known. Virgil, Ovid, and even many of the works of Cicero had been for ages the delight of scholars and the food of poets. But even in respect to these the greater publicity which the multiplication of copies by the printing-press gave to them, led to innumerable questions being stirred which till then had lain comparatively dormant, while the problems of textual, philological, and literary criticism, which the careful study of the author suggested, were now taken up with eagerness by a large and ever-increasing circle of students. Other questions of a more general interest likewise seized upon the public mind. The magnetic needle had pointed out new routes for enterprise and navigation, and the discovery of new countries promoted a general spirit of adventure and inquiry in intellectual as well as commercial matters. The invention of gunpowder had affected materially the composition of armies, and changed entirely the former mode of warfare; and lastly, the great religious revolution, which, after smoldering long in England, had burst out in the most violent form on the continent, gave the amplest exercise to men's power of speaking and writing.

All these forces required some time to set to work, and to avail themselves of the tremendous weapon which the press had put into their hands. In no country was their literary result more striking and more manifold than in France. The double effect of the study of antiquity and the religious movements especially, almost at once produced there an outburst of literary development of the most diverse kinds, which even the fierce and sanguinary civil disorders to which the Reformation gave rise did not succeed in checking. No century can show a group of prose writers and poets as was then formed by the leading minds in France. These great writers were not merely remarkable for the vigor and originality of their thoughts, the freshness, variety, and grace of their fancy, the abundance of their learning and the solidity of their arguments; their great merit was the creation of a language and a style able to give expression to the acumen of their thought and their advanced knowledge. It would be idle to underrate or despise the literary capacities and achievements of the older French; but the old language, with all its

merits, was ill-suited to treat the more serious questions which now preoccupied men's minds. Pleasant or affecting tales could be told in it with interest and pathos. Songs of charming *naïveté* and grace could be sung; the requirements of the epic and the chronicle were suitably furnished; but its vocabulary was limited, not to say poor; it was barren of the terms of art and science, and did not readily lend itself to sustained eloquence, to impassioned poetry or to logical discussion. It had been too long accustomed to leave those things to Latin, and it bore marks of its original character as a *lingua rustica*—a tongue suited to homely conversation, to folk-lore and to ballads rather than to the business of the forum and the court, the speculations of the study, and the declamation of the theatre. Efforts had indeed been made to supply the defect, but not yet with any marked result. It was reserved for the sixteenth century to accomplish the task.

The first few years of that century were naturally occupied rather with the last developments of the mediæval forms than with the production of the new model; but before the century was half over a school of poetry was set on foot by a small association of friends who were all ardent admirers of the ancient classics, and who endeavored, as nearly as might be, to shape French poetry and the French language in general upon classical models. The leaders in this movement were the celebrated "Pléiade," a group of seven writers whose names were Ronsard, Du Bellay, Baif, Jodelle, Dorat, Belleau, and Ponthus de Thyard. Of these, Dorat was one of the oldest, and the instructor of the others in classical lore. Jodelle was before all things a dramatic writer, and his models were Seneca and Terence rather than Sophocles and Aristophanes; but the style was suited to the taste of the people before whom it was set, and French tragedy followed no other for nearly three hundred years. The other five members of the Pléiade were chiefly poets, among whom Baif was the learned founder of an academy of poetry and music, established in 1571 under the patronage of Charles IX. He proposed a new alphabet and vocabulary, favoring the unlimited admission of Greek and Latin words, and was especially fond of Latin comparatives and superlatives, which caused his friend Du Bellay ironically to address him as "docte, docteur, doctisme Baif." The latter himself, however, issued a celebrated manifesto entitled *Défense et illustration de la langue françoise* (1548), in which

he proposed a plan for the production of a more poetical and noble language by the wholesale importation of Greek and Latin words in their natural state, and by introducing the literary forms employed by the ancient classical authors. But the representative poet of the school is Pierre de Ronsard, A. D. 1524-1585, who was its acknowledged head, and was for a very long time hailed as "the prince of poets" by both Frenchmen and foreigners. He threw aside the indigenous French poetry and wrote odes, elegies, and pastorals in ancient fashion, and so profusely mixed up with Greek and Latin as to be almost unintelligible to the generality of readers. Still his manner was greatly admired by the classical scholars of the age, and for a long time after looked upon as the only legitimate one in point of good taste and noble inspiration. Thanks to his efforts, and the many imitators he found at home and abroad, the images of Greek mythology and the traditional allegories of Olympian polytheism well nigh crowded out the pure symbols of Christianity.

Among the many causes which led to this great aim at improving the vernacular among the men of letters, there was one which, probably more than any other, gave the real impulse. Up to Ronsard's time a low and corrupt Latin had been the language of public administration. This was abolished in 1539 by Francis I, who prescribed the exclusive use of French in all public and private transactions, and from this time forward it became the official language of the courts, the parliament, in short of every one, except the clergy and the savans, who kept up the practice of studying Latin as a preparation for their learned investigations. Still, from the moment that French became the official language by royal decree, they could not affect to ignore it; and, following their leaders, several set to work to see how it could be improved, not by a rational inquiry into the modifications which time and events had wrought in the language, but by a blind return to ancient rules, by which they thought the rebellious idioms would be again brought under discipline. To them French was a kind of Latin patois, that could never be made to serve the purpose of a great nation unless it was brought back to its ancient classical purity, and in their ignorance of the real origin of the language, they applied Latin grammar and syntax to an idiom which for fifteen centuries had been growing up in utter disregard of its rules. This unintelligent manner

of understanding linguistics has left a curious trace in the very title of one of the first grammars published in France: *Tractatus Latino-Gallicus, c'est a dire, essay de concordance entre le latin et le francoys* (1543), in which the author reduces everything to the rules of classical Latin, and lays it down as a principle, that through Latin alone one can obtain a correct knowledge of French, which notion, however absurd, found great favor with the classical scholars of the time, who were anxious to show their superiority by the employment of words not French, but borrowed from the Greek and Latin.

At no time had any revolution been more threatening to the existing forms of language, nor had men ever been more active or more successful than those who formed the Pléiade, in producing the aimed-at results. If France was ever to possess a literature worthy of the nation, the language, they held, must be enriched and strengthened by unlimited borrowings from its parent Latin; and in their enthusiasm they were not far from turning the whole Latin dictionary into their native tongue. They would even have imported the Greek license of compound words, though the genius of the French language is wholly repugnant to it. Still, as they were all men of the highest talent, and not a few of them men of great genius, they achieved much that they designed, and, even when they failed, they very often indirectly produced results as important and more beneficial than they intended. Doubtless they went too far, and adverse criticism and the natural course of time rejected much that they had added; but their work as a whole remained, and no force of reaction was ever after able to undo it. Their ideal of a separate poetical language, distinct from that intended for prose use, was a doubtful, if not a dangerous one, especially from the wholesale Latinizing and Hellenizing of their mother-tongue, by which they sought to accomplish it; but for all that their works are models of elegance and grace, they abound in passages of great eloquence and sustained dignity of language, and are singularly free from the heaviness and dryness which have since generally attended translations and imitations of the classics in modern tongues. The truth is that, though these writers professed to despise the middle ages, they themselves were still animated by a large portion of the mediæval and romantic spirit. The union of this with the classical attention to elegance and form



produced the various schools of art and literature to which the term "Renaissance" has been attached, and among which French sixteenth century literature, and in particular the poetry of the Pléiade, of which Ronsard was the leading spirit, is universally acknowledged as holding the most conspicuous place.

But great as was the importance of that century in the history of French poetry, its importance in the history of French prose is greater still. Some of the most distinguished names in prose writing date from this period, and many of their works became models of style at home and abroad, though they themselves had hardly any predecessors by whom to guide their attempts. Up to the beginning of the century, the only works of importance that had been written in prose were chronicles and lengthy prose versions of the old verse romances. A few sermons, a few legal works, a few short prose tales, and still fewer treatises on serious subjects summed up the contents of French prose literature. Before the close of the period, however, there was not a single branch of literature practiced in the present day, if we except the comparatively recent growth of journalism, which had not been attempted by writers of the first talent.

Foremost among these, both by his influence and by the style and power of his language, must be named Calvin, whose *Institution de la Religion Chrestienne* contains, so to speak, the constitution and code of all those religious bodies which, at the Reformation, definitively broke with the Catholic tradition, and declined to recognize the continuity of the Christian Church. Originally written in Latin, it was almost at once translated into French by its very author, who saw the necessity of appealing to the people and not merely to the learned, and who, indeed, is responsible for the strong democratic feeling which accompanied the religious revolt in many cases. He dedicated his work to Francis I, A. D. 1535, calling on him, almost in threatening language, to exert the royal power in behalf of his views and principles. "*C'est votre office, sire, de ne detourner ne voz oreilles ne vostre courage d'une si iuste défense, principalement quand il est question de si grande chose, c'est assavoir comment la gloire de Dieu sera maintenue sur la terre, comment sa verité retiendra son honneur et dignité, comment le règne de Christ demeurera en son entier.*" The power and elegance of his language elicited universal admiration, and Bossuet himself admitted of him

"d'avoir excellé dans la langue maternelle, et aussi bien écrit qu'homme de son siècle."

After Calvin, the champions of the national language are almost all more or less suspected of Protestantism. Clément Marot (1497-1544) translated the Psalms into French, and Marguerite de Navarre, the king's sister, and a great patroness of literature as well as of the new religious doctrines, had them sung at her court. Étienne Dolet published in 1543 a *Brief discours de la république francoyse désirant la lecture de la Sainte Esriture lui estre loysible en sa langue vulgaire*. But the most eager and most open Protestant of all was Guillaume du Bartas (1544-1590), the most famous of the followers of the Pléiade. He attempted works on a much greater scale, and was much more successful than any of his predecessors. His *Divine Sepmaine*, or "Week of the World's Creation," is an elaborate poem, written in phraseology of the stiffest Pléiade pattern, full of Latinisms, double epithets, and strange looking words, after the taste and fashion of the time, but not the less abounding in passages of great eloquence and sustained dignity of language. As such it enjoyed a high reputation at home and abroad, thirty editions of it having been printed within six years after its appearance. Its religious tone made it a great favorite with English writers of the time,<sup>1</sup> by whom the author was always designated as the "Divine Du Bartas," and placed on an equality with Ariosto. At present he would be difficult to read, as he even outstripped Ronsard in creating new words and in reconstructing words already in existence, in lines like these for instance :

. . . . "Apollon donne-honneurs  
 Donne-âme, porte-jour !  
 . . . . Herme guide-navire  
 Mercure, eschelle-ciel, invent' art, ayme-lire !"

Though such forms seem to us absurd at present, yet they were then received by some with boundless admiration. The truth is, literature had become the business of a clique, with a kind of learned language, which was understood by the initiated only.

At last the good sense of the people protested against such extravagances. Rabelais never lost an opportunity of ridiculing the pedants of this school, and his scoffing

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<sup>1</sup> See page 365.

sneers did still more than the learned arguments of others to check their affected mannerism. To a fop of Bourges, who in this exquisite style said: "*L'origine primève de mes aves et ataves feut indigène des régions lémoiviques où requiesce le corps de l'agiotate saint Martial. J'entends bien, dist Pantagruel, tu es Limozin pour tout potaige, et tu veulz icy contre-faire le Parisien.*" After him, the sharp criticisms of scholars like Henri Estienne (1528-1598) and François de Malherbe (1556-1628), did with the educated what he had done with the masses. Malherbe, especially, set himself to oppose the classical tendencies of the Pléiade by substituting for them other aims of a quite dissimilar kind. "How can our poetry be truly French," said he, "while we load it either with Greek and Latin words, or with the provincialisms of the various patois of our land"? Whenever applied to for an opinion about French words, he always referred his questioners to the people at large, saying that "they were his masters in language." By thus repudiating alike court and college, fashion and erudition, and taking for his guide the better instincts of the people of Paris, he recognized the taste of the day, and gave to the vast wealth of materials gathered by his predecessors order and regularity. He it was who set the example of the characteristics which distinguished French poetry for fully two centuries, and which made it the admiration of all Europe. These characteristics may be thus summed up: 1. A very accurate versification, absence of hiatus, and correct observance of the rhyme. 2. The exclusive use of a simple but carefully chosen phraseology, free from all harsh and forced inversions and every species of license in language. 3. The avoidance of too picturesque or startling effects, and the preference of a kind of elegant commonplace in the treatment of every subject. "Good verse," he said, "ought to be as beautiful as beautiful prose." This respect for the reader as well as for the laws of style, this high idea of the difficulties of the art, was a new thing to the sixteenth century, and under its influence French poetry ripened at once into maturity. As the founder and chief of a new school, Malherbe had of course his partisans and his opponents. But the mediæval influence had become exhausted in his time, and the Ronsard school had worn itself out, partly owing to its undue pedantry, partly to the error, constantly recurring in the history of literature, of its members forming themselves into a kind of sect or clique, claiming exclusive superiority

over all others in point of taste and talent. Still their influence on the language was immense, and though the new school did not participate in that reverence for classical antiquity, which was the strongest of all intellectual peculiarities of the former, it not the less acknowledged the advantages literature had derived from an enriched vocabulary, though pruning and shaping it for higher and nobler purposes, and checking its abuses and excesses. All that caprice and fancy had created vanished; all that analogy and necessity had formed remained. Thus the words *apostrophe*, *jurisconsulte*, *précellence*, *stratagème*, *analogie*, etc., continued to be used; *astorge*, *amène*, *entéléchie*, *ocymore*, *oligochronien* and the like have disappeared.

If the classical erudition of Ronsard and his followers has enriched the French vocabulary with words taken from the ancients, the several expeditions of Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I, beyond the Alps, and especially the alliance of Henry II with Catherine de Medicis had no less influence in introducing words from the Italian. The prolonged sojourn of the French armies in Italy, during the early years of the sixteenth century, had made the Italian language very familiar to the French. The splendor of the Italian Renaissance in literature and art dazzled the French mind, while the regency of Catherine de Medicis gave the prestige of fashion to every thing Italian. This Italian influence was omnipotent at the courts of Francis I and Henry II, and the courtiers did their best to make it felt throughout the nation. With them the gentlemen were *doctissime*, *grandissime*, *sérénissime*; the ladies *bellissime*, *blondelettes*, and had *la bouche vermeillette*. The most ridiculous opposites, such as *terriblement heureux*, *grandement petit*, etc., were considered extremely fashionable. Then appeared a number of words hitherto unknown, especially such as had reference to court life, the army, the fine arts, commerce, and matters of modern interest. Once the impulse given, it became quite the fashion with some to ignore good old words in ordinary speech, and to substitute others utterly Italian. Thus, your man of taste would not deign to say *suffire*, *grand revenu*, *la première fois*, but called it *baster*, *grosse intrade*, *la première volte*. Add to this the peculiar mode of pronouncing *o* like *ou*, *er* like *ar*, and the shocking affectation of using the first person singular pronoun with the verb in the plural, and we shall understand the meaning and object of Henri Estienne's rebuke:

. . . . " Vous  
 Qui lourdemment barbarisants  
 Toujours j'allions, je venions dites ;  
 N'estes vous pas de bien grans fous  
 De dire chouse au lieu de chose,  
 De dire j'ouse au lieu de j'ose !  
 En la fin vous direz la guarre,  
 Place Maubart et frère Piarre ! "

In noticing this strange habit of altering the pronunciation and form of the language through Italian influence, it is interesting to find the same thing among the peasantry in many districts in France, and consequently in the jargon which comic authors put in the mouth of the peasants on the stage. In his *Don Juan*, for instance, Molière makes Pierrot say to Charlotte: "*Je sommes pour être maris ensemble.*" As with the words of classical origin, the useful ones, introduced through the Italian, have been retained; the others have disappeared from the language.

The Italian influence vanished in the reign of Henry III, but was almost immediately replaced by that of Spain. The wars of the League, and the long occupation of French soil by Spanish armies toward the end of the sixteenth century, spread wide among the French nation the knowledge of the Castilian speech. This invasion, which lasted from the time of Henry IV to the death of Louis XIII, left very distinct marks on the French language. For a time the court of Henry IV was almost entirely Spanish. Sully tells us that the courtiers did nothing but utter Castilian cries and exclamations. Regnier laughs at their affected phrases, *en ma conscience, il en faudrait mourir*, and the like. Spanish influence lasted to the year 1643, and though quite sensible in French manners and literature, it affected the vocabulary but little.

By the end of the sixteenth century the mediæval influence was entirely exhausted and no trace remained of it as an active and living force. While the purism of Malherbe was rapidly making its way in French verse, a similar and still more healthy influence was being exerted in the department of prose by Jean de Balzac (1594-1654)—the elder Balzac, as he is often called, to distinguish him from the great novelist of the nineteenth century. In his letters, essays, etc., he endeavored to purify the vocabulary from the foreign intrusions, and to regulate the style of ordinary prose-writing, which hitherto had been, except in the hands of a few great writers, by no means a con-

venient instrument for general literary purposes. These various reforming influences were largely assisted by the fancy of the time for literary coteries, in which authors and ladies of rank played the chief parts, and which were also frequented by many statesmen and nobles. The famous Madame de Rambouillet was the chief patroness of these meetings, at which much minor poetry and many short prose pieces were composed or recited. But the really great developments of French literature during the first half of the seventeenth century were of a very different kind. Abundant as had been, during the century preceding, the exercise given to the intellect, that exercise had been chiefly confined to religious disputes on questions of church government and a few points of dogma. The unseemly controversies of the earlier religious struggles, and the furious preachings of the League, were succeeded by religious polemics of a more decent kind and by pulpit eloquence which promised the great oratorical displays of the latter part of the century. But the thought of the new age threw itself still more into purely philosophical lines, and into subjects which appeared less dangerous to handle. The old scholastic philosophy, which in various shapes had satisfied the philosophical appetite of the Middle Ages, had been practically dead for a long time, though its forms still continued to be taught in colleges and universities. The sixteenth century, in this as in other things, showing its reverence for classical antiquity, had tried, but without success, to satisfy itself with the actual text of the Greek philosophers. It is the glory of France to have produced, in René Descartes (1596-1650), at once one of the earliest and most skillful writers of a clear, elegant, and scholarly prose in any modern language, and also the first great modern philosopher, taking philosophy in its strictest meaning. The *Discours de la Methode* and the *Meditations* of Descartes treat of the most abstruse subjects that can possibly occupy human thought; yet they are written in French so clear and simple that any child, as far as the mere literal and grammatical meaning goes, can understand them at once. Nor did the spirit of discussion stop at profane philosophy. Many points of Christian theology, which had not been made the subject of the great half-political, half-ecclesiastical disputes of the sixteenth century, came in for discussion and study. The renown, also, which France had already acquired for memoir-writing, did not decline in this age, which supplied in

its turbulent and changeable politics abundance of materials for the purpose. Conspicuous among such writers is the great Cardinal Richelieu, who, though not exactly the founder of the *Académie*, as he is sometimes called, brought it for the first time into a solid and stable condition, and transformed it from a mere private club of wits, such as the country saw many of, into an institution formally charged with the overseeing of French language and literature.

The considerations on which the establishment of this institution was founded were, among others: "*Que notre langue, plus parfaite déjà que pas une des autres vivantes, pourroit bien enfin succéder à la Latine, comme la Latine à la Grecque, si on prenoit plus de soin qu'on n'avoit fait jusqu'ici de l'élocution; . . . que les fonctions des académiciens seroient de nettoyer la langue des ordures qu'elle avoit contractées, ou dans la bouche du peuple, ou dans la foule du palais, et dans les impuretez de la chicane, ou par les mauvais usages des courtisans ignorans, ou par l'abus de ceux qui la corrompent en l'écrivant, et de ceux qui disent bien dans les chaires ce qu'il faut dire, mais autrement qu'il ne faut.*" These considerations, as well as the work assigned to the *Académie*, were in perfect harmony with the policy and character of the Cardinal. He loved too much rule and order in everything not to wish to impose them even on the work of imagination; he possessed too much the instinct of government not to desire to rule and regulate also language and literature. Besides, it gave him an opportunity to denounce officially *les ordures que la langue avoit contractées dans la foule du palais ou par les usages des courtisans ignorans*, whom he put on a par with the lower classes, as far as language was concerned; and also to take out of the hands of the Italian nobles who congregated at the residence of Madame de Rambouillet—the headquarters of those who pretended to regenerate the language—the supreme direction of matters of taste; which was a sort of victory over the nobility who tried to be independent, and a triumph over the foreigners who were opposed to him. Moreover, in 1611, Cotgrave had already published in London a French-English and English-French Dictionary, a large work in folio, and it seemed impossible for France to remain behind in the production of a standard work on the national language. In 1680 Richelet published his Dictionary, which, instead of being simply an alphabetical list of words, was the first that was composed on a

methodical plan, and indicates the proper and figurative meaning of the expressions, justified by common use and examples taken from good authors. Ten years later appeared, in spite of the opposition of the *Académie*, the *Dictionnaire universel de Furetière, contenant les mots français tant vieux que modernes*, a kind of encyclopedia of the language, which had its merits, but obtained greater success abroad than at home.

The *Académie française* was founded in 1635 *pour établir des règles certaines de la langue, et rendre le langage français non seulement élégant, mais capable de traiter tous les arts et toutes les sciences*, and its first *Dictionnaire* was published in 1694. It consists of an alphabetical list of words and their definitions, illustrated by examples consecrated by usage and the practice of the best writers. No word is admitted but on the highest authority, the object of the work being, according to a contemporary critic, to *fixer les écrivains, lorsqu'ils ne savent pas bien si un mot est du bel usage; s'il est assez noble dans une telle circonstance; ou si une certaine expression n'a rien de défectueux*. As such the *Académie* has had undeniably a salutary influence on the language; only its forty members are not infallible, and are liable to error as well as the judges of any other tribunal. Such a word as they reject remains in the language not the less, while such other as they have sanctioned disappears. Still, a comparative study of the seven editions of the Dictionary, which have appeared at long intervals in 1694, 1718, 1740, 1762, 1795, 1835, and 1878, shows the happy influence exerted by the *Académie* upon the public, and reciprocally by the public upon the *Académie*. Each edition contains words which had been rejected previously, but which the persistency of their use have proclaimed correct and indispensable. Thus, in as much as it takes the *Académie* many years to prepare a new edition of its Dictionary, and as on principle it registers only such words as are of undoubted national existence, it follows that, in a certain sense, the work is already old the day of its publication. But this flavor of antiquity is not to be disdained; it, on the contrary, offers important advantages; and if the official vocabulary does not include the terms which fashion creates and which occasionally are consecrated by usage, it does not contain either those irregular forms of language, admissible, perhaps, in very familiar style, but not destined to live—"words which come like shadows, so depart." Even the severe criticisms which every new edition of



this official dictionary always draws forth have benefited the public by stimulating individual energies: and the consequence is that no language is better provided with dictionaries of every description than the French is to-day.

As the history of the language after the middle of the seventeenth century is purely that of its literature, we close with these remarks on its dictionaries, which, in their various spheres, are to some extent the records of its progress.

## CHAPTER II.

### ETYMOLOGY.

ETYMOLOGY is usually defined as that department of the study of language which traces words to their elements, their original forms, and primary significations. Similar definitions are given of the terms *Philology* and *Linguistics*, and we often find them employed one for another, almost at haphazard, and according to the more or less urgent euphonic requirements of the phrase or the sentence. Still they admit of a nice distinction; and, to illustrate the difference, we quote from a German writer the following ingenious analogy between the philologist and the botanist on the one hand, and the linguist and the horticulturist on the other.<sup>1</sup>

“Linguistics,” he says, “is an historical science, a science which has no place except where we are in possession of a literature and a history. In the absence of monuments of a literary culture, there is no room for the linguist. In a word, linguistics are applicable to historical documents alone. It is very different with philology, whose sole object is language itself, whose sole study is the examination of language in itself and for itself. The historical changes of languages, the more or less accidental development of the vocabulary, often even their syntactical processes, are all but of secondary importance for the philologist. He devotes his whole attention to the study of the phenomenon itself of articulate speech—a natural function, inevitable and determined, from which there is no escape, and which, like all other functions, is of inexorable necessity. It little matters to the philologist that a language may have prevailed for centuries over vast empires; that it may have produced the most glorious literary monuments, and yielded to the requirements of the most delicate and refined intellectual culture. He little cares, on the other hand, whether an obscure idiom

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<sup>1</sup> A. Schleicher, *Sprachvergleichende Untersuchungen*.

may have perished without fruits or issue, stifled by other tongues, and ignored utterly by the mere linguist. Literature is unquestionably a powerful aid to him, thanks to which he finds it more easy to grasp the language itself, to recognize the succession of its forms, the phases of its development—a valuable, but by no means an indispensable ally. Moreover, the knowledge of a single language is insufficient for the philologist, and herein he is again distinguished from the linguist. There is a Latin linguistic science, for instance, totally independent of the Greek; a Hebrew, equally independent of the Arabic or Assyrian; but we can not speak of a purely Latin or a purely Hebrew philology. Philology, as above stated, is nothing unless comparative. In fact, we can not explain one particular form without comparing it with others. Hence linguistics may be special, and restricted to one language; but to judge correctly of the constituent elements and the structure of a language, we must be previously familiar with the phonetics and the structure of a certain number of other tongues. The researches of the philologist are consequently always and essentially comparative, whereas those of the linguist may be quite special."

It is here that our author introduces his ingenious and reasonable comparison. "The philologist," he remarks, "is a naturalist. He studies languages as the botanist studies plants. The botanist must embrace at a glance the totality of vegetable organisms. He inquires into the laws of their structure and of their development; but he is in no way concerned with their greater or less intrinsic worth, with their more or less valuable uses, the more or less acknowledged pleasure afforded by them. In his eyes, the first wild flower at hand may have a far higher value than the loveliest rose or the choicest lily. The province of the linguist is quite different. It is not with the botanist, but with the horticulturist that he must be compared. The latter devotes his attention only to such species that may be the object of special attraction; what he seeks is beauty of form, color, and perfume. A useless plant has no value in his eyes; he has nothing to do with the laws of structure or development, and a vegetable that in this respect may possess the greatest value, may possibly be for him nothing but a common weed."

The comparison is correct, and, better than any more or less lucid explanation, points out that the philologist studies in man the phenomenon of articulate speech and

its results, just as the physiologist studies such other functions as locomotion, smell, sight, digestion, or circulation of the blood. And not only does the former inquire into and determine the normal laws peculiar to this phenomenon, but he also discovers and describes the changes which are frequently presented during the course of life of languages. For languages originate, grow, decay, and perish like other living things. They pass first through an embryonic period, then reach their highest development, and lastly enter upon a stage of disintegration. It is precisely this conception of the life of language that distinguishes the modern science of language from the unmethodical speculations of the past.

Considering thus philology as a natural, and linguistics as a historical science, we may define etymology as the result of both. It was for want of making this distinction that etymology of old tried to explain the origin of words according to their apparent resemblance or difference, based chiefly on arbitrary relations, superficial analogies, and fanciful combinations. Modern etymology, on the contrary, applying the method of the natural sciences, holds that words ought to explain themselves, and that, instead of inventing special systems for special cases, or what is worse, manufacturing words for the express purpose of deriving others from them, as was a common practice among philologists in former days, we must be guided by facts alone, and look upon every conclusion as doubtful which is not reached by the test of both phonetics and history.

This process of etymological inquiry may be illustrated by a suitable example. Taking the word *bachelier*, for instance, which corresponds to the English word "bachelor," and to which various origins have been assigned, we find it in thirteenth century French to be written *bachelor*; in eleventh and twelfth century French, *baceler*; in early Provençal, *baccalar*; and in Merovingian Latin, *baccalaris*, from *baccalia*, which was derived from *bacca*, in classical Latin *vacca*, "a cow." Curious as this origin is, and little flattering as it may seem, perhaps, to unmarried men in general, and college men in particular, who could wish for a nobler line of ancestry to the title which adorns or is to adorn their name, it is not the less certain that this is its real pedigree, as we shall now show by the tests referred to above.

The change of *v* to *b*, so common in modern languages,

existed also in Latin, especially in words of Celtic origin. Thus Pliny writes *bettonica* for *vettonica*, a word imported from Gaul, now called in French *bétoine*; and Petronius, who wrote in the first century, and was a Gaul by birth, writes *berbecem* for *vervecem*, in French *brebis*, whence we find later on *berbecarius*, shortened to *bercarius*, from which we have the French *berger*. In the same way we find *bacca* for *vacca* as early as the fourth century, and in Merovingian Latin *baccalia* means "a herd of cows," and *baccalarius*, "a man attached to the grazing farm; a cowherd."

In early Provençal, *baccalarius* was shortened to *baccalar*. In spreading northward, the open sound of *a* before *l* and *r* was much flattened among the Frankish tribes, and in their mouths the Latin *ar* and *al* became *er* and *el*, and in the course of time was so written. Thus *mare*, *carus*, *amarus* became *mer*, *cher*, *amer*; and *sal*, *talis*, *mortalis*; *sel*, *tel*, *mortel*. In early French, also, the *acc* often lost one *c*, and *accomplir*, for instance, from the Latin *accomplere*, was then written with one *c* only. In the same way *accoster*, from *accostare*, became *acoster*; *accroire*, from *accredere*, *acreire*; *accouder*, from *accubitare*, *acouder*; and by analogous changes *baccalar* or *bacalar* became *baceler*, sometimes even written with a *k*, in which form we find it during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in northern French, and especially in the dialect of Picardie.

The Latin *c*, as is believed, was generally pronounced *k* before all vowels, except before an *i* followed by another vowel, in which case it was pronounced like *s*, *tz*, or *tch*, somewhat like the Italian *ce* and *ci*, or the English *ch* in such words as *cheap*, *churl*, *chin*,<sup>1</sup> which was the Norman mode of pronouncing the Anglo-Saxon *c*. Already in Merovingian formulas we find *unzias* for *uncias*, and ever since the beginning of the tenth century the *ch* gradually replaces the *c* in ancient manuscripts, indicating the prevailing mode of articulating that letter. Thus the Latin *caro* becomes *chair* in French; *caput*, *chef*; *canis*, *chien*; *caminus*, *chemin*; *caballus*, *cheval*; *camelus*, *chameau*; *capellum*, *chapeau*; *causa*, *chose*; *bucca*, *bouche*; *furca*, *fourche*, etc., etc.; and in the same way *baccalarius*, *baccalar*, *baceler*, became gradually written and pronounced *bachelor*. In this form the word was introduced into England in the middle of the thirteenth century, and is still so pronounced in English, though in the sixteenth century it was changed

<sup>1</sup> In Anglo-Saxon *ceap*, *ceorl*, *cinne*.

into *bachelor*, probably through a misconception of the termination *er*, which, being taken, as it would seem, for the Teutonic suffix *er*, in Latin *or*, was made to conform to the latter, while in modern French the termination *ier* continued to indicate its real origin, the Latin suffix *arius* being often thus contracted, as *primarius*, *premier*; *carpentarius*, *charpentier*; *scutarius*, *écuyer*; distinctly showing, together with the foregoing changes and permutations, the gradual transformation of *baccalarius* into *bachelier*.

If, now, we apply the test of history, we will find that the Latin word *vacca*, which is found written *bacca* as early as the fourth century, constantly took the latter form in Merovingian Latin.

Omnes *bacca* catenarum confracte ceciderunt.

Gregorius Turr., lib. i, cap. 2.

Sometimes the word occurs spelled with one *c* only.

Vineæ vero habeant dignitatem ut mea propriæ, ubicumque fuerint, si ibi inveniantur oves, *bacæ*, seu porci, occidantur me teste."

*Hist. Pinmatensi*, lib. iii, cap. 27 (Ducange).

In a grant of 895, A. D., we read :

Cedimus res proprietatis nostræ ad monasterium quod vocatur Bellus Locus cum ipsa *baccalaria* et mansis.

*Chartulary of Beaulieu*, p. 95.

The name of *baccalaria*, which in Roman Gaul originally meant "a grazing farm," from *baccalia*, "cattle," gradually acquired the meaning of a cultivated piece of land, the arable part of which could be plowed in one day with twenty oxen, and having ten dwellings on it, called *mas*, thus described in the Chartularies of Charlemagne :

Est mansum vel mansus quem par boum cotidie arare potest, et sufficit duobus bobus in anno massa fundus, heredium, unde quis se et familiam suam tueri possit, et vectigal aut census domino referre.

This is further shown from a will of Turpio, bishop of Limoges, 882, A. D., in which we find the following item :

Dono etiam *baccalariam* quæ est in ipsa villa cum campis et vineis et pratis et omnibus quæ ad ipsum alodum pertinent.

This donation is thus referred to in the *Tabularium Bellilocense in Lemovicibus*, Charta 13 :

Dedit eis *baccalariam* quæ decem in se mansos continere videbatur.

In Carolingian texts which have lists of serfs, we find the term *baccalarius*, and its feminine *baccalaria*, applying also to young persons not less than sixteen years of age, and engaged in field labor. A *Descriptio mancipiorum* or inventory of the abbey of St. Victor at Marseilles, in the ninth century, gives such a list of serfs living on a *colonica*, or piece of land tilled by a *colonicus*, which reads as follows:

Colonica in Campania ;  
Stephanus, colonicus,  
Dara, uxor,  
Dominicus, filius *baccalarius*,  
Martina, filia *baccalaria*,  
Vera, filia annorum xv.

*Chartulary of St. Victor*, ii, p. 633.

When *Baccalarius* was the name given to cow-boys on the farm, it naturally became also that of the camp-followers who had charge of the cattle; and as this duty generally devolved upon persons who had become possessed of a little piece of land, the size and tenure of which imposed certain feudal duties on the possessor, it so happened that in course of time the name of *baceler* or *bachelier* readily acquired the signification of one who from poverty or lack of proper age was not able to rank as a knight. Thus we read of—

Castrum adolescentum quod dicitur de *bakelers*.

Albertus Aquensis, lib. 3, cap. 26.

Hoirs fu de la conté de St. Paul, mais povres *bacelers* estoit tant cou ses oncles vesqui.

Theobaldo de Domno Medardo.

A un chevalier *baceler*

Ki par povreté vot aller

Droit en Pulle à Robert Wiscart, etc.

Philippus Mouskes in *Hist. Francor.*

Quant je reving à ma nef, je mis en ma petite barge un es-cuier que je fis chevalier, et deux moult vaillans *bachelers*.

Joinville, 214.

Dedans avoit bonne chevalerie qui la gardoient et defendoient (la ville de Rennes): premierement le vicomte de Rohan, le sire de Laval, messire Charles de Dynant et plusieurs autres bons chevaliers et écuyers. Et y estoit adoncques un jeune *bachelier* qui s'appeloit messire Bertran du Guesclin, qui depuis fut moult renommé au royaume de France . . . et se combattit, le siege tenant par devant Rennes, à un chevalier d'Angletere.

Froissart, i, p. 369.

Sire, je ne suis qu'un pauvre *bachelier* dans le métier des armes. Du Guesclin.

Thus the name in feudal custom takes the sense of "a lower vassal," who for want of means is unable to lead a body of retainers into the field—or to use the technical phrase, was unable *de lever bannière*, and compelled therefore to serve under the banner of another.

Quand un *bachelier* a grandement servi et suivi la guerre, et qu'il a terre assez, et qu'il puisse avoir gentilshommes pour accompagner sa bannière, il peut licitement lever bannière, et non autrement. Le père Daniel.

In the thirteenth century the title of *bachelier* was given to those "gentilshommes" who by some great feat of bravery had earned the military belt and golden spurs; and that of *bachelier d'armes* to him who, the first time he appeared in a tournament, had come out the victor.

By this time the title of *bachelier* had become one of honor and distinction, including the idea of "youth, novitiate, training, apprenticeship," and with this meaning, which constantly attaches to the word, the same title was given to the junior members of certain guilds and trade corporations of which the regular members were called *jurés*. In the Royal Ordinances of France, under the year 1366, we read:

Pierre Triel et Pierre la Postole, jurez en la ville de Paris ouudit mestier de boulengerie; Gerat de Breban et Jehan Le-comte, *bacheliers* ouudit mestier, etc.

And, farther on:

Toutes et quantefoiz il a este nécessité de pourveoir à l'office vacant d'aucun juré, les autres jurez desdiz mestiers superestans, à grant et muere deliberacion, nomment et eslisent entre eulx sans faveur l'un des *bacheliers*, etc. *Ordinat. reg. Francor.*, page 709.

The Church also had its *bachelers*, *baccalarius ecclesiæ*, *bachelier d'église*, and the name was given to ecclesiastics at the lowest stages of their training, during which certain minor duties were assigned to them.

Finita Missa in exitu Ecclesiæ incipitur Antiphona O Martine; Sequitur Litanía Salvator mundi, et debet dici a duobus *baccalaris*. *Ordin. Abbatii S. Laurentii Dioec-Autiss.*, ann. 1286.

The degree of *Bachelier-ès-Arts* was instituted by Pope Gregory IX, 1235 A. D., to be conferred on college stu-



dents who, after completing the prescribed course, continued their studies for the degree of Master. Soon after, both degrees were conferred by the University of Paris. Previous to their institution, no other distinctions were recognized in the schools than those of master and pupil. The branches of literary and scientific knowledge taught in the colleges of the Middle Ages, and which were specially denominated the *Arts*, were considered as divided into two great classes—the first, or more elementary of which, comprehending grammar, rhetoric, and logic, was called the *Trivium*; the second, comprehending music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, the *Quadrivium*.<sup>1</sup> John of Salisbury speaks of this system of studying the sciences as an ancient one in his day.<sup>2</sup> “The Trivium and Quadrivium,” he says, in his work entitled *Metalogicus*, “were so much admired by our ancestors, in former ages, that they imagined they comprehended all wisdom and learning, and were sufficient for the solution of all questions, and the removing of all difficulties; for whoever understood the Trivium could explain all manner of books without a teacher; but he who was farther advanced, and was master also of the Quadrivium, could answer all questions and unfold all the secrets of nature.” Such were the beginnings of college studies in the Middle Ages, and such were the usual attainments of college graduates at the time the title of *Bachelor of Arts* was introduced into England. Being used by the Normans in all the various meanings it had then on the continent, it readily took in the new meaning which it had acquired in France, and both degrees in the *Arts* were conferred at Oxford as early as the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

A six to eight years' course of study in actual attend-

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<sup>1</sup> The seven arts, so classified, used to be thus enumerated in a Latin Hexameter:

Lingua, Tropus, Ratio, Numerus, Tonus, Angulus, Astra;  
or, with definitions subjoined, in two still more singularly constructed verses:  
*Gram.* loquitur, *Dia.* vera docet, *Rhet.* verba colorat, *Mus.* cadit, *Ar.* numerat, *Geo.* ponderat, *Ast.* colit astra.

<sup>2</sup> See page 161.

<sup>3</sup> Entering upon the first degree was called at Oxford “Commemoration,” as the act of calling to remembrance by some special solemnity the distinguished honor conferred; at Cambridge it was called “Commencement,” from the fact that it marked the beginning of a course of professional studies to which *Bachelors* alone were admitted. The latter name has remained current in America to designate the anniversary occasions when this degree is conferred upon college students who have completed their prescribed course, whether they are to follow a course of professional studies or not.

ance, or its equivalent ascertained by examination, was then exacted as the condition of the first degree, after which the second degree was granted at the end of three years more to *Bachelors* of good standing, upon presentation of one or more theses, which the candidate had to support by argument in public before a board of Academic examiners. As any graduate present could join in the debate, discussion was often very lively, and apt to embarrass the candidate unless he had some previous training in the art of public speaking and debating, for which some *Bachelors'* societies were then famous:

J'ai des forces, du feu, de l'esprit, des études,  
Et jamais sur les banes on ne vit *bachelier*  
Qui sût plus à propos interrompre et crier. L'Abbé de Villiers.

In the sense of "an unmarried man," which is the most general meaning of *bachelor* in English, the word is also of Norman importation. Robert of Gloucester and Chaucer wrote still *bachelor*, which was then the current form, and only in the sixteenth century erroneously changed into *bachelor*; but in whatever manner spelled, or with whatever meaning, in France as well as England, the idea of "aspiring youth" is always underlying:

Esleece-toi Jouvence en ta *bachelorie* was translated in the *Dialogues de S. Grégoire*, liv. iv, chap. iv, "Lætare Juvenis in adolescentia tua."

In a chartulary of St. Vincent, 1243 A. D., we find unmarried men spoken of as *bachelers*:

Les jeunes enfans à marier, autrement appelez *bachelers* ou varletz à marier.

And not only did the term include unmarried men, but in an analogous form also spinsters:

Adolecentes non conjugati, et juvenulæ nondum nuptæ,  
*bachelers* et *bachelettes* vulgo nuncupabantur. Ducange.

Beu qu'il eust, et rendu le hanap à la *bachelette* gentille, fait une lourde exclamation. Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, liv. iv, chap. li.

Encore en Picardie *bachelier* et *bachelette* sont appelés les jeunes garçons de seise et dixhuit ans, et filles prêtes à marier.

Fauchet (1529-1601).

The word may still be heard occasionally in the country dialects of Picardie and Basse Normandie with the same meaning.

Toward the end of the Middle Ages, *bachelier* in the sense of a graduate in a faculty was Latinized, according to the fashion of the times, into *baccalaureus* by the university clerks, who also gave to this new-formed word the etymology *bacca-lauri*, thus alluding to Apollo's bay. After inventing *baccalaureus*—found for the first time in *De Clémengis, de Studio Theol.*, they made out of it *baccalaureatus*, which was then turned into *baccalauréat*, in which form it was afterward imported into England. It is hardly necessary to add that neither this etymology, nor that which derives the word from *bas chevalier*, has any foundation.

It is evident that in this brief and elementary chapter we can not trace the history of any other word as far or as searchingly as we have that of *bachelor*; this indeed would be superfluous since full information of the kind is obtainable from larger works on the subject. It is rather for the purpose of showing how every word in the language may be analyzed, and of explaining the plan on which modern etymological and historical dictionaries have been of late constructed.<sup>1</sup> Besides, it is of more immediate importance to the student first to become acquainted with the general character of the French vocabulary, the various elements of which it is composed, and the phonetic changes that have turned them into French. Merely noticing the changes of form and meaning of any given word, as recorded in dictionaries, interesting as it may be, as anything is interesting that belongs to language, would be of but slender benefit to the student unless a previous knowledge of the growth and formation of the language to which such word belongs enables him also to take a general view of the causes and circumstances that have led to these changes. If not, it would be like viewing the dry plants of a herbarium, without a reference to the living vegetable world from which they are collected. It is, therefore, only when familiar with such details of a nation's history as have bearing on its language, that he can profitably enter on the study of its words, and consult etymological dictionaries to advantage.

From the evidences collected in the preceding chapter,

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<sup>1</sup> We here refer especially to Littré's *Dictionnaire de la Langue française*, and the *New English Dictionary on historical principles*, founded mainly on the materials collected by the *Philological Society*, edited by James A. H. Murray, now in course of publication.

the student has probably already come to the conclusion that whatever have been the vicissitudes which the language has gone through in the course of many ages, and however different its features have grown from those of its parent, French is still in substance Latin. In this he will be confirmed by comparing the following versions into French and Latin of a passage in St. Luke which has already served us elsewhere for similar illustration. Considering that twenty centuries have elapsed since the language of Rome found its way into Gaul, and the many channels through which it has passed before assuming its present form, it may seem even astonishing that such is still the family likeness between the Ancient Latin and the Modern French, that one conversant with either finds but little difficulty in understanding the other :

LATIN.

12 Quando ille appropinquavit portæ pagi, vidit mortuum portari, filium unicum matris quæ vidua erat; et turba numerosa hominum pagi erat cum illa.

13 Dominus illam vidit, et plenus commiseratione pro illa, illi dixit : Ne plores.

14 Appropinquavit, et tetigit feretrum. Et qui illum portabant, restiterunt, et dixit : Juvenis, ego tibi illud dico : Surge.

15 Et mortuus resedit, et cœpit loqui; et Jesus illum reddidit suæ matri.

16 Et omnes fuerunt affecti formidine; et glorificabant Deum, dicentes : Certe magnus propheta surrexit in medio nostrum, et Deus visitavit suum populum.

17 Et rumor de eo cucurrit in tota Judæa, et in tota vicinitate.

FRENCH.

12 Quand il approcha de la porte du *bourg*, il vit qu'on portait un mort, fils unique d'une mère qui était veuve, et une *troupe* nombreuse d'hommes du *bourg* était avec elle.

13 Le Seigneur la vit, et, plein de commiseration pour elle, il lui dit : Ne pleure pas.

14 Il approcha et toucha la *bière*. Et ceux qui la portaient s'arrêtèrent, et il dit : Jeune homme, je te le dis : Lève-toi.

15 Et le mort se rassit et se mit à parler; et Jésus le rendit à sa mère.

16 Et tous furent *saisis d'effroi*; et ils glorifiaient Dieu, disant : Certes, un grand prophète a surgi au milieu de nous, et Dieu a visité son peuple.

17 Et le *bruit* en courut dans toute la Judée et dans tout le voisinage.

Of one hundred thirty-two words forming the French text, one hundred twenty-seven are derived from the Lat-

in, four from old High German, and one from the Celtic. Those that are of German origin are *bourg*,<sup>1</sup> *troupe*,<sup>2</sup> *bière*,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bourg, bourc, burg, burc, borc, bor*, in all of which forms the word is found, is one of the oldest Teutonic words in the language. Originally it meant a place of shelter, a small fort; what we would call a block-house. In Isidore of Seville the word has already got its modern sense. "*Burgus*," he says, "est domorum congregatio, quæ muro non clauditur." It is the English *borough, boro, bury*, found in the composition of many geographical names. See pages 187 and 466. From *burgensis*, a form found in Merovingian documents, we get *bourgeois*, in English *burgess*, "a dweller in a *bourg*, a citizen."

Li bochier d'Orliens prennent sor chascune beste six deniers, et metent en une boete à defendre cels de lor *boro* contre autres genz.—*Livre de Justice*, p. 7.

Ici sunt li quatre livres des Dialogues Gregoire, lo papa del *bors* de Rome, des miracles des peres de Lumbarde.—*Dial. de S. Grég.*

El tems alsiment de cel meisme prince, quant Dacius li veske del *borc* de Moilans, demeneis por la cause de la foïd, s'en aloi al *borc* de Constantinoble, dunks vint-il à Corinthe.—*Ibid.*

All these extracts show the words *bor, borc, borg* to correspond to the Latin word *urbs*. "Ejusdem quoque principis tempore, cum Datus Mediolanensis *urbis* episcopus, causa fidei exactus, ad Constantinopolitanam *urbem* pergeret, Corinthum devenit."

<sup>2</sup> *Troupe, troupeau*, "a troop, a flock, a multitude, a great quantity." In Gothic, *truppe*; in Old German, *trupp*; in Low Latin, *troppus*. "Si enim in *troppe* de jumentis illam ductricem aliquis involaverit" *Lex Allemanorum*, 7. From the primitive German the French derive the adverb *trop* which formerly had not its present meaning, but rather applied to what may be counted. Thus, *trop de gens* (*troupe de gens*) corresponded to the English form "a number of people." Later on it took the meaning of *beaucoup*, which itself is only a modification of *grand coup*, as: Le roi eut *grant coup* de la terre du comte. This sense of *grand* is still seen in other phrases, as *un beau mangeur*, and the like.

En Nervic, dont je suis nez,  
A un homme (ceci tenez  
Pour vérité et pour certain)  
Qui est de si grant sainté plain,  
Et si juste, sanz touz pechiez,  
Qu'il n'est grief mal dont entechiez  
Soit homme ou femme, si le voit,  
Que tout gari ne l'en renvoit;  
Et ce a-il fait à *trop* (beaucoup) de gent,  
Sanz prendre salaire n'argent.

*Miracle de Saint Valentin*, Théâtre français au moyen âge.

Even now *trop* retains the meaning of "truly, fully, with certainty" in certain locations, as: *Je ne sais trop* si vous pourrez réussir. On ne peut pas *trop* dire si cela est réellement.

<sup>3</sup> *Bière*, a bier or litter on which a body is borne, in Old German *bara*, from *baran*, "to bear, to carry"; in the same way as the Latin made *feretrum* from *fero*. Uter, King of the Bretons, having fallen sick, caused himself to be carried in a litter at the head of his army:

A ses homes dist en riant:  
Mius voel jo en *biere* jesir  
Et en longe enfreté langir,  
Que estre sains et en vertu,  
Et este à deshonor venqu.—*Rom. de Brut*, ii.  
Les nafrez (blessés) vout toz que l'om querre,  
Si s'enporte l'om soef en *bierre*  
A Roem por medecinier,  
Por garir e por respasser.—*Chron. des ducs de Norm.*, ii.

*saisir*,<sup>1</sup> and that of Celtic, *bruit*.<sup>2</sup> This small proportion of Celtic and Teutonic words, as compared to those of Latin origin, is even far in excess to that presented by a full vocabulary of the language; and this paucity of foreign terms, which is a leading feature of the French language, may be accounted for by the following considerations:

The Latin, as spoken in Gaul, was that of the great mass of Romans of all classes who lived there and whose number constantly increased. The Celtic aristocracy, and such as had any claim to respectability, endeavored to speak the language well, and whatever Celtic word was retained among them or adopted by the Romans themselves, either from fancy or necessity, was at once Latinized in such a manner as to make few ever think whether such a word was of Latin or Celtic origin. In this respect we may be guided by our own experience in reference to foreign words that have been introduced within our own time, and, being useful or necessary, have become naturalized among us. If Latin was at first pronounced badly by those who ventured on its use, it was what we see to-day all the world over among the uneducated, and especially the country people who, speaking a vulgar patois, improve notwithstanding, generation after generation, in language and in accent. The circumstances, of course, were not then the same as now, but improvement in speech will always go on wherever a rude idiom exist side by side with one more cultivated. In this respect the Latin had all the advantage. When introduced into Gaul it had attained its broadest development and its highest degree of culture; it presented a homogeneous and regular system, a perfect unity, and at the same time a fixity of form which even the hardest use, has never succeeded in entirely obliterating. Under such circumstances a language best resists the pressure of outside influences and the admission of many foreign terms into its vocabulary. In all languages such words have lasted the longest as had a greater num-

<sup>1</sup> *Saisir*, "to seize, to grasp," from the Old High German *sasjan* "to give possession of land"; hence *bizasjan*, in German *besitzen*, "to possess." In mediæval Latin documents we find the word *sacire*, meaning "to take possession of another's property." "Alterius rem ad proprietatem *sacire*."

Li reis Achab chalt pas levad e vers la vigne alad pur la vigne *saisir* e tenir en sa main.—*Livre des Rois*, p. 402.

*Achab . . . surrexit et descendebat in vineam Naboth Jersraelita ut consideret eam.*

<sup>2</sup> *Bruit*, noise, tumult, is in Breton, *brâd*; in Welsh, *brwth*; in Scotch, *bruidhinn*; and in Irish, *bruidhean*, all with the same meaning.

ber of compounds and derivatives of their own kin around them. Any word not so surrounded seems to be lacking in support; it stands, so to say, isolated in the midst of other words to which it bears no relation, and hence is most exposed to be lost out of common usage. This will explain why words of Celtic and Teutonic origin have constantly dropped out of Modern French, and why the main bulk of its vocabulary is derived from the idiom of Cicero and Virgil.

No monument whatsoever of the ancient Celtic language has come down to us, nor does history refer to any work written in that language. The Druids<sup>1</sup> alone could have left some writing, but every kind of written composition was forbidden as sacrilegious, and the transmission of religious principles was the object of an initiation full of mysteries. It is this absence of all written documents<sup>2</sup> which prevents us from knowing anything certain of the difference between the Gaulish and Gaelic dialects which Sulpicius Severus mentions as being so distinct even in the fourth century as not to be mistaken the one from the other. All we know of those idioms consists of about a hundred words, which the Romans had borrowed from the Gauls, and which, according to Ennius, Cæsar, Varro, Livy, Pliny, and others, were current in their time in Latin. Among these we may mention *sagum*,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Druid*, in Latin *druida*, in Celtic *Derouyd*, is derived from the words *De*, "God," and *rouyd*, "speaking." *Derouyd*, therefore, means "one who speaks of the Gods"; an interpreter of the Gods." The Greek word *θεολογος* has literally the same meaning. (Compare pages 25-30.)

<sup>2</sup> Jacob Grim quotes two magic formulæ from Marcellus Empiricus, who lived in the fourth century, and was a native of Bordeaux. If really Celtic, they are the only specimens thus far discovered. The passage reads as follows: "Digitis quinque manus ejusdem cujus partis oculus sordicula aliqua fuerit ingressa, percurrans et pertractans oculum, ter dices: *Tetunc resonco bregan gresso*. Ter deinde spues, terque facies. Item ipso oculo clauso qui carminatus erit, patientem perfricabis, et ter carmen hoc dices, et toties spuens: *In non dercomarcos axatison*. Scito remedium hoc in hujusmodi casibus esse mirificum. Si arista vel quælibet sordicula oculum fuerit ingressa, ocluso alio, oculo, ipsoque qui dolet patefacto, et digitis medicinali ac pollice leviter pertracto, ter per singula despuens dices: *Os Gorgonis basia*."—Marc. Emp., *Medici principes*, Henri Estienne, p. 278, D.

<sup>3</sup> From *sagum*, the Roman overcloak, the old French made *saye* :

Bref le villain ne s'en voulut aller  
 Pour si petit, mais encore il me happe  
*Saye* et bonnet, chausses, pourpoint et cappe ;  
 De mes habits en effect il pilla  
 Tous les plus beaux ; et puis s'en habilla  
 Si justement, qu'à le veoir ainsi estre,  
 Vous l'eussiez prins, en plain jour, pour son maistre.  
 Marot, *Epistre au roy, pour avoir esté dérobé*.

*alauda*, *arpennis*, *beccus*, *cippus*, *cervisia*, *leuca*, and *bracca*; which in French became *saie*, *sayon*, *sayette*, *alouette*,<sup>1</sup> *ar-pent*,<sup>2</sup> *bec*,<sup>3</sup> *cep*,<sup>4</sup> *cervoise*,<sup>5</sup> *lieue*,<sup>6</sup> *braie*, and *brayette*.<sup>7</sup> Fortu-

<sup>1</sup> *Alouette*, from the old French *aloe*, *aloue*, which had the same meaning:  
Quant l'*aloe* prist à chanter

Se commencerent à armer.—*Chron. des ducs de Norm.*, i, p. 235.

Cæsar, having raised at his own expense a legion in Transalpine Gaul, gave it first the name of *galerita*, "skylark," which he afterward changed into *alauda*, being the name of that bird in the language of the Gauls who composed the legion.

"Ab illo *galerita* appellata quondam, postea, gallico vocabulo, etiam legio-ni nomen dederat *alauda*."—Plin., lib. ii, ch. 371. "Qua fiducia, ad legiones quas a Republica acceperat, alias privato sumptu addidit. Unam etiam ex Transalpinis conscriptam, vocabulo quoque gallico *alauda* enim appellabatur, quam disciplina, cultuque romano institutam et ornatam, postea universam civitate donavit."—Sueton, *Vita Cæsar*. "Avis *galerita* quæ gallice *alauda* dicitur.—Marcellus Empiricus, c. xxix. "Avis *corydalus*, quam *alaudam* vocamus."—Greg. Turr., lib. iv.

<sup>2</sup> *Arpent*, in Latin *arpenis* and *aripenis* is stated by Columella to be of Gallic origin. "Galli candetum appellant in areis urbanis spatium C pedum; in agrestibus autem pedum CL, quod aratores candetum nominant, semijugerum quoque *aripenem* vocant."—Colum., v, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Suetonius informs us that Antonius Primus, one of Vespasian's generals, a native of Toulouse, was called *beccus*, when a boy, on account of his big nose. "Cui Tolosæ nato cognonem in pueritia *Becco* fuerat; id valet gallinacæ rostrum."—Suet., *Vita Vitell*.

<sup>4</sup> *Cep* or *ceps*, originally two or more sprouts growing out of the same trunk. The name was given to a frame made of two pieces of wood, into the openings of which the legs of a person may be set fast, formerly used as a temporary punishment for petty crimes and misdemeanors. In English, "stocks." "*Cippus* est quilibet truncus, et specialiter truncus ille quo crura latronum coarctantur; gallice, *cep*."—Isidore de Séville, *Origines*.

<sup>5</sup> *Cervoise*, now *bière*, Pliny tells us was a Celtic word. Et frugam quidem hæc sunt in usu medico; ex iisdem frunt et potus; zythum in Ægypto, cœlia et ceria in Hispania, *cervisia* et plura genera in Gallia.—Plin., lib. xxii, c. 25. Nus *cervoisiers* ne puet ne ne doit faire *cervoise* fors de yaue et de dragie.—*Livre des métiers*, p. 29.

Vostre aiol Robert de Faleise

Soleit mult bien bracier *cerveise*.—*Chron. des ducs de Norm.*

<sup>6</sup> The Roman measure of distance was the *mile*, composed of eight *stadia*, each of 125 paces or 625 Roman feet; that of the Gauls was the *league*, *lieue*, in Breton *lev*, in Scotch *leig*, in Irish *leige*. "In Nilo flumine, sive in ripis ejus, solent naves funibus trahere; certa habentes spatia quæ appellant *funiculos*, ut labori defessorum recentia trahentium colla succedant. Nec mirum si unaquæque gens certa viarum spatia suis appellet nominibus, cum et Latini, *mille passus*, et Galli *leucas* et Persæ *parasangas*, et *rastas* universa Germania; atque in singulis nominibus diversa mensura sit."—S. Jérôme *Comment. Joël*, c. iii. This is further confirmed by Hesychius: *Λεβύν, μέτρον τι γαλαρῶνον*. Isidore de Séville says in his *Origines*, ch. xvi: "Mensuras viarum *milliaria* dicimus, Græci *stadia*, Galli *leucas*."

<sup>7</sup> *Braies*, in English "breeches," was a word long in use in old French:

Rices dras ot Partonopeus,  
Et li rois de France autretels.  
Ne vos quier or faire devise  
Ne de *braies* ne de cemise,

Ne de *braiels*, ne de lasnieres.—Partenopeus de Blois, ii, p. 190.



nately for our studies, however, our knowledge of the Celtic vocabulary is not confined to the words which Greek and Latin authors give us as of Celtic origin, for the language survived the Roman, the Frankish, and the Saxon conquests, and we find it still as a living language in Low Brittany, the ancient Armorica in France, as well as in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales in Great Britain. Though everywhere reduced to the condition of patois only, and more or less altered by the contact with French and English, and the introduction of French or English words, the alteration is not so great as to disguise the primitive form of most of the words which Greek and Latin authors mention as belonging to these dialects. Thus in case of any word which shows no affinity with either Latin, Greek, or Francic, its true origin may often be traced by its corresponding form being found in one or more of these Celtic dialects. In making such comparisons, it will be found that the Scotch and Irish, called *Gaelic* by those who speak the language, have a closer resemblance to each other than to the Welsh, called *Cymraëg*, and the Low-Breton, called *Brezonec* or *Breysad*, which are more alike, either because the former are derived from the original Celtic, and the latter from the Gallic, or because the Welsh and Low-Breton have become assimilated by the number of British people who crossed the channel during the fifth and sixth centuries to escape the fury of the Saxon invaders.<sup>1</sup>

French words which by this test have been found to be of undoubted Celtic origin are *aluine*,<sup>2</sup> now obsolete,

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Por estanchier faire ma plaie,

Copai lou tivuel de ma *braie*

Et ma chemise an detranchai.—*Dolopathos*, p. 303.

*Brague* for *braies* may still be heard in the western departments of France, where that article of dress has kept up its ancient form among the country people. Ammianus Marcellinus calls the Celtic soldiers *braccati*. Suetonius refers to the *bracca* when speaking of Cæsar's disposition toward the Gauls. See page 159. Diodorus Siculus, speaking of the inhabitants of Gaul, says: *Χρῶνται δὲ ἀναξυρίσιν ἢς ἐκείνοι βρακας καλοῦσιν*.

<sup>1</sup> See page 63.

<sup>2</sup> "Absinthium, vulgus vocat de *l'aluine*; alias appellatur *du fort*, propter insignem amaritudinem. Quidam tamen nomen latinum imitantes vocant de *l'absinse*."—Charles Etienne, *De re hortensi*, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Ἡ δὲ κελτικὴ νόσος γεννᾶται μὲν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Λαγυρίαν Ἀλλεσιω, ἐπιχωρίως ὀνομασμένη ἀλιούγγια.—Dioscorides, I, vii, p. 9.

Si est-il expedient adoucir la dureté du language et dissimuler l'austerité d'icelluy, come quant l'on veut guerir un enfant des verz, lui donnant pour ce une medecine d'*aluine*, et l'attrempé-on avec du sucre pour les garder de sentir l'amertume de *l'aluine*.—Bonivard, *Advis et devis des lengues*.

*arpent*, *bétoine*,<sup>1</sup> *bouleau*,<sup>2</sup> *branche*, *bruyère*, *carrière*, *cep*, *coquelicot*,<sup>3</sup> *dune*,<sup>4</sup> *fagot*, *grès*, *grève*, *gravier*, *guirlande*, *marne*,<sup>5</sup> *mine*, *motte*, *peautre*,<sup>6</sup> *plâtre*,<sup>7</sup> *roc*, *ruche*, *samole*,<sup>8</sup> *obsolete*, *soc*, *tan*, *verne* now called *aune*. All these terms refer to

<sup>1</sup> "*Vettonica* dicitur in Gallia, in Italia serratula."—Liv., xxv, ch. viii.

Remede por la dolor de chief.—Raez si le peil de la teste, puis si prenez de *veltoine* plein pot, si quassiez o le vin, et puis si en oingnez la teste o le jus austresi chaut come il porra souffrir, et si li metez l'emplastre sur le chief en une coiffe linge dessus, et si lessiez estre treis jors.—MS. de M. D., quoted by Roquefort, gloss. art. *Vettoine*.

<sup>2</sup> "Gaudet frigidis sorbus, et magis etiam *betulla*. Gallica hæc arbori, mirabili candore atque tenuitate terribilis magistratum virgis, eadem surculis flexilis, item corbium costis. Bitumen ex ea Gallia excoquant."—Liv. xvi, ch. xviii.

<sup>3</sup> Fastidium stomachi relevat papaver silvestre, quod gallice *calocatonos* dicitur, tritum et ex lacte caprino potui datum.—Marc. Empiric., *De remediis empiricis*.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch informs us that near the river Arar (*Saône*) is a height which was called *Lougdownon*, and had received that name on the following occasion: Momoros and Atopomaros, who had been dethroned by Sezeroneos, undertook by the advice of an oracle to build a city on that height. They had already marked out the foundations, when a flock of ravens came and alighted on the trees. Momoros, who was an expert in augurship, gave the name of *Lougdownon* to the city, inasmuch as the Gauls called the raven *lougon* and a height *dounon*.—Λούγον γάρ τῇ σφῶν διαλέκτῃ τὸν κέρακα καλοῦσι, δοῦνον δὲ τὸν ἕξχοντα.—Plutarch, *Περὶ ποταμῶν*, vi. This city was the *Lugdunum* of the Romans, now the city of Lyons.

<sup>5</sup> "Alia est ratio quam Britannia et Gallia invenere alendi eam (*terrani*) ipsa; quod genus vocant *margam*. Spissior ubertas in ea intelligitur; est autem quidam terræ adeps, ac velut glandia in corporibus, ibi densante se pinguitudinis nucleo."—Plin., lib. xvii, 4. Elsewhere, xvii, 8, speaking of the Bretons, the author says: "Tertium genus terræ candidæ *glischromargam* vocant."

<sup>6</sup> *Peautre* or *piautre*, from which the English "pewter," meant formerly "tin," and is now obsolete in French.

Nuls ne doit faire courroies d'estain, c'est assavoir cloer ne ferrer ne de plonc ne de *piautre* ne de coquilles de poisson ne de bois, à Paris ne ailleurs.—*Livre des métiers*, p. 238.

Abusé m'a, et fait entendre,  
Tousjours d'ung que c'estoit ung autre;  
De farine, que c'estoit cendre;  
D'un mortier, un chapeau de feautre;  
De viel machefer, que fust *peautre*.

Villon, *Grand Testament*.

<sup>7</sup> In Breton, *plastr*; in Welsh, *plastyr*; in Scotch, *plasdair*; and in Irish, *plasca*.

Se uns *plastriers* envoioit *plastre* pour metre en œuvre chies aucun hom, li maçon qui œuvre a celui a cui en envoit le *plastre* doit prendre garde par son serement que la mesure del *plastre* soit bone et loiax; et se il en est en soupeon de la mesure, il doit le *plastre* mesurer, ou faire mesurer devant lui.—*Livre des métiers*, p. 109.

<sup>8</sup> Without any description of this plant, Pliny gives us an interesting account of its supposed medicinal virtues which, to be brought out to their utmost strength, required it to be picked by people on an empty stomach, with the left hand, and without looking. The *samolus* or "water-pimpernel" was a specific against murrain in swine and cattle. *Iidem* (druidæ Gallorum) *samolium* herbam nominavere nascentem in humidis; et hanc sinistra manu legi a jejunis contra morbos suum boumque; nec respicere legentem.—Plin., xxiv, c. ii.

the earth, to agriculture, trees, shrubs, flowers, minerals, etc. Among the words designating animals, birds, fishes, and things connected therewith, we find *alouette*, *claire*,<sup>1</sup> *cochon*, *mouton*,<sup>2</sup> *gourme*, *gourmette*, *goëland*,<sup>3</sup> *pinson*,<sup>4</sup> and the term *dia*,<sup>5</sup> which is rather a cry than a word, and which teamsters use to make their cattle turn out the road.

The club-moss (*Selago*), which has been mistaken for this plant, was a fetish of another kind. The man who carried the divine object was secure against all misfortune; and blindness could be cured by the fumes of a few of its leaves, which were dried and thrown into the fire. It had to be gathered with a curious magical ceremony. The worshiper was dressed in white; he must go to the place barefoot and wash his feet in pure water before approaching the plant. No metal might be used in taking it, but after offerings of bread and wine it was snatched from the ground with a thievish gesture, the right hand being darted under the left arm. The Breton peasants are said to retain their respect for the plant. They call it "*l'herbe d'or*," and the lucky finder still follows the fashion of his ancestors; "*pour le cueillir il faut être nu-pieds et en chemise: il s'arrache et ne se coupe pas.*"

<sup>1</sup> *Clair*, formerly *cloie*, *cléie*; in Breton, *kloued*; in Welsh, *clwyd*; in Cornish, *cluid*; in Scotch and Irish, *cleath*; "a hurdle; a screen." In Low Latin, *clida*. "Si eum interfecerit, coram testibus in quadrivio in *clida* eum levare debet."—*Lex Bajuvariorum*, tit., lxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Mouton*, in Scotch, *mult*; in Irish, *molt*; in Welsh, *mollt*; in Breton, *maoult*, from which we have the form *multo* in Low Latin.

Adonias fist un grand sacrelise de *multuns* e de gras veels.—*Livre des Rois*, p. 221.

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<sup>4</sup> *Pinson*. Some write *pinçon*, which is more conformable to its etymology. In Welsh, *pinc* is both the name of that bird, and the adjective "jolly, gai, merry," which corresponds exactly to the French proverb: *Gai comme pinson*. In Breton, *pint*.

<sup>5</sup> *Dia*, *iä*, *ha*, *aha*, are calls or cries heard everywhere for driving unbitted animals, especially teams of oxen. Claudianus informs us that the muletiers in Gaul had one word to make their mules go to the right, another to the left. As *dia* is still a Breton term, and used all over France for the same purpose, it is probably one of the words referred to by the poet:

#### DE MULABUS GALLICES.

Aspice morigeras Rhodani torrentis alumnas  
Imperio nexas, imperioque vagas,  
Dissona quam varios flectant ad murmur cursus,  
Et certas adeant, voce regente, vias.  
Quamvis quæque sibi nullis discurrat habenis,  
Et pateant duro libera colla iugo;  
Ceu contrista tamen servit, patiensque laborum  
Barbaricos docili concipit aure sonos.  
Absentis longinqua valent præcepta magistri,  
Frenorumque vicem lingua virilis agit.  
Hæc procul angustat sparsas, spargitque coactas,

Words referring to man, his good and bad qualities, his tastes, habits, and customs, his amusements, etc. *Barde*,<sup>1</sup> *bourde*,<sup>2</sup> *brave*,<sup>3</sup> *barguigner*,<sup>4</sup> *carole*,<sup>5</sup> *jarret*, *druide*, *dartre*,

Hæc sistit rapidas, hæc properare facit.  
Læva jubet? lævo deducunt limite gressum.

*Mutatit strepitum? dexteriora petunt.*  
Nec vinclis famulæ, nec libertate feroces,  
Exutæ laqueis, sub ditione tamen;  
Consensuque pares, et fulvis pellibus irtæ,  
Esseda concordes multisonora trahunt.

Miraris, si voce feras pacaverit Orpheus,  
Quum pronas pecudes *gallica verba* regant.—Claudianus ii.

<sup>1</sup> In Scotch and Irish, *bard*; in Welsh, *bardd*; in Breton, *barz*.  
*Ἐστὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς (Κέλτοις) καὶ ποιηταὶ μελῶν οὖς βάρδοις ὀνομάζουσιν· οὗτοι δὲ μετ' ὀργάνων ταῖς λέραις ὁμοίωσιν οὖς μὲν ἡμνοῦσιν, οὖς δὲ θλασφημοῦσι.*—Diodorus Siculus, lib. v, c. xxxi. *Βάρδοι μὲν ὀμηγεῖται καὶ ποιηταί.*—Strabo, lib. iv.

*Bardi* quidem fortia virorum illustrium facta heroicis composita versibus cum dulcibus lyrae modulis cantitarunt.—Ammian Marcellin, lib. xv, c. ix.

*Bardus* gallice cantor appellatur qui virorum fortium laudes canit.—Festus, art. *Bardus*.

<sup>2</sup> In Breton, *bourdn*, in Scotch and Irish *buirte*, meant formerly "a gibe, a taunt," and *bourder* is still the popular term for fibbing.

Warnet, as-tu le raison  
Oïe de cest païsant,  
Et comment il nous va disant  
Ses *bourdes* dont il nous abuffe?

*Théâtre français au moyen âge*, p. 99.

Douce gent, ès croniques de Romme sont trouvées  
Les paroles qui sont ci de par moi contées;  
Mais I rommans en est où en est ajoustées  
Granz *bourdes* qui n'i doivent pas estre recordées.

*Nouveau recueil de contes*, i, p. 112.

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Chacun est roy en sa maison,  
Chacun fait le *bragard*,  
Et chacun n'a pas un potart.

Le Roux de Lincy, *Livre des proverbes français*, xi, p. 197.

In Breton, *brave* means "beautiful"; *braga*, "to dress elegantly"; *brageer*, "a dandy." In Welsh, *bragio* means "to brag"; in Scotch, *bragaireachd*, "empty pride, vainglory." In Irish, *breag* and *bragharhd* have the same meaning.

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Estagiers de Paris puent *bargainier* et achater blé ou marchié de Paris por leur mengier en la presence des talmeliers haubaniens.—*Livre des métiers*, p. 47.

D'un vassal vus recunte ci  
Ki un ceval aveit nurri. . . .  
Pur vingt souz, ce dit, le dunra.  
Un sien veisin le *barzeigna*,

Maiz n'en waut mie tant duner.—Marie de France, xi, p. 302.

<sup>5</sup> *Carole*, a round dance, a song of joy and exultation, is well nigh obsolete in French. In English, *carol* has still this meaning. In Breton, *koroll*; in Welsh and Cornish, *carol*; in Scotch and Irish, *carull*; in Manx, *carval*:

Tres que n'avoie que douse ans  
Estoie forment goulousans  
De veoir danses et *carolles*,

the earth, to agriculture, trees, shrubs, flowers, minerals, etc. Among the words designating animals, birds, fishes, and things connected therewith, we find *alouette*, *clai*,<sup>1</sup> *cochon*, *mouton*,<sup>2</sup> *gourme*, *gourmette*, *goëland*,<sup>3</sup> *pinson*,<sup>4</sup> and the term *dia*,<sup>5</sup> which is rather a cry than a word, and which teamsters use to make their cattle turn out the road.

The club-moss (*Selago*), which has been mistaken for this plant, was a fetish of another kind. The man who carried the divine object was secure against all misfortune; and blindness could be cured by the fumes of a few of its leaves, which were dried and thrown into the fire. It had to be gathered with a curious magical ceremony. The worshiper was dressed in white; he must go to the place barefoot and wash his feet in pure water before approaching the plant. No metal might be used in taking it, but after offerings of bread and wine it was snatched from the ground with a thievish gesture, the right hand being darted under the left arm. The Breton peasants are said to retain their respect for the plant. They call it "*l'herbe d'or*," and the lucky finder still follows the fashion of his ancestors; "*pour le cueillir il faut être nu-pieds et en chemise: il s'arrache et ne se coupe pas.*"

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Quamvis quæque sibi nullis discurrat habenis,  
Et pateant duro libera colla iugo;  
Ceu contrista tamen servit, patiensque laborum  
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Absentis longinqua valent præcepta magistri,  
Frenorumque vicem lingua virilis agit.  
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Warnet, as-tu le raison  
Ofe de cest palsant,  
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Ses bourdes dont il nous abuffe?

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Les paroles qui sont ci de par moi contées;  
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Estoie forment goulousans  
De veoir danses et *carolles*,

*danser*,<sup>1</sup> *fringuer*,<sup>2</sup> *dru*,<sup>3</sup> *galant*,<sup>4</sup> *gober*,<sup>5</sup> *gobelet*, *gourmand*,<sup>6</sup> *sor-nettes*,<sup>7</sup> *souhait*,<sup>8</sup> etc.

D'oïr menestrels et parolles

Qui s'apertiennent à deduit.—Froissart, *Poésies*.

<sup>1</sup> *Danser*, in Breton, *dans*, *dansa*; in Welsh, *dawns*; in Scotch, *danns*, *dannsa*; in Irish, *damhsa*, all with the same meaning. The word exists likewise in all neo-Germanic languages, but is not found in Old High German. In that idiom *dansón*, a secondary form of *dinsen*, meant "to draw along; to trail."

<sup>2</sup> *Fringuer*, to dance, to jump about, is rather obsolete, and now only said of horses. "*Un cheval fringant; ce cheval fringue continuellement.*" In Breton, *fringa*, to gambol; in Welsh, *fringig* means "prompt, quick, wide awake."

<sup>3</sup> *Dru*, in Breton, *dru*; in Welsh, *drud*, "vigorous, bold, courageous, enterprising." *C'est un dru*, is said of a smart fellow.

Adonc estoit le royaume de France gras, plein et *dru*, et les gens riches et puissans de grand avoir, ni on n'y savoit parler de nulle guerre.—Froissart, liv. i, c. lx :

De reporter lui te convient  
Que nous sommes touz sains et *dru*  
En un bon point; et ne dy plus.

*Théâtre français au moyen âge.*

<sup>4</sup> In Welsh, *gall* means "valor," and *galant* "bold, fearless, intrepid in danger." In Breton, *galloud* expresses audacity. Lafontaine employs the word still in its original meaning:

Certain renard gascon, d'autres disent normand,  
Mourant presque de faim, vit, au haut d'une treille,  
Des raisins mûrs apparemment,  
Et couverts d'une peau vermeille  
Le *galant* en eût fait volontiers un repas.

La Fontaine, iii, *fable*, xi.

<sup>5</sup> *Gob*, *gober*, *gobelet*. *Gob*, in Scotch, Irish, and Welsh, means "mouth"; in Breton it means also "a cup to drink from." *Tout de gob* meant formerly "to swallow a thing whole," whence the familiar expression *cela va tout de go*, speaking of matters that meet with no difficulty, no opposition.

Une boure qui là estoit, le print et l'avalait tout de gob.—*La nouvelle Fabrique des excellents traits de vérité*.—Ph. d'Alcricpe, p. 29.

Il l'avalait tout de gob, sans mascher.—*Ibid.*, p. 142.

From the primitive form *gob* came the old French *gobel*, contracted into *gobeau*. "Le duc de Moscovie devoit anciennement ceste reverence aux Tartares qu'il leur presentoit un *gobeau* de lait de jument."—Montaigne, *Essais*, i, c. xlviiii. This finally has left the word *gobelet*. *Gob* made also the verb *gober*, meaning "to swallow greedily, to gulp, to gobble."

<sup>6</sup> *Gourmand*, in Scotch and Irish *giorman*, "a glutton," from the verb *giorr*, "to glut, to gorge." In Welsh, *gormodi* means "surfeit; feeding to excess."

<sup>7</sup> *Sornette*, from *sorner*, now obsolete; in Welsh, *swrn*; in Breton, *sourrn*; in Scotch and Irish, *sorchain*, "jests, drolleries, nonsense."

En la rue de la Licorne,  
L'un me hue, l'autre me *sorne*.

*Paris sous Philippe le Bel*, p. 572.

Dites, je vous pry, sans *sorner*,  
Par amour, faites-moi venir  
Maistre Pierre.

*La Farce de maistre Pierre Pathelin*.

<sup>8</sup> *Souhait*, a compound of *hait* in Old French, from the Breton *het*; in Welch, *heta*; in Scotch and Irish, *ait*, *aitcas*, "a kind wish, an eager desire." Hence, the old verb *haïter*, *haïtier*, "to please, to comfort," from which has remained *souhait* and *souhaïter*, "expressing a desire suggested by some idea that

Words denoting tools and their use, household articles, weapons, etc., *bâton*, *balai*,<sup>1</sup> *baril*,<sup>2</sup> *barrique*, *baratte*, *bassin*,<sup>3</sup> *cruche*, *echaveau*, *gimblet*,<sup>4</sup> *lance*,<sup>5</sup> *matras*,<sup>6</sup> *mortaise*,<sup>7</sup>

pleases the imagination." *Dêhet*, *dêhait*, and *dêhaier*, "to displease," are obsolete.

Et cume l'arche vint en l'ost, li poples Deu duna un merveillus cri, que tute la terre rebundi. Li Philisten oïrent ces cris et distrent. . . . N'en ourent pas tel *hait* en l'ost, ne hier, ne avant-hier. Ki nus guarderad encuntre ces halz Deus? Ço sunt les Deus ki flaelerent et tuerent ces d'Egypte el desert. Mais orez vus *haites*, e seiez forz champions, Philistiim, que vous ne servez as Hebreus si cume el unt servi à vus.—*Livre des Rois*, p. 15.

Cumque venisset arca fœderis Domini in castra, vociferatus est omnis Israel clamore grandi, et personuit terra. Et audierunt Philistiim vocem clamoris, dixeruntque. . . . Non enim fuit tanta *exultatio* heri et nudius tertius: vœ nobis! Quis nos salvabit de manu Deorum sublimium istorum? Hi sunt Dii qui percusserunt Ægyptum omni plaga in deserto. *Confortamini*, et estote viri, Philistiim, ne serviatis Habræis sicut et illi servierunt vobis.

Pour qui lonc temps eut mal *dêhait*

Tout celui jour fu en bon *hait*.—*Roman du Chastelain de Coucy*.

<sup>1</sup> *Balai*, in Irish *ballan*, in Breton *balan*, in Welsh *balaen*, meaning both the shrub and the besom made of it. The English *broom* means also both. Matthieu Paris says: "Ferens in manu virgam quam vulgariter *baleys* appellamus."

<sup>2</sup> In Welsh *baril*, in Scotch *barraill*, in Irish *bairile*, in Manx *barrel*. The Breton *baraz* has made also *baratte*, the oblong barrel called "churn" in English.

<sup>3</sup> *Bassin*, in Breton *bach*, "a trough;" the Welsh *bach* and Scotch *bac* mean something hollow. Gregory of Tours quotes it as a word in rustic use. "Pateræ quas vulgo *bacchionem* vocant."

<sup>4</sup> *Gimblet*, *guimbelet*, *guimelet*, from the Breton *guimelet*, in Scotch *gimleid*, in Irish *gimeleid*, in English *gimlet*, "a tool for boring holes." "Un *guimbelet* ou foret à percer vins" is now obsolete. The insertion of an euphonic *ð* between *m* and *l* is not rare in French, where we have *tremblare*, *sembler*, *humble*, for instance, from *tremulare*, *similare*, *humilis*.

<sup>5</sup> The Breton *lans* means "a lance." Diodorus Siculus, in speaking of the Gauls says, "they throw darts which they call *lances*, with an iron head on them one cubit (about twenty inches) long. Προβάλλονται δὲ λόγχας ἄς ἐκείνου ΛΑΓΚΙΑΣ καλοῦσι, πηχυαίας τῆ μήκει τοῦ σιδήρου.—Diod., lib. v, 30. Diodorus lived under Augustus, and Varro, who lived before him, had said, according to Aulus-Gellius, that *lancea* was not Latin, but Spanish. Casaubon thinks Varro was mistaken. "Vocem *lancea*, Varro, Gallis inique adimens, Hispanis tribuit," he says; but inasmuch as Spain was inhabited by the Celtiberians who spoke, if not the Celtic of Gaul, at least a language closely connected with it, the word, as well as the weapon, may have been used both in Gaul and Spain. *Lansa* is still the Spanish for lance.

<sup>6</sup> *Matras*, a sort of blunt javelin, no longer used, is thus described by Borel: "C'est une sorte de dard ancien, ayant grosse teste, qui ne perçoit pas, mais meurtrissoit, fait à la façon des fioles que les chimistes appellent aussi *matras*, qui ont le fond tout rond et le col fort long."—*Dict. du vieux françois*, art. *Matras*. Strabo, speaking of the weapons used by the Gauls, says: Καὶ ματέρης πάλτου τὶ εἶδος.—And Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.*, lib. i: "Nonnulli (*Galli*) inter caros rotasque *mataras* ac tragulas subjiciebant, nostrosque vulnerabant." The anonymous author of a rhetoric written for Herennius says, lib. iv: "Ut si quis Macedonas appellarit hoc modo: non tam cito sarissæ Græcia potitæ sunt; aut idem Gallos significans dicat: nec tam facile ex Italia *materis* transalpina depulsa est." See page 9, note 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Mortaise*, in Irish *mortis*, *moirtis*, in Scotch *moirteis*, in Welsh and Breton *mortais*, "a hole cut in one piece of wood to receive the tenon or projection by which another piece is made to hold it."



*picotin, tréteau,<sup>1</sup> couper,<sup>2</sup> etc.* Articles of dress and parts thereof or relating thereto; as *bagage,<sup>3</sup> bouge,<sup>4</sup> bougette, braie, brayette, bretelle, flanelle, gousset, mitaine, chemise,<sup>5</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> *Tréteau*, which now especially denotes "a mountebank's stage," which was formerly spelt *trestel, trétel*,—*el* being as usual pronounced *au*. In Welsh *trestyl*, "trestle," from *trawst*, "a beam." In Breton *tredestel, tredstedl*, "a trestle," from *tredest*, "a cross-beam." In Scotch *traist* and *trast* have the same meaning.

<sup>2</sup> *Couper*, in Breton *kolpa*, "to cut," *diskolpa*, "to split." In Welsh *colp*, "to cut," *ysgolp*, "shaving; chip."

"Si ço avent que alquen *colpe* le poin a altre u le pied, si li rendra demi were, suluc ceo que il est nez; del pochier rendrad la meité de la mein; del dei apres le polcier, xv solz, de solt engleis, ço est querdeners; de lunc dei, xvi solz; del altre qui ported l'anel, xvii solz; del petit dei, v solz, del ungle, si il *colpe*, de cascun v solz, de solt engleis; al ungle de petit dei, iv deners." That is:

S'il avient que quelqu'un *coupe* le poing ou le pied à un autre, il lui payera demi were, selon sa naissance. Pour le pouce, il payera la moitié de ce qu'il eût payé pour la main; pour le doigt après le pouce, quinze sous, sous anglais, c'est-à-dire de quatre deniers; pour le long doigt, seize sous; pour l'autre qui porte l'anneau, dix-sept sous; pour le petit doigt, cinq sous; quant à l'ongle, s'il le *coupe*, pour chacun, cinq sous, sous anglais; pour l'ongle du petit doigt, quatre deniers.—Laws of William the Conqueror, § xiii.

Hieu lur escrist de rechief, e ço out al brief: si vus mes humes estes, e obeir me vulez, les chiefs as fiz vostre seignur *colpez*. . . . Cume le brief Hieu vint à ces de Samarie, erranment *colperent* les chiefs as seisante fiz le rei.—*Livre des Rois*, p. 380.

*Rescripsit autem eis litteras secundo, dicens: Si mei estis, et obeditis mihi, tollite capita filiorum domini vestri. . . . Cumque venissent litteræ ad eos, tulerrunt filios regis et occiderunt septuaginta viros.*

<sup>3</sup> *Bagage*, now meaning "traveler's luggage," originally meant simply "parcels, bundles; things, especially articles of dress, that can be carried away"; and is derived from the word *bagues*, formerly used with that meaning. "Ce temps pendant, le seigneur de Quievrain, quel command que le duc lui olt fait, se partist de la cour du duc, le plus secretement qu'il peut, lui deuxiesme, et fait emporter ses meilleurs *bagues*."—(*Mémoires de Jacques du Clercq*, lib. v, chap. xx, t. iii, p. 383.) The word remains in the expression, "Sortir d'un danger vie et *bagues*. Les *bagues* et joyaux de cette femme ont été estimés cinquante mille francs. Allouer tant à une veuve pour ses *bagues* et joyaux." In that sense *bagues* is rather antiquated, and used more particularly in law documents. In Scotch and Irish *bag* means "a wallet," in Welsh *baich*, in Breton *beach*, mean "a bundle, a burden."

<sup>4</sup> *Bouge*, in Breton *bulg*, in Scotch *builg*, in Irish *bolg*, "a bag." *Bulgas* Galli *sacculus scorteos* vocant. (*Festus*.) From *bouge* comes the diminutive *bougette*, "a pouch, a purse," of which the English *budget*.

<sup>5</sup> *Chemise*, in Scotch and Irish *caimis*, in Breton *camse, chamse*. Paulus, the abbreviator of Festus, says: "Supparus, vestimentum lineum quod *camisia* dicitur." Saint Jerome says: "Solent militantes habere lineas quas *camisias* vocant." From the monument of the *langue d'oc* of the tenth century, quoted by Champillion-Figeac, *chamise* stands for the tunic worn by Christ on Golgotha:

Cum el perveng a Golgota,  
Davan la porta de la ciptat,  
Dunc lor gurpit soe *chamise*  
Chi sens custure fo faltice.—Strophe, lxvii.

Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers, who died in 609, wrote a life of Saint Hildegonde, in which we find the word *camisa* for a kind of woman's dress. "Regina, sermone ut loquar barbaro, scafonem, *camisas*, manicas, cofeas, cuncta

*gone*,<sup>1</sup> *gonelle*, *toque*, *trousseau*,<sup>2</sup> *sayon*, etc. Other words, whose Celtic origin we can trace with any degree of certainty, and which are but few, refer in general to the simplest objects and usages in life. The reason of this is obvious. The Celtic aristocracy, as we have seen, very readily took to the more perfect language of the conqueror, whereas the lower classes, learning it but gradually and under great difficulties, kept for a long time to their native words, which expressed the habits and requirements of a mode of life quite different from the elegant customs and manners of refined Roman society. The latter, on their side, and especially the middle classes, in no way disdained the use of certain Celtic words applying to special objects, in their intercourse with the country people and the laboring classes in general, and though many of these words have dropped out, some have remained, whose number, however, will not exceed by many the list of those of which we have thought it interesting to show the origin and history.

aurea sancto tradidit altari." *Chemise* seems to have the same sense in the "Poem of Dolopathos":

Trop fu apertement vestue  
D'une *chemise* estroit cousue ;  
En braz et par les pans fu lée,  
Deliée, blanche et ridée ;

Pelice ot legiere et sanz manche.—*Dolopathos*, p. 134.

From the Breton *chamse* the Old French made *chainse*, for a lady's cloak: "Teristra dicuntur gallice *chainse*, quædam vestis mulieris de lino."—(*Dictionnaire de Jean de Garlande, Paris sous Philippe le Bel*, p. 595.) "Teristrum, une manière de vestement de femme qu'on dit *chainse*."—(*Ancien glossaire latin français*, quoted by Du Cange, art. *Teristrum*.) The French *camisole*, in Italian *camiciuola*, "a morning jacket," are both derived from the Low Latin *camisia*.

<sup>1</sup> *Gone*, *gonne*, and their derivatives, *gonelle*, *gunelle*, *gunele*, formerly "a gown," are now all obsolete. In Breton, Scotch, and Irish, *gun*, in Welsh *gwm*, in Manx *goon*, have all the same meaning:

Laissa le siecle por devenir prud'hom,  
Et prist la *gonne* et le noir chaperon.

*Roman de Guillaume au Court Nez*, Du Cange, art. *Gunna*.

Encor ai-je soz ma *gonele*  
Tel rien qui vos ert bone et bele,  
Un hauberjon fort et legier

Que vos porra avoir mestier.—*Tristan*, t. i, p. 50.

La meschine fud vestue de une *gunele* qui li bastid al talun ; e si soleient à cel cuntemple estre vestues pulceles ki furent filles de rei. Li serjanz mist fors la meschine, e apres li clost l'us. E ele descirad sa *gunele* et jetad puldre sur sun chief.—*Livre des Rois*, p. 164.

*Que induta erat talari tunica ; hujuscemodi etiam filie regis virgines vestibus utebantur. Ejecit itaque eam minister illius foras, clausitque fores post eam. Que aspergens cinerem capiti suo, scissa talari tunica. . .*

<sup>2</sup> *Trousseau*, "a small bundle ; an outfit." In Breton, *trous*, *trousad* ; in Scotch, *trus*. In Irish, *truscan* and *trusiam*, "to tie," are derived from *trus*, "a belt ; a band ; a bandage."

As in England, so in France, the best evidence of the general occupancy of the country by the Celtic nations is found in its geographical nomenclature. In Brittany especially, where the Armorican, a language closely allied to the Welsh, is still spoken, the local names, with few exceptions, are derived from Cymric roots,<sup>1</sup> and are found there in a much purer and more easily recognizable form than in other parts of France, over which they are scattered more sparingly and in more corrupted forms. Still, in the northeast of France we find a few Gaelic and Erse roots, which are altogether absent from the local nomenclature of the West, and which, spreading northward through Belgium to the Nord Sea, seem to indicate that the Gaels of Germany crossed these parts on their way to the British isles.

A very large number of French river names contain the root *afon*. In Brittany we find the *Aff*, and two streams called *Aven*. There are two streams called *Avon* in the river system of the Loire, and two in that of the Seine. The names of the chief French rivers often contain a fragment—sometimes only a single letter—of this root, which may, however, be identified by a comparison of the ancient with the modern name. Thus, the *Matrona* is now the *Marne*, the *Axona* is the *Aisne*, the *Sequana* is the *Seine*, the *Antura* is the *Eure*, the *Iscauna* is the *Yonne*, the *Saucona* is the *Saone*, the *Meduana* is the *Mayenne*, the *Duranius* is the *Dordogne*, and the *Garumna* is the *Garonne*. The names of an immense number of the smaller French streams end in *on*, *onne*, or *onc*, which is probably a corruption of the root *afon*. In the department of the Vosges, for instance, we find the *Madon*, the *Durbion*, the *Angronne*, and the *Vologne*. In the department of the Alpes-basses we have the *Verdon*, the *Jabron*, the *Auon*, the *Calavon*, and the *Bléone*. In the department of the Ain there are the *Loudon*, the *Sevron*, the *Solman*, and the *Ain*. Elsewhere we have the *Avenue*, the *Vilaine*, the *Vienne*, the *Arnon*, the *Ausonne*, the *Odon*, the *Iton*, the *Scran*, the *Aveyron*, the *Roscodon*, the *Maronne*, the *Jourdanne*, the *Douron*, and scores of similar names.

From the root *dur* we have the *Duranius*, now the

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<sup>1</sup> The theory has been advanced that the Bretons of Brittany were a colony from Cornwall or Devon. No doubt there was a great amount of intercourse. The Cornwall and Devon of France afforded refuge to the emigrants expelled by the Saxons from the Cornwall and Devon of England; but the local names of France prove conclusively that the Bretons were once more widely spread.

*Dordogne*, the *Antura*, now the *Eure*, and the *Aturus*, now the *Adour*. The Alpine *Durance*, anciently the *Druentia*, reminds us of the English *Derwent*. We find the *Thurr* in Alsace, the *Durbion* in the Vosges, the *Durdan* in Normandy, the *Dourdon* and the *Dourbie* in the department of the Aveyron, as well as the *Douron* in Brittany.

From the roots *esk* and *uisge* we have in Brittany the *Oust*, the *Couesnon* and the *Couesan*; and in other districts of France the *Esque*, the *Asse*, the *Ose*, the *Isolé*, the *Isère*, the *Ousche*, the *Aisne*, the *Ausonne*, and the *Achase*. Several French rivers are called the *Aès* or *Aèse*. The *Isara*, or *Esia*, has become the *Oise*, the *Axona* is now the *Aisne*, the *Iscauna* is the *Yonne*, the *Ligeris* is the *Loire*, and the *Uxantis insula* is the island of *Ouessant* or *Ushant*.

The position of ancient Celtic strongholds in England, as we have seen, is frequently indicated by the root *dun*, but in France these Celtic hill-forts were far more numerous. The ancient *Verodunum* is now *Verdun*; *Castellodunum*, *Châteaudun*, and *Lugdunum* on the Rhone is now called *Lyons*.<sup>1</sup> *Juliodunum* was the ancient name of *Loudon*, and *Augustodunum* that of *Autun*. The rock of *Laón*, the stronghold of the later Merovingian kings, is a contraction of *Laudunum*. *Noviodunum*, the "new fort," is a common name: one is now *Noyon*, another *Nevers*, another *Nyon*, another *Jubleins*. *Melodunum* (*Mealldun*), the hill fort), now *Melun*, and *Uxellodunum* in Guienne, were also Celtic strongholds.

After the fifth century, the Celtic ceased to be a spoken language in Gaul, except in the ancient Armorica, where it resisted the Frankish influence, as in England it resisted the Anglo-Saxon, and thus the Low Breton of the present day, like the Welsh, the Irish, and the Scotch, is the direct descendant of the Old Celtic speech, from which it probably differs but little. It has a considerable literature—tales, ballads, plays, and even grammars and dictionaries,<sup>2</sup> none of which, however, dates farther back than the fourteenth century. For a thousand years it has been incessantly pressed in its last refuge by the French language;

<sup>1</sup> *Lugdunum Batavorum*, in Holland, is now the city of *Leyden*.

<sup>2</sup> On Celtic literature, see J. C. Zeuss, *Grammatica celtica*; Le Gonidec, *Dictionnaire breton*, and *Grammaire celto-bretonne*; Owen, *Dictionary of the Welsh language*; Armstrong, *Gaelic Dictionary*; O'Reilly, *An Irish-English Dictionary*; Froude, *Dictionnaire français-celto-breton*; Adolphe Pictet, *De l'affinité des langues celtiques avec le Sanscrit*; Pritchard, *Transactions of the Highland Society of Scotland*; Le Villemarqué, *Chants populaires de la Bretagne*; F. M. Luzel, *Guerzilion Breiz-izel*, etc.

and its alterations are due, therefore, partly to the natural degradation which its elements have suffered from eighteen centuries of use under difficulties, partly from the many foreign, that is, French words, which have forced themselves into its vocabulary. Yet such is still its resemblance to the Welsh dialect in England that, in 1859, an English vessel having been wrecked off the coast of Quiberon, one of its sailors, who was a Welshman, could easily make himself understood by the natives, and served as interpreter to the crew.

Not only has the Celtic idiom been thus perpetuated in one of the French provinces; it has also left traces of its influence upon the French language. The formation of the passive by means of the verb *être*; the double negative *ne . . . pas*, in Celtic *né . . . kéi*, separating its two elements by the verb; the use of the article; the absence of inflections for the declensions of nouns, are common to both French and Celtic, and the practice evidently originated among the latter, as it was but natural for the native population of Gaul, while they were gradually introducing foreign words into their own language, to keep up its grammatical construction. The *vigintesimal* system of numeration current in France up to the seventeenth century, as *cinq-vingts*, *six-vingts*, *sept-vingts*, that is five, six, seven-score,<sup>1</sup> etc., is likewise of Celtic origin. Traces of this usage remain in the terms *quatre-vingts*, *quatre-vingt-dix*, etc., and in the name of the *Hôpital des Quinze-vingts*, which was founded for the support of three hundred blind persons. The sounds *e*, *è*, *u*;<sup>2</sup> the articulations *ch* and *j*; the liquid *ll*; and the nasal sound of vowels preceding *m* and *n* in the same syllable—all of which are common to both French and Low Breton, and did not exist in Latin, are undoubtedly traceable to the Celtic language.

Struck with this resemblance, and especially with the many French words found in the Breton Celtic, some philologists of the eighteenth century favored the idea that such words were not French importations, but originals, which from the Celtic had remained in the French language, and some went even so far as to declare that the whole French language was derived from Low Bre-

<sup>1</sup> In Scotch and Irish *scor* means a notch made in a stick or tally for the purpose of keeping account of numbers, each notch representing twenty. According to Bosworth the word occurs also in Anglo-Saxon.

<sup>2</sup> This sound exists also in Scotch. The word *soth*, "soot," for instance, is pronounced exactly as if it were French.

ton. Those etymological follies, which Voltaire derided under the name of *Celtomania*, formed the amusement of the century, in spite of which the Celtomaniacs, giving loose rein to their fancies, would make it out, in their wild enthusiasm, that Celtic was the original speech of Paradise, and that Adam, Eve, the Serpent, all spoke Low Breton. As to the written form of the language, and its utter lack of resemblance with either French or Latin, it may be interesting for the reader to compare the French and Latin translations found on page 527 with the following version of the same passage made from the Greek into Low Breton, by Le Gonidec, a native of Brittany, and a distinguished Celtic scholar:

## BREZONEC.

Hôgen pa dôstée ouc'h dôr kéar, chétu é touged eunn dén marô, péhini a oa mab-penn-her d'hé vamm : hag houman a oa intavez ; hag eul lôd brâz a dût eûz a géar a oa gant-hi.

Ann Aotrou pa wélaz anezhi, en doe truez out-hi, hag a lavaraz d'ézhi : na wél két. Hag hén a dôstaaz hag a lékéaz hé zourn war ann arched.

Ar ré hé dougé a arzaôaz ; hag é lavaraz : den-iaouank, mé hel lavar d'id, saô. Hang ann dén marô a zavaz enn hé goanzez, hag a zeraouaz komza ; ha Jézuz hé rôaz d'hé vamm.

Hôgen ar ré holl a oa éno é krogaz spount enn-hô ; hag e veûlent Doué, ô lavarout : eur profed brâz a zô savet en hon touez, ha Doué a zô deted da wéloud hé bohl.

Ar vrûd eûz a gément-sé a rédaz dré ar Judéa holl, ha dré ann holl vrô war-drô.

A comparison of this version with those of the same passage in Gaelic, Irish, Welsh, and Manx, on pages 21 and 22, will also prove interesting.

If, now, we compare the words which Celtic has left in the language with those of Teutonic origin, we will find that most of the latter denote occupations, habits, and customs quite different from those for which Celtic names have remained. At once we see that they are not the language of laborers and slaves, but that of conquerors, rulers, and masters. These armed emigrants, who in the fifth and sixth centuries overran both England and France, murdering and pillaging, and taking possession of the land by brutal force and violence, may have, on the whole, been not much better than common robbers and pirates ; but once in possession of the land, it became a necessity for them to organize more perfectly, and to

establish strict laws in the very interests of their conquests. If their language was rude and unrefined, as compared to the idiom of the Gallo-Romans, it was that of the conqueror, nevertheless, whose will was law, and to whom the conquered could only conform and submit. Hence a vast number of foreign words which the latter in self-defense had to become acquainted with, and which they wildly mixed up with their own language, though in many instances theirs had perfect equivalents for them.

But the Latin, as thus spoken, was no longer what it was when first introduced by the Romans. The people who continued its use cared little for keeping up its original integrity and purity; schools and study were abandoned everywhere; culture had ceased even among the nobles and the wealthy, who now only thought of saving what little they could from the general depredation, and the language of Rome ere long fell, among them, into utter decay. It is under such circumstances that an idiom but feebly resists the pressure of foreign influence, and that a nation more readily admits and accepts as current all terms that refer to the habits, customs, laws, administration, and especially the business relations, into which they eventually enter with their new masters and rulers. Yet such was the vitality of the Latin, even then, that the Franks themselves, though continuing for several generations the use of their own language, soon began to draw up their laws in Latin, as more precise than their native tongue, and gradually, also, began to speak the Gallo-Roman idiom, simultaneously with their own, in their intercourse with the natives, which resulted in their finally cultivating the new idiom far more successfully even than could be done by the Gallo-Roman population in the condition of dependency in which they were placed. Such at least we must conclude, not only from the nature of the words left in the language, and which form a perfect record of their institutions and general mode of life, but still more so from a quantity of expressions that refer to a higher order of ideas; such as man, considered morally and physically; animals and their vital functions; agriculture and the vegetable kingdom; colors, dress, and ornament; war and navigation; which, being all expressed in words of their own language, could only have been introduced into the current language by themselves.

On examining this Teutonic element of the French language, we will find it to consist of three successive

strata of words: 1. Those introduced into Latin by the foreign soldiers who served under the Roman eagles prior to the first invasion, and which probably were but few in number. 2. Military and feudal terms, and others which the Franks, Goths, and Burgundians brought with them, and which constitute the bulk of the words of this class. 3. Seafaring terms, and a few others introduced into Nuestria first by the Salian Franks, and later, in the tenth century, by the Dutch and Flemish.

Under these three heads, there are in all about four hundred words that have remained in the language. When the conquerors substituted the feudal *régime* of the Teutonic tribes for the monarchical and centralized organization of the Roman empire, they were obliged at the same time to introduce into the language words relating to their institutions; and thus the titles of the feudal hierarchy, and all terms referring to its political and judicial institutions, and practices essentially their own, are of Teutonic origin. Of course, words that had reference to a state of things, or a mode of warfare now no longer existing, are lost or obsolete; the others have remained as part and parcel of the language.

Among the latter we notice: *auberge, héberger, bagarre, boulevard, bourg, bouclier, bride, butin, carquois, cible, dague, dard, écharpe, écraser, écurie, éperon, estoc, escrime, escarmouche, escarpe, étrier, fanon, flèche, fourbir, fourreau, fourrage, frapper, gage, gain, guerre, guérite, guet, guide, halte, hampe, hallebarde, haubert, heaume, hardi, héraut, housse, marcher, maréchal, marque, rang, rapière, sac, trêve, vacarme*, etc.; all military terms. Among the seafaring terms we have *agrès, amarrer, avarie, bord, canot, chaloupe, cingler, crique, digue, écume, équiper, esquif, falaise, foc, fret, gaffe, halage, hamac, hauban, havre, hisser, hune, lisse, mât, mousse, quille, rade, radouber, tillac, vague, voguer*, etc. Names of animals, birds, and fishes, also hunting and fishing terms, comprise *anchois, bélier, belette, braque, blesser, broncher, brouter, caille, canard, carpe, chamois, chouette, clapir, crabe, écaille, échine, écrevisse, éperlan, épervier, faucon, garenne, glapir, grimper, hanneton, happer, hareng, héron, bison, homard, lamproie, lécher, leurrer, madré, marsouin, mésange, moineau, mouette, mulot, renard, taudis, trappe, traquer*, etc. Names of political and judicial institutions and titles have given *abandonner, ambassadeur, ban, baron, bedeau, chambellan, carcan, échafaud, échanson, échevin, fourrier, fiéf, franc, gabelle, hardi, honnir, joli, liste, lot, malle, mignard, mignon, nantir*,



*orgueil, race, riche, saisir, sénéchal*, and others. The vegetable world has retained the words *aune, blé, bois, bourgeon, framboise, gazon, gerbe, grappe, groseille, gruau, haie, hêtre, houblon, houx, jardin, marais, roscau, saule*, etc. The cardinal points, *nord, est, sud, ouest*, are likewise of Teutonic origin, and so are many words relating to food and drink; as *fliche, bacon*, now obsolete, *bière, gaufre, goinfre, gruau, gruger, mets, soupe, trinquer*. Among the articles of dress, we find *coiffe, écharpe, étoffe, feutre, froc, gant, haillon, jacquette, loque, nippes, poche, rochet, sarreau*, etc. Building and constructions: *bourg, dalle, cahute, échoppe, étui, guichet, halle, hameau, hangar, hutte, loquet, salle, seuil, stalle*, etc. Furniture and household articles: *bahut, banc, écrou, étuve, fauteuil, flacon, tonneau, canif, édredon*, etc. Words relating to man, his good and bad qualities, his inclinations, passions, etc.: *effroi, frayeur, étourdi, félon, gredin, hagard, hair, hardi, hargneux, honte, morne, narguer, radoter, sot, tricher, grimmer, grommeler, happer, glapir, hâve, laid, leste, lippu, loucher, lorgner, reluquer, renifler, guigner, râler, tâter, garçon, gringalet, gorge, nuque, duvet, goutte*, etc. Of colors we have: *blanc, bleu, blond, brun, gris, fard, blafard*. Among the words expressing diverse ideas, which do not come within this classification, we find: *aise, ballot, besoin, biais, billet, bise, bluette, bouffer, bout, braise, brandon, but, canton, causer, chatouiller, choc, choisir, clapoter, clinquant, craquer, déchirer, éblouir, écharde, écot, écraser, écume, écurer, égratigner, épier, foule, fourrer, frelater, froncer, gâcher, garder, garer, garnir, gaspiller, glisser, gratter, grincer, gros, guère, guérir, guider, guinder, guise, hanter, déguerpir, harangue, hâter, heurter, hocher, haro, holà, horion, houspiller, lambeau, lisière, lopin, maint, manquer, navrer, pincer, piquer, plaque, plat, raffler, raper, dérober, souiller, tailler, tomber, troquer, trouver*, and a few others.<sup>1</sup>

All these words have become so thoroughly French that nothing but a profound knowledge of the ancient Dutch and Old High German would recognize them in their French garb, and it is in this particular that they essentially differ from the German words that have come into the language at later periods, and which may be easily recognized by their foreign look. The reason is that the former grew up with the growing French, blending with it in sound and form, and becoming the very substance of the language, whereas the latter are only super-

<sup>1</sup> For local names of Frankish origin, see pages 193 and 195.

ficially connected with it—to use the language of chemistry—words of modern German origin *mix* only with the French; those of old Teutonic birth *enter into combination* with it.

The following versions, into Modern German and Old High German or Francic, of the passage of Saint Luke, quoted in other parts of this work, will give an idea of the difference:

OLD HIGH GERMAN.<sup>1</sup>

12. Mit thiu her tho nahita phortu thero Burgi, senu arstorbaner uwas gitragan, einag sun sinero Muoter, inti thiu uwas uiltuua inti menigi theru Burgi mihhil mit iru.

13. Thia mit thiu Truhtin gisah, miltidu giruorit ubar fla quad iru: Ni curi vouofen!

14. Inti gieng zuo, inti biruorta thia bara. Thie thar truogun, gistuontun, inti quad: Jungo ih quidu thir, Arstant!

15. Inti gisaz thie thar tot uwas, inti bigonda sprehhan; inti gab inan sinero Muoter.

16. Glseng tho alle forhta, inti mihsilosotun God, sus quedante: Bithiu mihhil uuzigago arstuont in uns, inti bithiu God uulsota sines folkes.

17. Inti uzgieng thas uuort in alle Judeon fon imo, inti umbi alla thia Kantseaf.

MODERN GERMAN.

12. Als er aber nahe an das Stadthor kam, siehe, da trug man einen Todten heraus, der ein einiger Sohn war seiner Mutter; und sie war eine Wittwe, und viel Volks aus der Stadt ging mit ihr.

13. Und da sie der Herr sahe, jammerte ihn derselbigen, und sprach zu ihr: Weine nicht!

14. Und trat hinzu, und rührete den Sarg an; und die Träger standen. Und er sprach: Jüngling, ich sage dir, stehe auf!

15. Und der Todte richtete sich auf, und fing an zu reden. Und er gab ihn seiner Mutter.

16. Und es kam sie alle eine Furcht an, und priesen Gott, und sprachen: Es ist ein großer Prophet unter uns aufgestanden, und Gott hat sein Volk heimgesucht.

17. Und diese Rede von ihm erscholl in das ganze jüdische Land, und in alle umliegende Länder.

All words of Modern German origin came in after the first half of the sixteenth century. The religious wars, the Thirty Years' War, the German wars of the eighteenth century, have introduced a number of military terms, such as: *bivouac*, *locus*, *blockhaus*, *chabraque*, *colback*, *fifre*, *flamberge*, *havresac*, *lansquenet*, *reitire*, *sabre*, *sabretache*, *schlague*, etc.; words denoting drinks and pot-house terms, as: *gargotte*, *tringuer*, *brandevin*, *chroucroute*, *nouille*, and the like; some names of animals, as *elan*, *renne*; some terms of art and pleasure, as *graver*, *estomper*, *valser*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *Ammonii Alexandrini quæ et Tatiani dicitur Harmonia evangeliorum*, 6dit. Schmeller, Viennæ, 1841, in-40, p. 33.

Some terms respectable in German, as *land*, *ross*, *buch*, *herr*, have been turned, in derision, into *lande*, "waste land"; *rosse*, "a broken-down horse, a jade"; *bouquin*, "an old book"; *hère*, "a poor wretch." The word *schnapphahn*, which meant an "old-fashioned musket," was turned into *chenapan*, "a scamp, a blackguard, a good-for-nothing," and so on. Mining industry, so general in Germany, has given more recently a number of mineralogical terms, such as *bismuth*, *cobalt*, *couperose*, *glette*, *manganèse*, *potasse*, *quartz*, *spath*, *zinc*, which have been adopted in French. *Nickel* is a Swedish word.<sup>1</sup>

Modern German words thus introduced have had no effect whatsoever on the French language, except that of adding some sixty words to its vocabulary; whereas the old Teutonic dialects have had much to do with shaping the language, partly in its pronunciation, and hence in its orthography; but especially in generalizing the declension of nouns by means of prepositions, like the Celts, and by using auxiliaries in the conjugation of verbs, which was a German custom, and which was to some extent the practice also among the Latin-speaking people of Gaul.

Elsewhere we have seen the great similarity of local names in both Northern France and England.<sup>2</sup> In addition to these we have also such familiar English forms as *Graywick*, the river *Slack*, *Bruquedal*, *Marbecq*, *Longfosse*, *Dalle*, *Vendal*, *Salperwick*, *Fordebecques*, *Staple*, *Crehem*, *Pihem*, *Dohem*, *Roqueton*, *Hazelbrouck*, and *Roebeck*. Twenty-two of this class of names have the characteristic suffix *-ton*, which is scarcely to be found elsewhere upon the Continent, and upward of one hundred end in *ham*, *hem*, or *hen*. There are also more than one hundred patronymics ending in *ing*. A comparison of these patronymics with those found in England proves, beyond a doubt, that the colonization of this part of France must have been effected by men bearing the clan-names which belonged to the Teutonic families which settled on the opposite coast. More than eighty per cent of these French patronymics are also found in England.

<sup>1</sup> The French word *Allemand*, for "German," is modernized from the name of the *Alemanni*, the ancient frontier tribe between Germania and Gaul. The *Alemanni* seem to have been a mixed race—partly Celtic, partly Teutonic, in blood. The name is itself Teutonic, and probably means "other men" or "foreigners," and thus, curiously enough, the French name for the whole German people has been derived from a tribe whose very name indicates that its claims to Teutonic blood were disowned by the rest of the German tribes.

<sup>2</sup> See pages 193-196.

The Scandinavians who settled in France have left few memorials of their speech in the French dictionary—few permanent conquests have had so slight an influence on the language of the conquered nation. The conquerors married native women, and their sons seem to have learned only the language spoken by their mothers; so that, except in the neighborhood of Bayeux, where the Norman speech was grafted on the nearly-related and firmly-established language of the Saxon shore,<sup>1</sup> the sons of the soil at no time spoke a Scandinavian dialect. But the map of Normandy supplies abundant traces of the Scandinavian conquest. In England the former abodes of the Northmen—*Grim*, *Biörn*, *Harold*, *Thor*, *Guddar*, and *Haco*—go by the names of *Grimsby*, *Burnthwaite*, *Harroby*, *Thoresby*, *Guttersby*, and *Hacconby*: in Normandy these same personal appellations occur in the village-names in the form of *Grimonville*, *Borneville*, *Herouville*, *Tourville*, *Godarville*, *Haconville*, and *Hacqueville*.

The Norse *garth*, "an inclosure, or yard," occurs in Normandy at *Fisigard*, *Auppegard*, and *Epegard*—names which we may compare with *Fishguard* and *Appleguard* in England. *Toft*, which also means an inclosure, takes the form *tot* in Normandy, as in *Yvetot*, Ivo's toft;<sup>2</sup> *Plumnetot*, flower toft; *Lilletot*, little toft; *Routot*, *Rödöt*, or red toft; *Criquetot*, crooked toft; *Berquetot*, birch toft; *Hautot*, high toft; *Langetot*, long toft. We have also *Prétot*, *Tournetot*, *Bouquetot*, *Grastot*, *Appetot*, *Garnetot*, *Ansetot*, *Turretot*, *Herbertot*, *Cristot*, *Brestot*, *Franquetot*, *Raffetot*, *Houdetot*, and others, about one hundred in all. *Toft* being a Danish rather than a Norwegian suffix, would incline us to suppose, from its frequent occurrence, that most of Rollo's followers were Danes rather than Norwegians;<sup>3</sup> and the total absence of *thwaite*, the Norwegian test-word, tends to strengthen this supposition.

The suffix *by*, so common in Danish England, generally takes, in Normandy, the form *bæuf*, *beuf*, or *bue*, as in the

<sup>1</sup> See pages 80, 207, and 208.

<sup>2</sup> There was a saint by that name in Brittany, said to be an Irishman. He was an honest lawyer, and hence he is represented as a black swan in certain mediæval verses in his honor:

"Sanctus Ivo erat Brito  
Advocatus, sed non latro

Res miranda populo."—Jephson, *Tour in Brittany*, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> Moreover, in Denmark we often find combinations identical with some of those just enumerated. Such are *Blumtofte*, *Rodtofte*, *Langetofte*, and *Grastofte*.

cases of *Criquebuf* (Crog-by, or crooked-by), *Marbœuf* (Mark-by), *Quittebeuf* (Whit-by, or White-by), *Daubeuf* (Dale-by), *Carquebuf* (Kirk-by), *Quillebeuf* (Kil-by), *Elbœuf*, *Painbeuf*, and *Lindebeuf*. The form *beuf*, or *bœuf*, may seem very remote from the old Norse *boer*; but a few names ending in *bue*, such as *Longbue* and *Tournebue*, and still more the village of *Bures*, exhibit the transitional forms through which the names in *buf* and *bœuf* have passed. *Hambye* and *Colomby* are the only instances of the English form found in France.

The village of *Le Torp* gives us the word *thorp*, which, however, more usually appears in the corrupted form of *torbe*, *tourp*, or *tourbe*, as in the case of *Clitourps*.

The name of the river *Dieppe*, which was afterward given to the town which was built beside it, is identical with that of the *Diupa*, or "deep water," in Iceland; and may be compared with the *Nieuwe Diep* in Holland.

From the Norse *beck*, Danish *bœc*, Dutch *beek*, "a brook," we have *Caudebec*, the "cold brook," the same name as that of the Cawdbeck in the Lake District, and the *Kaldbæk* in Iceland. The name of the *Briquebec*, the "birch-fringed brook," is the same as that of the *Birkbeck* in Westmoreland. The *Houlbec*, the "brook in the hollow," corresponds to the *Holbeck* in Lincolnshire, the *Holbek* in Denmark, and *Hollenbeek* in Holland. The name of *Bolbec* we may compare with *Bolbek* in Denmark; and the name of *Foulbec*, or "muddy brook," is identical with that of the *Fulbeck* in Lincolnshire.

The Norse *oe* and *ey*, "an island," are seen in *Eu*, *Cantaleu*, *Jersey*, *Guernsey*, and *Alderney*.

The suffix *-fleur*, which we find in *Honfleur* and other names, is derived from the Norse *flot*, "a small river or channel," which we have in the English, *Purfleet*, *Northfleet*, and the Dutch *Waterвлиet*, etc. The phonetic resemblance between *fleur* and *fleet* may seem slight, but the identification is placed beyond a doubt by the fact that *Harfleur* was anciently written *Herosfuet*; while Roger de Hovenden calls *Barfleur* by the name of *Barbeflet*, and Odericus Vitalis calls it *Barbeflot*. *Vittefleur* is the "white river," and *Figuefleur* seems to be a corruption of *Wickfleet*, "the river to the bay."

*Holm*, "a river island," appears in the names of *Turholm*, *Nihou*, and *Le Houlme*, near Rouen. Cape *de la Hogue*, Cape *Hoc*, and Cape *Le Hode*, may be compared with the cape near Dublin, called the *Hill of Howth*. This

is the old Norse *haugr*, a sepulchral mound, the same word which appears in the *haughs* of Northumberland. *Les Dalles*, *Oudales*, *Crodale*, *Croixdal*, *Danestal*, *Depedal*, *Dieppedal*, *Darnetal*, and *Bruquedalle*, contain the Dutch word *dal*, and remind us of some of the dales of Holland.

*Escoves* seems to be the Icelandic *skogr*, and corresponds to the Old English *shaw*, "a wood, or *shady* place." *Bosc*, "a wood, or *bushy* place," is a very common suffix in Normandy, as in the names *Verbosc*, *Bricquebosq*, and *Bandribosc*. *Holt*, "a wood," occurs in the name *Terhoulde*, or *Theroude*. The Calf of Man is repeated in *Le Cauf*.<sup>1</sup>

While thus the local and patronymic names of northern France and England are essentially the same, and show the origins of the people of both countries to have been identical, it is deserving of notice that in England the Teutonic idiom prevailed, whereas in France it was absorbed by the Rustic Latin.

Among the Eastern languages which have contributed to the French vocabulary, not by direct contact, but only accidentally and from fortuitous causes, Greek has furnished some forms, though it is difficult to determine in what way and to what extent it has done so. Some six centuries before our era, as already noticed,<sup>2</sup> some Greek emigrants landed in Gaul on the Mediterranean coast, and established there permanent and flourishing colonies. But in spite of their literary culture, which made *Marseilles* and several other cities in the south of France as many new *Athens*, there is no evidence that their language spread to any extent among the Gauls—there being more occasion for the former to practice the language of the surrounding country than for the Celts to learn Greek, except for trading purposes. But even business, carried on between Greeks and Celts, diminished, if not ceased entirely, about one hundred and fifty years before Christ, when the Romans came in as their protectors, and held land enough around these colonies to isolate them almost entirely. It is therefore more than probable, if not certain, that most of the Greek words that are found in French have come there through the channel of the Romans, who constantly borrowed from the Greeks whatever words they were in need of. Thus Greek art and Greek manners, as well as Greek literature, introduced into the liter-

<sup>1</sup> On the Norse names in Normandy, see Depping, *Expéditions Maritimes des Normands*, vol. ii, pp. 339-342.

<sup>2</sup> See page 457.

ary language of Rome a crowd of words utterly unknown to the uninitiated, and whatever number of these occur in French have come there through the Literary Latin. We do not refer here to the Greek terms used in modern technology, and which are formed every day from simple roots, for the sake of accuracy in scientific nomenclature; nor do we allude to the barbarous combinations, invented ever since the sixteenth century, to designate diseases, drugs, and patent medicines, and which would have puzzled the ancient Greeks themselves to understand, as much as any of us at present. But between these words artificially wrought, and those which have found their way into the language unperceived, as it were, there is this distinction to be made, that the former keep up their foreign appearance, while the latter, like all those that have come through the Latin, are thoroughly assimilated in sound and form with all words in the language. It is in reference to the prevailing affectation of a fondness for Greek literature, ever since Ronsard and followers, that Molière, deriding the literary pretense of the *Femmes Savantes* of his time, makes Philaminte exclaim :

“*Quoi, Monsieur sait du grec ! ah ! permettez de grâce  
Que pour l’amour du grec, Monsieur, on vous embrasse.*”

The first Greek words that, with any degree of certainty, can be asserted to have penetrated into the popular language of Gaul, are due to the influence of Christianity, which grew up in the East before spreading among the Latin nations. Its first books were written in Greek, which accounts for some Greek forms which the Roman church adopted in its liturgy, and which still remain there, such as the *Kyrie eleison* in the daily mass, and the anthems *Agios o Theos* and *Athanatos o Theos*, sung on Good Friday. Saint Irenæus, second bishop of Lyons, wrote in Greek as well as in Celtic for the instruction of the people in his diocese; Saint Cæsarius of Arles ordered Greek anthems to be sung before the sermons, and Saint Jerome informs us that some of the Aquitanians of Gaul boasted of their Greek origin, and that they studied that language with remarkable success. The emperors favored this disposition, and in the year 376 Gratianus established a Greek chair at Treves. Finally, as an indisputable evidence that at one time Greek was the learned language in Gaul we have the Celtic coins, on which the inscriptions are engraven in Greek letters.

Still, outside Marseilles, Arles, and a few other cities, where the population were principally Greek, the language soon ceased to be the colloquial speech in any part of Provence after the Roman conquest; but so well was it rooted in these cities that the orator, charged to deliver the funeral oration of the younger Constantine, addressed the people of Arles in Greek, and that according to Saint Cyprian the Arlesians still sang Greek hymns during the sixth century in their churches; and such was the high renown of Marseilles for its scholars, that Pope Celestine I sent to the city for a Hellenist to come and interpret to him a letter from the heresiarch Nestorius. In the ninth century, Greek was taught in Tours, Metz, and in various monasteries, and was in familiar use at the court of Charles the Bald. When Constantine VI was to marry one of the daughters of Charlemagne, Ellisee was sent as ambassador to his court, by the Empress Irene, to teach the betrothed the language and the customs of the court of Byzantium. In the tenth century, when the triumph of the Iconoclasts caused the persecuted Greek priests to seek refuge in all civilized Europe, many of these came to Toul, where the bishop allowed them to keep to the liturgy and rites to which they were accustomed. Finally, the Crusades increased the relations between the East and the West, and the intercourse between the Greeks and the French was too close and too constant for the language of the soldiers, the pilgrims, and the merchants, not to be in some way affected by the contact.<sup>1</sup>

With all this, the influence of the Greek on the French language has been much more literary than lexical; that is, it has borrowed from the Greek more turns of phrases than words, and of these, as we have said, almost all come through the Latin. Such are, among others: *crabe, chère, corde, crane, crapule, moustache, somme, thon, bocal, fiole, bourse, trésor, tyran, trône*; in Latin, *carabus, cara, chorda, cranium, crapula, mystax, sagma, thunnus, baucalis, phiala, byrsa, thesaurus, tyrannus, thronus*; from the Greek, *κάραβος, κάρα, χορδή, κρανίον, κραυπάλη, μύσταξ, σάγμα, θύννος, βαυκάλιον, φιάλη, βύρσα, θησαυρός, τύραννος, θρόνος*. All these words are found in Latin authors of the seventh century, and the French derived them from the Latin, just as

<sup>1</sup> It is evidently from such sources that some provincial dialects or patois in France contain words of Greek origin. In Picardy, for instance, we find *Thélon* and *Théle*, "uncle and aunt," probably from *θείος* and *θεία*, which have the same meaning.



the Latin had in previous ages derived them from the Greek. More direct is the derivation of Greek words introduced through religious influence, and which the Western Church adopted for want of words expressing the same ideas in the current dialect or even in Latin.<sup>1</sup> The number of these words, as found in the monuments of the Langue d'oïl, previous to the twelfth century, amount, however, to but twelve, including the terms *orphelin*<sup>2</sup> and *épée*,<sup>3</sup> which are only accessory. The other ten are *évêque*,<sup>4</sup> *archevêque*,<sup>5</sup> *évêché*,<sup>6</sup> *monastère*,<sup>7</sup> *église*,<sup>8</sup> *paroisse*,<sup>9</sup> *chrétien*,<sup>10</sup> *diable*,<sup>11</sup> *parole*,<sup>12</sup> and *blâmer*.<sup>13</sup> But while the

<sup>1</sup> 'ΑΛΛ' οὐ δυναμένοις διὰ στενότητα τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς γλώττης, καὶ ὀνομάτων περιῶν.—S. Grég. Nazianzen. *Opera*.

<sup>2</sup> In Old French *orphanin*, from the Greek ὀρφανός, "destitute, comfortless"; in Latin *orphanus* and *orphaninus*.

<sup>3</sup> In Old French *spede*, from the Greek σπάθη, in Latin *spatha*. Originally any oblong instrument with thin and sharp edges; a druggist's spatula; and finally a two-edged sword.

<sup>4</sup> In Old French *evesque*, from the Greek ἐπίσκοπος, "an overseer, a guardian."

<sup>5</sup> In Old French *arcevesque*, from the Greek ἀρχεῦ, "to be first," and ἐπίσκοπος; in Latin *archiepiscopus*.

<sup>6</sup> In Old French *evesquie*, "bishopric; a bishop's palace."

<sup>7</sup> In Old French *muster*, *mostier*, *moustier*, from the Greek μοναστήριον, "solitude," from μοναστής, "solitary," derived from μονάζειν, "to live single," which comes from μόνος, the root of μοναχός; in Latin *monachus*, "a monk."

<sup>8</sup> In Old French *yglese*, in Latin *ecclesia*, from the Greek ἐκκλησία, "an assembly, a reunion of the faithful," derived from ἐκκαλέειν, "to convoke."

<sup>9</sup> In Low Latin *parocchia*, *parochia*, "a diocese" in Saint Augustine; "a parish" in Sidonius Apollinaris, from the Greek παροικία, "a dwelling in the neighborhood," itself derived from παροικέειν, "to live in the neighborhood." The first Christians, in order to conceal their religious practices from the Romans, held their meetings in the neighborhood of the cities where they lived. Ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ παροικοῦσα ἐν Ξυβήρῃ.—Euséb. IV, c. xvii. Ἐκκλησία δὲ τῆ παροικοῦσῃ Γορθίνων.—Id., IV, c. xxiii. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ρώμῃ.—S. Clém., *Ep. Corinth.*

<sup>10</sup> In Old French *Christian*, in Latin *Christianus*, from the Greek χριστός, "the anointed; the Christ."

<sup>11</sup> In Old French *diable*, in Latin *diabolus*, from the Greek διάβολος, "calumniator; the devil."

<sup>12</sup> From the Greek παραβολή, in Latin *parabola*, originally meaning "a comparison, a simile," next "a recital," afterward "speech," and finally "word." In a chartulary of the counts of Barcelona, by Diego, II, c. i, we read: "Assumpta *parabola* sua, respondit episcopus (Hesso scolasticus): Non dicam illas *parabolas* quas vos dixeritis ad me, et mandaveritis mihi, ut celem eas." *Parabolare* is used for "to speak," in Carolingian documents. In a capitulary of Charles the Bald we read: "Nostris seniores, sicut audistis, *parabolaverunt* simul, et consideraverunt cum communibus illorum fidelibus." Later on *parabolare* became *paroler*. "Ki de la naissance de Christ *parolent*," says Saint Bernard.

"Par grant saveir *parolet* li uns al altre."—*Chans. de Roland*, st., xxvii.

<sup>13</sup> In Old French *blasmer*, in Latin *blasphemare*, from the Greek βλασφημεῖν, "to calumniate." Gregory of Tours uses *blasphemare* in the sense of "to blame." In the glossaries we find "*blasphemare, vituperare, reprehendere*." "Tantummodo *blasphemabatur* a pluribus quod esset avaritiæ deditus."—Aymon the monk.

words in any way directly traceable to Greek are but few, there are in French many metaphors which Greek so perfectly accounts for that it would be idle to look for their origin elsewhere. In French, for instance, as in Greek, *on assomme quelqu'un de son bavardage*; *on lui rompt la tête*, and *on lui rend mille graces*; *on roule un projet dans sa tête*, and *on en sème le bruit*. *On est homme du peuple, d'une grande maison, d'un bon sang, and enflé de vanité*. *On donne des coups*; *on dort sur les deux oreilles*; *on pleure à chaudes larmes*; *on brode une histoire*; and *on couronne dignement son ouvrage*. As in Greek, a drunkard is called *un sac à vin*; a quarrel, *un différend*; and a burglar's key, *une fausse clef*. The proverb, *tendre comme la rosée*, is really nonsense, and is only explained by the fortuitous identity of the word *ἔρση*, which means both "dew" and "young lamb."<sup>1</sup> *Tel maître tel valet*; *dans le royaume des aveugles les borgnes sont rois*; *mettre la charrue devant les bœufs*; *il fait bon d'avoir deux cordes à son arc*, are proverbs which likewise exist in Greek, and are evidently borrowed from that language.

It was a favorite theory of old etymologists that all languages are derived from Hebrew; modern philology has proved them wrong, and shown that elements of languages correspond to the elements of race. Inasmuch, therefore, as Hebrew does not belong to the family of Indo-European languages, all resemblances that may exist between Hebrew and French are mainly accidental. When Saint Jerome translated the Old Testament into Latin he brought into his version certain Hebrew words which had no Latin equivalents, as *seraphim*, *gehennon*, *pascha*, etc., and from ecclesiastical Latin they passed five centuries later into French, when they took the form of *seraphin*, *gène*, *pâque*, etc. But they entered French from the Latin, and not from the Hebrew, which will account for their altered forms. The Talmudic words *cabale*, *rabbin*, and such others as refer to matters essentially Hebrew, are taken direct from the language, and therefore have kept up a closer resemblance.

The same remarks apply to the Turkish and Arabic, whose relations to the French have been likewise merely accidental. Thus, words expressing things purely Oriental, such as *bey*, *cadi*, *calife*, *pacha*, *visir*, *sultan*, *mufti*, *der-vice*, *marabout*, *mosquée*, *minaret*, *alcoran*, *turban*, *babouche*,

<sup>1</sup> See *Iliad*, xi, 53; and *Odyssey*, ix, 222; xiii, 245.

*narghilé, divan, sérail, odalisque, houri, janissaire, mameluck, cimeterre, firman, drogman, talisman, sequin, bazar, kiosque, caravansérail*, bear a foreign stamp which can not be mistaken. They were brought straight from the East by travelers and merchants, in the same way as the conquest of Algeria has furnished the words *bournous, smala, razzia*, and others, which come as near the real pronunciation as French orthography can make them. There are, however, other Arabic words which the French language received during the Middle Ages, and which came there from another source. The Crusades, the scientific greatness of the Arabs, the Oriental philosophies, much studied in France between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, enriched the vocabulary of the language with many words belonging to the three sciences which the Arabs cultivated so successfully—astronomy, mathematics, and alchemy, and which gave such words as *azimuth, zénith, nadir, algèbre, chiffre, zéro, alcali, alcool, alambic, élixir, borax, ambre, julep, sirop*, and others. These, however, did not pass direct from Arabic into French, but came there through the scientific mediæval Latin, like all words of learned origin.

The Italian element of Modern French comprises about four hundred and fifty words. Catherine de Medicis brought in not only court terms, and words expressing pleasure and amusement, but also terms of war, commerce, and navigation, and especially the terms of art needed to express new ideas which had come from Italy with Primaticcio and Leonardo da Vinci. Among the court terms we find *altesse, grandesse, sérénissime, page, courtisan, camériste, carrosse, cavalcade, cortège, escorte, cocarde, partisan, incognito*, etc. For words of games and amusements we have *carnaval, mascarade, polichinelle, arlequin, bouffon, caricature, saltimbanque, quadrille, gala*, etc. Terms of war: *soldat, caporal, cavalier, cavalerie, infanterie, baraque, barricade, arsenal, carabine, mousqueton, citadelle, parapet, bastion, casemate, esplanade, escadron, sentinelle, vedette, patrouille*, etc. Terms of commerce: *banque, banqueroute, gazette, mercantile, ducat, piastre, sequin, douane, tarif, tontine, bilan*, and other terms connected with the Italian system of book-keeping. Sea-faring terms: *escadre, felouque, frégate, régate, gondole, brigantin, boussole, escale, bastingage*, etc. Among the terms of art we find *artiste, artisan, dilettante*; for architecture, *façade, corniche, balcon, balustrade, pilastre, coupole, dôme, niche, cabinet, belvédère, casino, villa*, etc.; for

painting, *aquarelle, fresque, pastel, grotesque, pittoresque, esquisse, modèle, madone, palette, gouache, sépia, carmin, incarnat*, etc.; sculpture, *torse, buste, bronze, piédestal, médaille, camée, burin*, etc.; music, *opéra, concert, ténor, soprano, cantate, cavatine, ariette, barcarolle, fausset, fugue, arpège, sol-fège, sonate, ritournelle, crescendo, adagio, andante, solo, piano, mandoline, clarinette, timbale, trombone, violon, violoncelle*, etc.; poetry, *madrigal, stance, concetti, improviser*, etc. In the vegetable kingdom we have *lavande, muscat, muscade, pistache, oléandre, céleri, artichaut, scorsonère, primevère, belladonne, brugnon, cédrat, caroubier*, etc. For food, *macaron, macaroni, vermicelle, riz, semoule, biscotte, frangipane, massepain, candi, marasquin, sorbet, salade, panade, carbonnade, cervelas*, etc. From the same source we have *costume, casaque, pantalon, perruque, pommade, bravade, canaille, carcasse, caprice, bagatelle, bandit, brigand, charlatan, lazzarone, cicerone, talisman, tarentule, contrebände, populace, révolte, lave, volcan, cascade*, and many others.

Of Spanish origin the number of words is much less, and amounts to about one hundred. They refer especially to exotic plants, and their manufactured products, as *cannelle, vanille, ananas, abricot, orange, marmelade, cacao, chocolat, caramel, nougat, tabac, cigare, jasmin, jonquille, tulipe*; to animals, *épagneul, mérinos, pintade, alezan, albinos*; to dwellings, as *case, alcove, corridor*; to dress, *galon, caban, basquine, mantille*; to the army, *colonel, adjudant, capitaine, camarade, escouade, diane, caserne, matamore*, etc.; to the navy, *embarcadère, débarcadère, cabestan, mousse, subrécargue, embargo*, etc.; to music, *aubade, sérénade, guitare, castagnettes*, etc.; to games, *hombre, dominos*, etc.; to which we may add such terms as *laquais, dudène, incartade, algarade, eldorade, paragon, baroque, bizarre*, etc. *Créole, mulâtre, nègre*, come from the Spanish-American colonies. *Caste, fétiche, auto-da-fé* come from the Portuguese.

From the early part of this century, communication between England and France has grown more and more frequent, and led to the introduction of many English words, such as refer to industrial pursuits, for instance, as *tender, wagon, rail, tunnel*; to articles of food, *bifteck, rosbif, pudding, grog, punch, rhum, gin*, etc.; to racing, sport, and travel, *turf, jockey, groom, clown, boxe, sport, bouledogue, stalle, steeple-chasse, tilbury, victoria, break, dogcart, touriste, fashionable, dandy*, etc.; to politics and public administration, *bill, budget, jury, comité, club, toast, pamphlet*, etc.; to agriculture, *cottage, drainer, drainage*, etc.; sea terms, *dock*,

*loch, poulie, paquebot, cutter, yacht, cabine, etc.* Words so derived amount to about one hundred.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Many words thus borrowed from the English are Old French words returned in altered form and with a special meaning.

*Tunnel*, now meaning a vaulted underground passage through a hill or under a river, is only a modified form of the Old French *tonnel*, a diminutive of *tonne*, contracted into *tonneau*. *Tunnel* has survived in *tonnelle*, "an arbor."

*Bifsteck* and *rosbif*, words that have come into French after the invasions of 1814 and 1815, are only imitations of the English way of pronouncing "beef-steak" and "roast beef," the French not recognizing their word *roûti*, formerly *roûti* in the English sounds of "roast," nor *bauf*, in that of "beef," which in Norman-French was written *bœf* and *buëf*, and probably pronounced somewhat like the present English.

*Groom*, now "a man or boy employed about horses" meant originally "a lad, a young servant man" in general. In Old French it was *gromme*; in Low Latin *gromus*, *gromes*:

A ceste gent sont compaignon  
Mauvais *grommes*, mauvais garchon ;  
Des boines gens boivent le vin,  
Que il carient, au quemin.

*Glossaire de Carpentier*, art. *Gromes*.

The English *pudding*, defined as "flour and meal mixed and seasoned with a variety of ingredients, and cooked in a bag or gut of an animal," is evidently the Old French *boudin*, which has the same meaning, and was written in ancient time *boudel*, *budel*, *bœl*, *bowel*. Gower writes *bouele*, c. A. ii, 265, from which the English *bowel*. Martial gives *botellus* with the meaning of "sausage; intestines"; and in the *Lex Frisicionum*, v. 52, we read "si *botellum* vulneraverit."

*Sport* is a contraction of the Old French *desport*, "diversion, recreation, play, mirth, merriment." *Se desporter* meant "to amuse one's self." *Desport* is found in Chaucer, *Prologue of the Canterbury Tales*, see page 432.

*Fashion*, now "the prevailing mode or form of dress; the style considered correct among persons of good breeding"; was written in Old English *fassoun* from the Norman-French *fazon*, *fachon*, now *façon*, meaning "the make or cut of a thing"; also manner, as *avoir bonne façon*; ceremony, as *faire des façons*; *sans façon*.

*Dandy* is simply an English form of the Old French *dandin*, "a ninny." See Molière's *George Dandin*.

*Bill*. Chaucer writes still *bille*; in Old French *bulle* and *bille*, from which the diminutive *billet*. *Bulle* has made *bulletin*, and derives from the Latin *bulia*, "a stud, a knob"; later a leaden seal, such as was affixed to an edict; hence the name was transferred to the edict itself. The word *bull* is the name of papal letters-patent.

For the origin of the word *budget*, see page 538, note 4.

*Jury*. From *juror*, "to swear." *Juree* was in Old French "a company of sworn men." See page 523.

*Comité*, "a number of persons chosen to consider and manage matters committed to their care; a committee." "To commit" is *commettre* in French; and "commission," which is spelled and means the same in French, was written *commissioun* by Chaucer.—Prol. 317.

*Toast*, *tost* in Old English; in Old French *testé*, "bread scorched before the fire." The story of the origin of the convivial use of the word is given in "*The Tattler*," No. 24, June 4, 1709.

*Pamphlet*, from *paume*, "the palm of the hand," and *feuillet*, "a leaf of a book" (Cotgrave). Something like a leaf of paper held in the hand; a hand-bill. This etymology is presumably correct as the word occurs in that sense in the "*Testament of Love*."

*Poulie*, in English "pulley," from the French *poulain*, "a foal or colt; also

Like all other languages, French has borrowed from every other idiom whatever word was needed to express any special idea. The growth of journalism, science, and industry, increased international intercourse, and a larger acquaintance with foreign literature have all contributed to this result. Words thus introduced, however, as has been already observed, always retain their foreign character, and the tendency of Modern French to eject them will, in many instances, prevent their perfect assimilation. As they are now, the entire number of words derived from foreign languages will scarcely reach one thousand.

It is, therefore, to the Latin that we must look for the main bulk of the French vocabulary and for the leading features of the language itself, there being scarcely any grammatical procedure employed in the latter the germ of which can not be found in the former. As the process of transformation can only be shown by constant comparison with the classical Latin, a general knowledge at least of its grammar and vocabulary is presupposed in those who wish intelligently to follow the gradual changes which the latter underwent in Gaul, and there transformed the language into French.

The classical Latin in Rome was what the academic French is in Paris—a language within a language. It was the select dialect of the patricians, improved and refined by the poets and orators. Bound by strict and invariable rules, the classic Latin became an artificial language—highly polished, but, for that very reason, unfit for popular use. As such, it has been compared to those delicate instruments, which can serve very high purposes when dextrously used, but which get broken or injured in rough or awkward hands. The popular language, on the contrary, which was a compound of various dialects—Um-

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the rope wherewith wine is let down into a seller" (Cotgrave). "Par le *poulain* ou descend le vin en cave," says Rabelais, *Gargantua* i, 5. *Poulain* in Low Latin is *pullanus*. "Expensæ pro custodia *pullanorum* domini regis" is found in a thirteenth century account. The transference of sense causes no difficulty, as by application of a common metaphor the name of beasts of burden is often given to pieces of wood or to wooden frames made to uphold a weight. Thus, the French word *poutre*, which now means "a beam," meant originally a mare, and was so used still by Ronsard. "*De toutes parts les poutres hennissantes*," etc. In Low Latin it was written *puletrum* from the classical Latin *pullus*. "Si quis *pulletrum* anniculum vel binam furaverit" *Lex Salica*, tit. 40. In the same way from *cheval* we have *chevalet*, "an easel, a trestle, a prop"; and the mechanism of *poulie*, derived from *poulain*, is found on a small scale in the word *époullin*, which means "a weaver's bobbin." The English *easel* is the Dutch *esel*, "an ass; a support for pictures."

brian, Oscan, Etruscan, and others—the better parts of which had formed the classical dialects, was full of life and vigor. Constantly modified, according to the wants and requirements of those who used it, it was imposed by conquest on Europe, Asia, and Africa, and when the small nation which spread it throughout almost the whole known universe succumbed in turn, their language still kept the prestige of victory; in Italy it became Italian; in Spain, Spanish; in Portugal, Portuguese; in Gaul, French; and through the latter it transformed the national speech of England from Anglo-Saxon into English.<sup>1</sup>

Little is known of the origin of Latin. Its oldest monument is a song of the Fratres Arvales, ancient priests of the time of Romulus, which still may be seen at St. Peter's in Rome, inscribed on a stone which was discovered in the year 1777. Next come some fragments of the laws of Numa, that have been preserved to us by Festus. In Varro we find a few lines and detached words of the Salien hymns which this writer no longer understood. But of all the legal fragments which exhibit the *prisca vetustas verborum*, as Cicero calls it,<sup>2</sup> the most copious, as well as the most important, are the remains of the Twelve Tables (B. C. 450), the oldest monument extant of the Latin language properly so called. Then follow the Tiburtine inscription, the epitaphs of the Scipios, the Columna rostrata, and a few other inscriptions of the third century B. C. It was not until about two centuries before the vulgar era that the Roman people commenced to apply themselves to literature; a distich of Porcius Licinius, cited by Aulus Gellius, dates its origin from the second Punic war;<sup>3</sup> and from that time the literary language made rapid improvement. Polybius informs us that 170 years before

<sup>1</sup> The world-famous name of imperial Rome has been retained by various insignificant fragments of the Roman empire. The Wallachians, the descendants of the Roman colonists on the Danube, proudly call themselves *Romani*, and their country *Romania*. The language of Modern Greece is called the *Romaic*; that of Southern France is the *Romance*; and that of the Rhetian Alps the *Romansch*. The *Romagna* of Italy preserves the memory of the bastard empire which had its seat at Ravenna; and the name of the Asiatic psalchics of *Roum* and *Erseroum* are witnesses to the fact that in the mountain fastnesses of Armenia the creed and the traditions of the Eastern Empire of Rome continued to exist long after the surrounding provinces had fallen under the dominion of the Turks; while for the European province of *Roumelia* was reserved the privilege of being the last morsel to be swallowed by the Moslem Cyclops. See page 465, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *de oratore*, i, c. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Poenico bello secundo Muso pinnato gradu

Intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram.—Aulus Gellius, xvii, 21.

our era—that is, at the time of Ennius—the Roman language had undergone such changes that Old Latin was no longer understood except by some people in the country, and that the most learned found it difficult to explain the text of the ancient treaties between Rome and Carthage. Comparing further the language of Ennius with that of Cicero, we find again a great change, there being about the same difference between the former and the latter as there is between the English of the sixteenth century and that of the present day.

But this was the written idiom and not the usual language of conversation—a distinction which it is important not to lose sight of. Even as early as the second century B. C. Plautus distinguished two dialects in Rome itself; he named the one *lingua nobilis* and the other *lingua plebeia*. The first of these, constantly improving, became the *lingua urbana* or classic Latin; the other, abandoned by the upper classes of Roman society, remained *rustica, ruralis, quotidiana, simplex*, as we find it called, and confined to the ordinary use of common intercourse in the everyday business of life. This distinction between vulgar and literary Latin commenced the day the language began to be written. At first the difference may have been very little; but critical reflection, the study of good authors, the culture of Greek literature, the careful sifting of current words and expressions, and finally the regular study of the rules of style and composition, brought the literary language to such a degree of perfection that it became a mark of high breeding in those who possessed it, but which for that very reason separated it every day more and more from the *lingua quotidiana*, the ordinary colloquial language of by far the large majority.

But such a difference between written and spoken language has existed at all times, and does so now. The language of our best authors, poets, orators, divines, but little resembles that of our men of business, our farmers, sailors, soldiers, and pioneers, nor even that of ordinary conversation among our well-bred people; and if the daily press, the public school, lectures, sermons, and orations, have not been able to produce a greater uniformity of language among ourselves, it would be absurd to suppose anything different among the ancients. With them, as with us, there were the lettered and the unlettered, with many grades and shades between. Some were naturally refined and fond of learning; others preferred the dis-



putes of the Forum to the receptions at court. It is this that Horace alluded to when he says that even at the time of Augustus the Latin showed traces of its former rusticity.<sup>1</sup> Fifty years previous, Cicero made the same remark. One century later Quintilian deplored the irregularities of the *lingua quotidiana*, and Aulus Gellius, toward the year 150, on finding a rhetorician who understood Pacuvius, quoted him with the same admiration as if he had unraveled the text of the Twelve Tables. When a language is so difficult as not to be understood even by the natives, except through a regular study, it has no vitality, and at the first serious national reverses, it is destined to suffer and to perish, together with the class that uses it. But the people's language remains as long as there are people to speak it, and, with their change of fortunes, it may rise again to higher destinies if favored by circumstances. There is no stand-still in language; people will speak and must speak, and however low their fortunes, however ignorant the individual, whatever he says will be in imitation of what he hears from others.

And this is what happened in Gaul. Not to speak of the upper classes, who had the advantage of high Roman society and a superior education, the people came in contact only with those of their own class, who spoke the *lingua rustica, plebeia*, the *castrense verbum*, the *militaris vulgarisque sermo* as Jerome calls it. Notice that this was not a regular and well-defined dialect, but a language spread over countries in which it was not originally vernacular, and imposed on many parts of Italy itself,<sup>2</sup> as it was afterward upon Gaul. That the Umbrians, Sabines, and Volscians had dialects of their own, more or less differing from the Latin, there can be no doubt. Strabo, writing in the age of Tiberius, says: "Though the Oscans have perished as a people, their speech still exists among the Romans, so that on the stage certain songs and comedies are still represented as by ancient custom."<sup>3</sup> Indeed, in all the provinces of Italy, there then existed, as there still exist, various dialects, used then as they are now by the

<sup>1</sup> Manscrunt, hodieque manent vestigia ruris.—*Epist.* II, i, 160.

<sup>2</sup> In Aristotle the word Italy denotes only a portion of Calabria. In the time of Augustus it came to mean the whole peninsula.—Niebuhr, *Hist. Rome*, vol. i, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> In the "Golden Ass" of Apuleius, a soldier asks a gardener, *Quorsum vacuum duceret asinum?* The gardener does not understand; the question is too Latin for him, so the soldier changes it to this: *Ubi ducis asinum illum?* Whereupon the gardener understands, and replies.

educated as well as by other people, even to such an extent as to affect occasionally their writing, as we may see in the case of Livy, who was reproached for his "pativinity"—that is, for using words and phrases of his native dialect when writing Latin.<sup>1</sup> Even in Rome itself, during its best period, the language of the people differed vastly from the language of literature. Nor could it be otherwise. Rome was the center to which all the world flowed, and its language could not help feeling the influence which necessarily affects all living languages under like circumstances. In classifying words, Quintilian distinguishes between *Latine et Peregrine*, the last of which came, as he says, from almost every kind of people, and as examples he quotes several words derived from the Gauls, the Carthaginians, and the Spaniards.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the Latin language possessed many words of Old Italian and of foreign origin, as well as barbarous phrases and solecisms in grammar which, in the mouths of the ignorant became, with every succeeding age, only more frequent and inevitable. Still they were Latin, and so familiar was every Roman with their use, that occasionally they slipped even from the pen of celebrated writers, by which means we have obtained some insight into their colloquial language, which in many instances resembled the French in a remarkable manner.

Thus, we meet *just* for *fuert*, *mais* for *magis*, *prudens* for *providens*. Virgil writes *sæcla* for *sæcula*, Augustus preferred *caldus* for *calidus*, and even Plautus said *poplo* for *populo*. Ennius and his contemporaries wrote *induperator*, *avispicium*, *dedecoramentum*, *indupetrare*, *extera*, *supera*, which, under Augustus, were contracted into *imperator*, *auspicium*, *dedecus*, *impetrare*, *extra*, *supra*. In the same way we have—

<i>ala</i>	for <i>axilla</i>	<i>summus</i>	for <i>supremus</i>
<i>mala</i>	" <i>maxilla</i>	<i>paullus</i>	" <i>paucillus</i>
<i>velum</i>	" <i>vexillum</i>	<i>dixti</i>	" <i>dixisti</i>
<i>cunæ</i>	" <i>cubinæ</i>	<i>contio</i>	" <i>conventio</i> , etc.

and even in the compounds:

<i>malo</i>	for <i>magis volo</i>	<i>scilicet</i>	for <i>scire licet</i>
<i>nolo</i>	" <i>non volo</i>	<i>videlicet</i>	" <i>videre licet</i>
<i>hodie</i>	" <i>hoc die</i>	<i>cuicuiusmodi</i>	" <i>cujus cuius modi</i>
<i>meridie</i>	" <i>media die</i>	<i>patefacio</i>	" <i>paterere facio</i> , etc.

<sup>1</sup> Quintilian says: "Taces de Tuscis, Sabinis et Prænестinis quoque—nam et eo sermone utentem vectum Lucilius insectatur, quemadmodum, Pollis deprehendis in Livio Patavinitatem."

<sup>2</sup> Quintilian *Inst. orat.*, i, 9.

Evidently the shorter terms represented the spoken, the larger the written language. This difference between pronunciation and orthography is clearly demonstrated from the meters of the Latin playwrights, and is, moreover, in many passages of the contemporaries, expressly recognized.

That some final letters and even syllables were silent in Latin appears from the remark of Quintilian that in writing care should be taken not to cut off the final syllables as in speaking.<sup>1</sup> Victorinus observes that propriety requires every letter to be written, even when not heard in speaking.<sup>2</sup> The proper elision of certain letters and syllables, among the Romans as with us, was a matter of taste, of fashion perhaps, and a mark of good breeding. When Cicero's Crassus is speaking of the true mode of pronouncing Latin, he says: "I do not like the separate letters to be either pronounced with pedantic accuracy, or slurred over too carelessly."<sup>3</sup> This shows that, though an uneducated countryman might have represented by his articulation too little of the written word, it was considered a fault likewise if the scholar recollected too much of his spelling. Quintilian, too, expressly tells us, that "although it is necessary, on the one hand, to articulate every word clearly, yet to compute and number, as it were, every letter is wearisome and offensive. For not only," he says, "is the union of two vowels into one syllable very common, but even some of the consonants are disguised when followed by a vowel."<sup>4</sup> That this truncation and contraction of words in ordinary speech must have led to inaccuracy of spelling, at a time when literary education was not so common as at present, may be well expected; but strict regard to orthography was often neglected, not only among the uneducated, but also by persons of distinction and even men of letters. Suetonius, who had seen the handwriting of Augustus, informs us that "He did not strictly attend to orthography—that is, the method and laws of writing as taught by the grammarians; on the contrary, he seems rather to adopt the opinion of those who think that we should write as we pronounce. For, as to his often changing or omitting not letters only, but

<sup>1</sup> Curabit etiam ne extremæ syllabæ intercidant.—Lib. i, c. xi.

<sup>2</sup> Scribere quidem omnibus literis oportet, enuntiando autem quasdam literas elidere.—*De Orthog.*

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, de Oratore, iii, 11, § 41.

<sup>4</sup> Quintilian.—*Inst. orat.*, xi, 3, § 33.

whole syllables, writing *simus* for *sumus*, *domos* for *domus*, *caldum* for *calidum*, according to pronunciation, this is a common mistake; nor would I remark the fact, did it not appear strange to me that he should have superseded a consular legate as being illiterate because he saw in his handwriting *ixi* for *ipse*.<sup>1</sup> Porphyrius also says of Plotinus that "he cared little for writing elegantly, that he neglected the division of syllables, and paid almost no attention to the rules of orthography." From these and other passages which might be quoted, we may conclude that even the written language of Rome could not be taken as a standard of that exact and careful pronunciation of educated men living in the city, whose mode of pronouncing was strikingly different from that of the provincials.<sup>2</sup> The colloquial language of the soldiers, traders, and country people who formed the large majority of the Roman colonists of Gaul, must have been still further removed from the language of the capital, and words, badly uttered already, must have undergone a further alteration, both in accent and pronunciation, in the mouth of the uneducated Celts, who imitated them the best they could—not by reading, but from hearing only.

But not only did the spoken language differ from its written form in pronunciation, it differed also in its vocabulary, which had preserved many words from the old dialects not admitted into the literary language. And no better proof could exist of French being derived from the popular, and not from the classical Latin, than the fact that wherever the literary and the common dialect used two words for the same thing, the French has invariably taken the latter and thrown aside the former. Illustrations of this are quite numerous, thus:

LITERARY LATIN.	POPULAR LATIN.	FRENCH.
<i>aula</i>	curtem	cour
<i>caput</i>	testa <sup>3</sup>	tête
<i>duplicare</i>	duplare	doubler
<i>edere</i>	manducare	manger
<i>equus</i>	caballus <sup>4</sup>	cheval
<i>felis</i>	catus	chat
<i>fragmentum</i>	petium	pièce
<i>gulosus</i>	glutonem	glouton
<i>hebdomas</i>	septimana	semaine

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius, *vita octav.*, cap. 87, 88.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *de oratore*, iii, II, § 43.

<sup>3</sup> Found in Ausonius.

<sup>4</sup> Found in Horace.

LITERARY LATIN.	POPULAR LATIN.	FRENCH.
<i>humilis</i>	bassus	bas
<i>ignis</i>	focus	feu
<i>iter</i>	viaticum	voyage
<i>jus</i>	directus (drictus)	droit
<i>ludus</i>	jocus	jeu
<i>minæ</i>	minaciæ	menace
<i>negotium</i>	ad facere	à faire, affaire
<i>os</i>	bucca	bouche
<i>osculari</i>	basiare	baiser
<i>ovis</i>	berbecem	brebis
<i>pugna</i>	battalia	bataille
<i>pulcher</i>	bellus <sup>1</sup>	bel, beau
<i>quercus</i>	casnus	chêne
<i>rubeus</i>	russus <sup>1</sup>	roux
<i>sinere</i>	laxare	lâcher
<i>tentamen</i>	exagium	essai
<i>urbs</i>	villa	ville
<i>verberare</i>	batuere	battre
<i>vertere</i>	tornare	tourner
<i>via</i>	caminus	chemin

and others. All these examples show that it would be a great error to suppose that "French is classical Latin corrupted by an intermixture of popular forms," as we sometimes find it stated; it is, on the contrary, the popular Latin itself; and this dialect must have been a very vigorous one to have crowded out the classical language everywhere, and remarkably well regulated in its forms, as well as its vocabulary, to have produced in France, in Spain, in Portugal, and even in Italy itself, analogous results.

The Latin language had no article, and though Quintilian contended that it was not needed,<sup>2</sup> it is certain that its absence was a real deficiency. Indeed, how was to be expressed the distinction between "the son of the king; the son of a king; a son of the king; and a son of a king"? To supply such wants, the Romans often used the demonstrative pronoun *ille*, for the sake of distinctness, where the French now have *le, la, les*. Examples of this are quite numerous among the best Latin writers. Cicero says: *Annus ille quo; Ille alter; Ille rerum domina fortuna; Ad veram laudem illa pericola adeuntur*. Seneca calls God: *Conditor ille generis humani*. Apuleius has: *Ubi ducis*

<sup>1</sup> Found in Catullus.

<sup>2</sup> Noster sermo articulos non desiderat.—Quintilian, *de Instit. Orat.*, i, 4.

*asinum illum?* Jerome writes: *Væ autem homini illi per quem*, etc. This pronoun, thus transformed into an article, and reduced to two cases only, for reasons which we shall presently explain, became used in Old French as follows:

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
	MASCULINE.	FEMININE.	MASCULINE.	FEMININE.
Subject,	ille, <i>li</i>	illa, <i>la</i>	illi, <i>li</i>	illæ, <i>les</i>
Object,	illum, <i>le</i>	illam, <i>la</i>	illos, <i>les</i>	illas, <i>les</i>

Combined with the prepositions *de*, *à*, *en*, in the various dialects, we find the article in the following forms:

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
	MASCULINE.	FEMININE.	MASCULINE.	FEMININE.
Subject,	<i>li</i>	<i>le li, la, lai</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>les, li</i>
Object,	<i>le, lo, lou, lu</i>	<i>la, lai</i>	<i>les, los</i>	<i>les</i>
with <i>de</i> ,	<i>del, deu, du</i>	<i>de la, de lai</i>	<i>dels, des</i>	<i>dels, des</i>
with <i>à</i> ,	<i>al, au; el, eu</i>	<i>ala, alai</i>	<i>als, as, aus</i>	<i>as, es</i>
with <i>en</i> ,	<i>enle, enl</i>		<i>es<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>es<sup>1</sup></i>

Though there was no indefinite article in Latin, we find the word *unus* used for similar purposes by the best authors. Cicero says: "*Cum uno forti viro loquor; Cum uno gladiatore nequissimo.*" Plautus: "*Unam vidi mortuam efferre foras; Est huic unus servus violentissimus.*" Donatus, who wrote when Latin was still a spoken language, says of this form, in commenting on a verse of Terence: "*Ex consuetudine dicit unam, ut dicimus, unus est adolescens.*"

In classical Latin the nouns had three genders—masculine, feminine, and neuter. How these were observed by the people will appear from Plautus, who made *frons*, *cupressus*, *laurus* masculine, and *pulvis* feminine, contrary to rule, but just as we find them in French. As to the arbitrary rule which made this or that object neuter rather than masculine, it was still less regarded. Even in Plautus we find *dorsus*, *ævus*, *gutturum*, *cubitus*, etc.; in inscriptions dating back beyond the third century we have *brachius*, *monumentus*, *collegius*, *fatus*, *metallus*, etc.; in the Salic Law *animalem*, *retem*, *membrus*, *vestigius*, *pretius*, *folius*, *palatius*, *templus*, *tectus*, *stabulus*, *judicius*, *placetus*, and many other examples of the kind. In reference to these, a rhetorician of the empire, Curius Fortunatianus, who lived about the year 450, observes: "Romani vernacula

<sup>1</sup> *Es*, for *en les*, is obsolete, but has left traces in such expressions as *maitre-ès-arts; docteur-ès-sciences; ès-mains; St. Pierre-ès-liens*.

plurima et neutra multa masculino genere potius enunciant, ut *hunc theatrum* et *hunc prodigium*."

The Latin, like the French, had two numbers, singular and plural; but whether the thirty variations of each of these, with all their exceptions, etc., were known by the people, or correctly used in the drift of conversation by even the most punctilious, is exceedingly doubtful. Indeed, the tendency to avoid the cumbersome case system of the written language was early shown in popular Latin, which kept but two forms for each number—the nominative and the accusative—the former to mark the subject, the latter, which occurs most frequently in conversation, to mark the object or relation. Thus the popular Latin said *murus*, *murum* for the singular, and *muri*, *muros* for the plural, which, in the hasty manner of Roman pronunciation, slurring over, or throwing out the unaccented syllables, were contracted in *mur's*, *mur'm*, *mur'*, *mur's*. Afterward, when the use of prepositions, to indicate relation, had become general, there was no advantage in keeping up a difference of form other than that which stood for singular or for plural; and as the more frequent recurrence of the objective case had made this form more familiar, it so happened that in course of time the objective singular *mur'm*, *mur* became the mark of the singular, and the objective plural *murs* that of the plural.

Adjectives in Old French followed the same rule as the substantives, and had at first only two cases, subject and object. In these the—

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Subject,	bonus became <i>bons</i> ;	boni became <i>bon</i> ;
Object,	bonum " <i>bon</i> ;	bonos " <i>bons</i> .

Following the same course as the noun, and abandoning the subjective case, the form *bon* remained for the singular and *bons* for the plural, and so it did with all other adjectives.<sup>1</sup> This simplification of the grammatical forms of

<sup>1</sup> *Unus* and *duo*, which are declined in Latin, passed through the same changes in Old French as did substantives and adjectives. They had two cases down to the end of the thirteenth century.

Subject, unus, <i>uns</i> ;	duo, <i>dui</i> ;
Object, unum, <i>un</i> ;	duos, <i>deux</i> .

The phrase then ran thus: "*Uns* chevaux et *dui* bœufs moururent" (*unus caballus et duo boves*): and again, "il tua *un* cheval et *deux* bœufs (*unum caballum et duos boves*).

In the fourteenth century the subjective case was lost, and here, as elsewhere, the objective remained in force.

the noun and the adjective was a natural consequence of the general introduction of the preposition; nor was this use of prepositions exclusively a Celtic or Frankish innovation; it, on the contrary, existed at all times in the language, and occurs even in the works of the best classical authors. And if it is contended that these forms have found their way into their writings by inadvertence, and contrary to rule, it would go all the further to prove that they existed in the popular language, with which these authors must have been very familiar to lose sight of an occasional impropriety. Nor is it right to consider the popular language as that of the low and the vulgar exclusively; in its better form it probably was among the educated that of ordinary conversation. Thus Cicero says: *Homo de schola; Declamator de ludo; Audiebam de parente nostro*; Pliny: *Genera de ulmo*; Virgil: *Templum de marmore ponam*; and Ovid: *Judex de lite jocosa*. The preposition *ad*, generally used with the accusative, takes the place of the Latin dative. So, for instance, Terence says: *Quod apparet ad agricolas; Pauperem ad ditem dari*. Plautus has: *Hunc ad carnificem dabo*. Livy: *Sospites omnes Romam ad parentes restituit; Restituit ad Romanos*; and Augustus: *Dare ad aliquem*, etc. In Merovingian Latin we find *Sed veniens ad eo placito; Ergo donari ad monasterium; Idcirco dono ad sacrosanctum monasterium*, etc. The *d* is gradually dropped, leaving the preposition *a* as used now in French. Thus we find: *A quo placito veniens; In portionem quam a liberto nostro dedimus*, etc.<sup>1</sup>

The most important difference between the Latin and French conjugations lies in this, that the passive and several past tenses of the active are expressed in Latin by terminations, whereas in French they are expressed by the past participle of the verb, preceded by *avoir* for the active, and by *être* for the passive form. As this is the practice in all languages that are derived from the Latin, there is reason to believe that it was inherited from the common parent, and that it extensively existed in the popular Latin, which is corroborated, moreover, by many passages that can be quoted from authors of the best ages of the Roman idiom. Cicero, for example, said: *De Cæsare*

<sup>1</sup> The use of *ad* in the sense of *avec*, "with," is found in the *Lex Satica*, sixth century. "*Si quis unum vasum ad apis furaverit, solidos xv culpabilis iudicetur*." In another copy of the same law we find "*Si quis unum vas cum apibus*, etc., proving that *ad* was used as *cum*. Hence comes the use of *à* = *avec* in such phrases as *chandelier à branche, fusil à aiguille*.



*satis dictum habeo*; *Habeas scriptum nomen*; *Quæ habes instituta per populos*. Cæsar has: *Vectigalia parvo pretio redempta habet*; *Copias quas habebat paratas*. Pliny said: *Cognitum habeo insulas*; and Livy wrote: *Urbem quam parte captam, parte dirutam habet*. The same is the case with the inflections of the passive voice. The latter prevailed in literary Latin, but the popular language said *sum amatus* instead of *amor*, substituting the verb *esse* joined to the participle of the verb to be conjugated, just as is done now in all languages derived from that idiom. In the collections of Merovingian diplomas and chartularies we meet at every page instances like the following: *Omnia quæ ibi sunt aspecta*, instead of *aspectantur*; *Sicut a nobis præsentem tempore est possessum* for *possidetur*; *Hoc volo esse donatum* for *donari*; *Quod ei nostra largitate est concessum* for *conceditur*; *Ut ubi luminaria debeant esse procurata* for *procurari*, etc. Observe that many passive forms were active with such writers as Plautus, who said *arbitrari, moderare, munerare, partire, venerare*, etc., in place of *arbitrari, moderari, munerari, partiri, venerari*, as was the rule in literary Latin. In the Atellan fragments we have *irascere* for *irasci*, *frustrarent, mirabis, complectite*, etc.

The use of the verb *habere*, as an auxiliary, was even extended to the future by the Romans, and such a form as *amare habeo* was at one time as current as *amabo*, and with the same meaning. Even in Cicero we have: *Habeo etiam dicere*; *Ad familiares habeo polliceri*; *Habeo convenire*; *Habeo ad te scribere*. St. Augustine writes: *venire habet*. This form of the future ran side by side with the ordinary form in the writers of the empire, and finally took its place entirely. From the sixth century onward the forms *amare habeo, partire habeo, venire habet in silvam*, and the like become the more common, while the regular futures, *amabo, partiar, veniet*, seem almost forgotten. Observe that, to indicate the future, the auxiliary generally follows the present infinitive, which is exactly the way the French future is formed: *Aimer-ai, aimer-as, aimer-a, aimer-ons, aimer-es, aimer-ont*. On the same principle the terminations *ais, ais, ait, ions, iez, aient*, of the imperfect, added to the infinitive, served to form the conditional; and the analogy is perfect, for the conditional indicates the future looked at from the point of view of the past, just as the future tense indicates a future looked at from the present. "I know you will," and "I knew you would." A similar distinct form for the conditional is found in all modern

languages. The literary Latin has no such tense, and confounds *j'aimasse* and *j'aimerais* under the one form *amarem*.

Latin formed its adverb from its adjectives by changing their terminations into *e* or *ter*, as *docte*; *prudenter*. But they had also another mode of indicating manner, by using the ablative of *mens*, *mente*, which probably also was more current in speaking than in writing. Thus Quintilian said: *Bona mente factum*; Claudian: *Devota mente tuentur*; Gregory of Tours: *Iniqua mente concupiscit*, etc. Later on we find these words written together: *bonamente*, *caramente*, *devotamente*, and so they have remained in French, which forms its adverbs by the addition of the suffix *ment* to the feminine of its adjectives.

In course of time, and under different circumstances, many words have considerably changed their meaning; but this has occurred at all times, and even took place in the golden age of Latin literature. Under the emperors the Roman courtiers frequently used the words *divinus* and *cælestis* to qualify the sovereign. The word *dominus*, which, under the consuls, used to mean "proprietor" or "master," soon served to designate a "prince." Tiberius did not like the epithet, but Caligula was willing to accept it. *Dominus* became the proper term among the early Christians to address Divinity. From God it came down to the saints, from the saints to the pope, from the pope to the bishops, from the bishops to the abbots, and from them it spread in the Middle Ages to all the great laymen as well as dignitaries of the church.<sup>1</sup> *Majestas*, which originally meant "greatness, power," likewise took the absolute sense of "majesty," which ever since has remained the title of kings and emperors.

Already early in the first century we notice a disposition to revive words that were old and obsolete, and to introduce into prose certain terms that thus far had been used in poetry only. Later on, a great number of words began to be used in various senses, sometimes distinguished by slight shades of meaning, but often diverging widely from their primitive signification, and even, in some cases, bearing to it no perceptible relation. Thus the word *credulitas*, which in Cicero offers the sense of "credulity," became, in the pen of the ecclesiastical writers, synonymous with "credence, belief, faith." *Paganus*, which originally was equivalent to our "peasant," or any one not a

<sup>1</sup> In many Protestant countries the clergyman is yet called "the Dominic."

soldier, took the meaning of "heathen," in the works of Tertulian and Jerome, and in French became *payen*, with the same meaning. *Hostis*, after meaning a "foreigner," gradually took the sense of "enemy"; and *famosus*, which in Cicero is translated by "notorious," changed its meaning to that of "famous." Such changes, however, are by no means uncommon in any language. *Tyrant*, *parasite*, *sophist*, *churl*, *knave*, *villain*, for instance, anciently conveyed no opprobrious meaning. *Impertinent* originally meant "irrelative," and implied neither "rudeness" nor "intrusion," as it does at present. Of course, when Latin became the language of a conquered nation, these changes became more and more numerous among foreigners, and affected even the form of the words. Thus *consortio* becomes *consortium*; *corporeus*, *corporale*, etc. Adjectives appear with new terminations, and new words are composed without necessity. From *dubius* they made *dubiosus* and *dubitativus*; *equalis* becomes *coequalis*; *precavi*, *imprecavi*, etc. In addition to this, many old words, which can only be found in the oldest Latin texts, made again their appearance—a certain proof that they had never ceased to exist in the spoken language. This dialect was kept up by Gregory of Tours, Fredegarius, the literary renaissance under Charlemagne, and by scholasticism. In our day it is the official language of the Roman Catholic Church, and until quite lately was to some extent the language of the learned, especially in Italy and Germany.

After the invasion under the Merovingian kings, the public personages, notaries, or clergy, too ignorant to write literary Latin correctly, too proud to use the common Latin in their documents, and eager to imitate the fine style of Roman officials, wrote a sort of jargon, which is neither literary Latin nor popular Latin, but a strange mixture of both, with the common dialect more or less preponderant, according to the ignorance of the writer. This jargon is what is called "Low Latin," a miserable compound of words forged for the occasion with terminations in *us*, *a*, *um*, so as to give them a Latin appearance, under which disguise they were made to enter into the language of the ancient masters of the world.<sup>1</sup> This distinction between "Low Latin," a gross and barren imitation of the old Roman dialect by clerks and scribes, and

<sup>1</sup> Molière, who never allows an opportunity to pass of castigating by ridicule, exposes the wretched practice in a scene between an examining board and a candidate for a doctor's degree.—See *Malade imaginaire*, troisième intermède.

the "Popular Latin," the living language of the people, and parent of the French tongue, must not be lost sight of, as words thus formed have had nothing whatsoever to do with the formation of the French language, which was of spontaneous growth, and produced a vocabulary natural and organic, of which man was not the author, but merely the instrument.

If we compare words to a living organism, the consonants may be likened to the frame, and the vowels to the muscles. As the latter are more liable to injury by waste and contraction, so the permutation of vowels is subject to less certain laws than that of consonants, and they pass more readily from one to another. Still, great as was the change of sound of Latin words in the mouth of Celts and Franks, such was the vitality of the language, through all its vicissitudes, that even now in every French word, traceable to the popular speech, quantity and accent are invariably maintained. This is explained by Brachet in the following lucid manner:<sup>1</sup>

As to quantity, the Latin vowel was either short like the *e* of *ferus*; or long by nature like the *e* of *avena*; or long by its position before two consonants, like the *e* of *ferrum*. This distinction may seem trifling, but in reality is most important, as, according to these three differences of quantity, the Latin *e* is transformed into French in three different ways: the short *e* becoming *ie*, as *ferus*, *fier*; the long *e* by nature becoming *oi*, as *avena*, *avoine*; and the long *e* by position not changing at all, as *ferrum*, *fer*.

As to accent, in every word of more syllables than one there is always one syllable on which the voice lays more stress than on the others. Thus, in the word *raison*, the stress is on the last syllable; in *raisonnable* it is on the last but one. This syllable is therefore called the accented or "tonic" syllable; the others unaccented or "atonic." The tonic accent<sup>2</sup> gives to each word its proper character, and has been well called "the soul of the word." In French it always occupies one of two places; either the last syllable in words with a masculine termination—that is, without a silent *e*, as *chanteur*, *aimer*, *finir*; or the penultimate, when the ending is feminine, as *roide*, *porche*, *voyage*. In Latin, also, the accent occupies one of two places—penultimate, when the syllable is long, as *cantōrem*, *amāre*, *finire*;

<sup>1</sup> A. Brachet, *A Historical Grammar of the French Tongue*, passim.

<sup>2</sup> It is hardly necessary to state that this accent has no sort of connection with the grammatical accents ' , ^, used only in orthography.

antepenultimate, when the penultimate is short, as *rigidus*, *porticus*, *viaticum*. Now, if we examine all such words carefully, we will see that the syllable accented in Latin continues to be so in French, or, in other words, that the accent remains where it was in Latin. This continuance of the accent is a general and absolute law; all words belonging to popular and real French respect the Latin accent; all such words as *rigide*, *portique*, *viatique*, which are doublets of *roide*, *porche*, *voyage*, and which break this law, are of learned origin, and were introduced, after the language was formed, by the scholars of the sixteenth century, who took them from the Latin long after it had ceased to be a spoken language. Hence, we may lay it down as an infallible law, that "The Latin accent continues in French in all words of popular origin; all words which violate this law are of learned origin," thus:

LATIN.	POPULAR WORDS.	LEARNED WORDS.
<i>alūmēn</i>	alun	alumine
<i>āngēlūs</i>	ange	angelus
<i>cōmpūtūm</i>	compte	comput
<i>dēbitūm</i>	dette	débit
<i>dēcimā</i>	dime	décime
<i>dēcōrūm</i>	décor	décorum
<i>ēnāmēn</i>	essaim	examen
<i>mōbillis</i>	meuble	mobile
<i>ōrgānūm</i>	orgue	organe
<i>pōrticūs</i>	porche	portique
etc.	etc.	etc.

In studying the fate of the other syllables, which are, of course, all atonic, we must distinguish between those which come after the tonic syllable, and those which precede it.

Those which follow the tonic syllable can occupy only one of two places—the last syllable, or the last but one when it is a short syllable. Hence, we observe two laws: First, that "Every atonic Latin vowel, in the last syllable of a word, disappears in French," as *mare*, *mer*; *amare*, *aimer*; *porcus*, *porc*; *mortalis*, *mortel*; or, what is in fact the same thing, it is written with an *e* mute, as *firmus*, *ferme*, *templum*, *temple*, etc. Second, that "When the penultimate of a Latin word is atonic, the Latin vowel disappears in French," as *oraculum*, *oracle*; *tabula*, *table*; *articulus*, *article*; *durabilis*, *durable*. In words accented on the antepenult, the penultimate vowel is necessarily short in Latin;

this vowel, therefore, being absorbed by the tonic vowel preceding it, was scarcely sounded at all. The refined Romans may have given it a slight sound, but the popular voice neglected altogether such delicate shades of pronunciation. Thus, in the Latin comedians we find *sæclum*, *poclum*, *vinclum*; and in all the remains of popular Latin that have come down to us—the Graffiti of Pompeii, inscriptions, epitaphs, etc.—the short penultimate is gone. There we find among others *frigidus*, *verdis*, *tabla*, *oraclum*, *caldus*, *diglus*, *stablum*, *anglus*, *vincere*, *suspendre*, *noblis*, *postus*, etc., the French derivatives of which are obvious.

Like the atonic syllables that follow, so those that precede the tonic syllable may be divided into two classes, namely, those which precede immediately, and those which are at a farther distance from it. In this respect we also observe two laws: First, that "Every atonic Latin vowel, which immediately precedes the tonic syllable, disappears if it is short, and remains if it is long." Thus it disappears in *sanitatem*, *santé*, *bonitatem*, *bonté*; *positura*, *posture*; *separare*, *sevrer*. It remains in *cæmeterium*, *cimetière*; *ornamentum*, *ornement*; *testamentum*, *testament*, etc. Second, "Every atonic Latin vowel, which precedes the tonic syllable at a greater distance, remains in French." Thus the *a* in *sanitatem*, the *o* in *positura*, the *e* in *separare*, all reappear in the French words *santé*, *posture*, *sevrer*; whereas *testamentum* becomes *testament*; *vestimentum*, *vêtement*.

In *cæmeterium*, *cimetière*, however, we observe the change of *æ* into *i*, and in *ornamentum*, *ornement*, that of *a* into *e*, as, indeed, we have observed many other changes. As to the former we will notice that, in the same way as the classical Latin had formed *æ* from the Old Latin *ai*,<sup>1</sup> so *æ* was the archaic form *oi*, as *foidere*, *Coilius*, which by the time of Plautus were already softened into *fœdere*, *Cœlius*, but probably pronounced as when written with *oi*, as would appear from the French words *ciel* for *cælum*; *peine* (*poine* in Old French) for *pœna*; *foin* for *fœnum*; and, as we have seen above, *cimetière* for *cæmeterium*. As to the Latin vowel *a*, its permutation into *e* is constant at the end of words; in the middle it takes sometimes the sound of *è*, as *patrem*, *père*; *fratrem*, *frère*, etc.; and then again the sound of *é*, as *pratum*, *pré*; *curatum*, *curé*; as also the Latin infinitives in *are*, as *amare*, *aimer*, *dotare*, *douer*, and *doter*. Indeed every vowel, every consonant, is sub-

<sup>1</sup> See note 2, page 580, and epitaph of Lucius Scipio, note 3, page 582.

ject to permutation; and like vowels, so consonants are apt to disappear in the middle of words. Thus, in the last example quoted, *dotare*, the *t* is lost in *douer* and maintained in *doter*; and here we may remark again that when a medial consonant is thus dropped, it is a certain sign that the word is of popular origin, whereas it is of learned origin when that consonant is retained, thus:

LATIN.	POPULAR WORDS.	LEARNED WORDS.
<i>Augustus</i>	aout	Auguste
<i>communicare</i>	communier	communiquer
<i>denudatus</i>	dénué	dénué
<i>dilatare</i>	délayer	dilater
<i>implicare</i>	employer	impliquer
<i>ligare</i>	lier	liguer
<i>regalis</i>	royal	régal
<i>vocalis</i>	voyelle	vocal

The same remark applies to Latin vowels which, according to the law above quoted, disappear in French words of popular origin; they, too, are always preserved in words of learned origin, thus:

LATIN.	POPULAR WORDS.	LEARNED WORDS.
<i>caritatem</i>	cherté	charité
<i>comitatus</i>	comté	comité
<i>cumulare</i>	combler	cumuler
<i>hospitale</i> <sup>1</sup>	hôtel	hôpital
<i>liberare</i> <sup>2</sup>	livrer	libérer
<i>mastigare</i>	mâcher	mastiquer
<i>navigare</i> <sup>3</sup>	nager	naviguer
<i>operari</i>	ouvrer	opérer
<i>pectorale</i> <sup>4</sup>	poitrail	pectoral
<i>recuperare</i>	recouvrer	recupérer
<i>separare</i>	sevrer	séparer
<i>simulare</i> <sup>5</sup>	sembler	simuler

Popular words, by thus retaining the tonic accent in its right place, show that they were formed from the Roman pronunciation while it yet survived; whereas learned

<sup>1</sup> "Actum apud *hospitale* juxta Corbolum, anno Domini MCCXLIII" is the date of an Ordinance of St. Louis.

<sup>2</sup> *Liberare*, is found in this sense in Carolingian documents: thus we read "Vel pro dona *liberanda* secum aliquantis diebus manere praecepit," in the Capitularies of Charles the Bald.

<sup>3</sup> *Navigare* is used by Ovid for "to swim."

<sup>4</sup> *Pectorale* is used by Pliny for "a breastplate."

<sup>5</sup> *Simulare*, in the sense of *sembler*, is used in Carolingian texts. Thus we find: "Ut ille possit res de sua ecclesia ordinare, et illi liceat, sicut ei *simulaverit*, disporre" in a letter of Hincmar, A. D. 874.

words, by changing the accent, prove that they were of more recent introduction, at a time when every tradition as to the correct pronunciation of the Romans was lost or disregarded. But if in the former class of words the Latin accent was maintained, it must not be supposed that they at once assumed the form in which we find them at present. The change, on the contrary, was slow and gradual, according to local influences and the vocal organs of those who used them—Celts, Franks, Normands, etc.—and was the work of ages. In tracing these changes of form we should always remember that it is a characteristic of every human effort to try to exert itself with the *least action*—that is, with the smallest possible expenditure of energy. Language follows this law, and its successive transformations are caused by the endeavor to diminish this effort, and by the desire of reaching a more easy pronunciation. This, combined with the structure of the vocal apparatus, gives us the true cause of these changes of language. The word *maturus*, for instance, was not at once pronounced *mâr*. By the hurried pronunciation of the Romans, slurring over the medial *t* and the unaccented syllable *us*, it had first the sound of *ma'ur's*. The natural consequence of this clash of fully-sounded vowels was that they both dulled and finally combined into one sound *maur*, in which that of the accented syllable *ur* was predominant. What became of the *s* has been explained above.<sup>1</sup> In the mouth of the Teutonic invaders the *a* was further flattened into *e*, and in the thirteenth century we find it spelled *meür*. The sixteenth century wrote *mâr* with the circumflex accent to indicate the suppression of the *e*, in which form it has ever since remained. In the same manner *anima* be-

<sup>1</sup> Even among the ancient Romans the final *s* was in some cases not sounded. Ennius writes:

"Qui cum multa volup ac gaudia clamque palamque,  
Ingenio quoi nolla malum sententia suadet,  
Ut faceret facinus; levis aut malu', doctu', fidelis,  
Suavis homo, facundu', suo contentu', beatus  
Scitu, secunda loquens in tempore, commodu', verbum  
Paucum, multa tenens antequa."

Here the *s* is struck off from all the words which are not followed by a vowel, or which do not finish a line or clause. *Voluptas* is even shortened to two syllables. In Terence, vowels are constantly contracted or omitted to shorten the words, and at times whole syllables are cut off, especially in words ending in *is* or *as*. Even Virgil, in some instances, strikes off the final *s*, as in "*Nomen illi virgilio est*" (Georg. iv, 271), and "*Cui nomen Amello*" (*Æn.* viii, 358), and again "*Cui Remulo cognomen erat.*" From these examples and others we may infer that in many instances the final *s* was not pronounced in Latin. On the initial *s*, see note 1, page 582.



came *ame* by a regular and natural transition. Up to the tenth century it was still written *anime*. In the eleventh century the Normans wrote *aneme*. In the thirteenth century we find it contracted into *anme*. In Joinville it takes the form of *amme*, a regular step known even in Latin by assimilating *nm* into *mm*, as *inmemor* for *inmemor*, *immigrare* for *inmigrare*, *immaturus* for *inmaturus*, etc. In the fifteenth century *amme* became *ame*, by the reduction of the *mm* into *m*—a process marked by the addition of the circumflex on the *a*, as is the custom in French orthography to indicate the suppression of a following letter.

Thus every word, every letter—vowels, diphthongs, and consonants—have all their history, which it would be as instructive as interesting to investigate, the history of a language being chiefly the history of the people in their most intimate relations. But such a study is beyond the limits of this chapter; and, therefore, we will confine our remarks to a short list of words only, which, without exhibiting their gradual changes, will show the spirit and tendency according to which the transformation took place which changed Latin into French:

LATIN.	FRENCH.	LATIN.	FRENCH.
<i>unus</i>	un	<i>fnis</i>	fin
<i>annus</i>	an	<i>fortis</i>	fort
<i>bonus</i>	bon	<i>grandis</i>	grand
<i>ventus</i>	vent	<i>sanguis</i>	sang
<i>aurum</i> <sup>1</sup>	or	<i>nudus</i>	nu
<i>filum</i>	fil	<i>crudus</i>	cru
<i>centum</i> <sup>2</sup>	cent	<i>amicus</i>	ami
<i>tantum</i>	tant	<i>maritus</i>	mari

<sup>1</sup> *Au* was pronounced *a-ou* by the educated Romans, and not like the French *o*, which was looked upon as faulty by grammarians, who speak of it as common to peasants and a thing to be avoided, as we see from Festus: "*Aurum* quod rustici *orum* dicebant." French, which has sprung from the popular and not from the classical Latin, has kept the rustic pronunciation. On the elision of the final *m*, see note 3, page 582.

<sup>2</sup> That *c*, before *a*, *o*, *u*, *l*, and *r*, was pronounced by the Romans like the English *k* there can be no doubt. That it was pronounced so before *e* and *i* under all circumstances, as has been lately asserted, is not yet generally admitted. Brachet contends that, when *i* is followed by a vowel, the *c* preceding *i* was pronounced *tz*, as is proved by Merovingian formulas where we find *unsias* for *uncias*. In connection with this he remarks that the groups *t-ia*, *t-ie*, *t-io*, *t-iu*, were pronounced, not like *ti* in *amitié*, but like *ti* in *précaution*; as is proved by Frankish charters, which change *ti* into *ci*, *si*, *ssi*, writing *eciam*, *solacio*, *precium*, *perdicio*, *rationem*, *nepsia*, *altercacione*, for *etiam*, *solatio*, *pretium*, *perditio*, *rationem*, *neptia*, *altercacione*, showing that in pronunciation *ti* and *cia* were the same thing.

At a conference of the head masters of schools in England, held in 1871,

LATIN.	FRENCH.	LATIN.	FRENCH.
<i>lima</i>	lime	<i>comædia</i>	comédie
<i>doctrina</i>	doctrine	<i>modestia</i>	modestie
<i>fortuna</i>	fortune	<i>ceremonia</i>	cérémonie
<i>natura</i>	nature	<i>patria</i>	patrie

the English method of Latin pronunciation was declared unsatisfactory, and the Latin professors of Oxford and Cambridge were requested to draw up and issue a joint paper to secure uniformity in any change contemplated. Complying with this request, a syllabus was drawn up recommending an entire change of pronunciation, adopting in the main the continental practice with but few exceptions, mainly based upon the learned treatise of Professor Corsssen, *über Aussprache, Vocalismus und Betonung der Lateinischen sprache*. Quite recently again (1886) the Cambridge Philological Society, making some further changes, adopted their "Summary of the Pronunciation of Latin in the Augustan Period," in which the articulation of *c* and *g* are laid down as follows: "C, as in *cano, cecini, cycnus, cem, scit, condicio*, always as English *k*; never as *s* or as *c* before *e, i*. Thus, 'kekinee,' 'küknuſ,' 'skit,' 'condikio.' G, as in *gaudeo, genus, gingiva, age*, always as English *g* in 'got,' never as *j* or *g* in 'gibe,' 'generous.'"

As this mode of articulating *c* and *g*, in the positions indicated, is utterly at variance with continental practice, especially in France, Spain, and Italy, it will be of interest to see what has been said against it, and which is summed up in the following remarks: "In the first place, the letter *C* is constantly found in old inscriptions, in Greek and Latin, as representing the letter *S* or  $\Sigma$ , which would have been quite unnecessary and misleading if it had the sound of the Greek *kappa*, or our *K*. Thus, to mention one of a thousand instances, the name of Sardanapalus is inscribed on a statue in the Vatican as *CAPDANAPALOC*. This would rather seem to indicate that in the mind of the sculptor the *C* was sounded like *S*. But there are other facts and words which more plainly point to the probability that the modern Italian pronunciation of *c* soft, before *e* and *i*, as in the English word *chest*, conforms to that of the ancients. In many words *t* was used interchangeably with *c* before *e* and *i*, showing that the pronunciation of these letters in such positions must have been the same, or nearly the same, and therefore that *c* could not have been pronounced as *k*. Thus, *solatium, convitium, suspitio, numtius, conditio*, among others, are often spelled *solacium, convicium, suspicio, nuntius, condicio*. A still stronger evidence of this is to be found in the ancient names of persons. Names alter little, if at all, for centuries. They are in constant use, and handed down in hundreds and thousands of families from one to another generation. The sound is constantly on the tongue and on the ear, and is subject naturally to less variation than in any other words. Even were the spelling lost, the pronunciation would remain. Now, among the ancient names *c* is constantly used interchangeably with *t*, showing that these two letters were in such cases nearly, if not exactly, equivalents in sound. Thus, among others, *Marcia* is sometimes spelled *Martia*; *Mucius, Mutius*; *Neratius, Neracius*; *Portia, Porcia*. Again, such names as *Celsus, Caesar, Decius, Cincinnatus, Cacilia, Marcellus, Lucius, Lucia, Lucilla, Marcia*, and many others of the same character, have always been in use in Italy. Is it possible to believe that the present pronunciation of these names in Italy, which have been in constant familiar use in hundreds of families for twenty centuries at least, is entirely false? When did it suffer this change? Why was it altered? The syllabus would have us pronounce *Cicero, Kikero*. But the name of Cicero has always been a living name, familiar to every ear in Italy, and no one there ever heard it pronounced *Kikero*. It is alleged, as an argument in favor of this pronunciation, that it was spelled with the *kappa*,  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\rho\omega\nu$ , when written in Greek. But, supposing it were pronounced by the ancient Romans, as by the modern Italians, *Chichero*, how were the Greeks with

LATIN.	FRENCH.	LATIN.	FRENCH.
<i>gratia</i>	grâce	<i>constantia</i>	constance
<i>justitia</i>	justice	<i>prudentia</i>	prudence
<i>negotium</i>	negoce	<i>provincia</i>	province
<i>astutia</i> <sup>1</sup>	astuce	<i>nuntius</i>	nonce
<i>dædalus</i> <sup>2</sup>	dédale	<i>amabilis</i>	aimable
<i>ædilis</i>	édile	<i>horribilis</i>	horrible

their alphabet to represent this sound? They had no letter with which to spell it nearer than *kappa*. The *chi* was a deep guttural, the *kappa* was the soft *k*; they had no other letter, and they took the one nearest to it. The same reasons also apply to the Greek spelling of all similar names, such as *Cæsar* and *Celsus*. In fact, when we find *Caius* spelled *Γαιος*, one is tempted to ask why the *Γ* is here used instead of the *kappa*, if the *kappa* had the sound we suppose of our own *k*?

In like manner, in all ancient names of persons and places in which *g* occurs before *e* and *i*, it is pronounced soft by the Italians, and this affords one of the strongest proofs that it was so pronounced by the Latins. As examples of this, may be cited *Virginia*, *Girgente*, *Eugenio*, *Gemma*, and many others. Not only the Italians give this soft sound, which still adheres to these words even in English, but there is not one of the Romance nations by whom it is pronounced hard. If ever the practice prevailed in Rome of pronouncing *c* and *g*, as recommended by the new English method, it certainly was not among the people whose speech yet lives in many modern idioms. If they, too, can be shown to have pronounced *c* and *g* hard before every vowel, then the Italians, as well as the French and Spaniards, are entirely wrong in their pronunciation of both letters, and the same incorrectness is to be found in most of the English words derived from the Latin in the use of the *g*. Is it, however, probable that all these nations should wrongly pronounce all the Latin words which still exist unchanged in their languages in which either *c* or *g* precedes *e* and *i*; and that the church, carrying on daily and continuously its functions and offices in Latin for eighteen centuries, should have assumed a totally new and false pronunciation?

It would seem, therefore, all things considered, that there is not sufficient warrant to overthrow the present Italian pronunciation of *c* and *g*, as recommended in the Oxford and Cambridge syllabus. Nothing certainly is gained, variety is sacrificed, and there seems to be every probability that the traditional pronunciation is right. At all events, such is the universal pronunciation in the south of Europe."—W. W. Story, *The Pronunciation of the Latin Language*.

<sup>1</sup> In the preceding note it has been shown that in many Latin words the letter *t*, before *ia*, *ie*, *io*, *iu*, was often interchanged with the letter *c*, which leads us to believe that in similar positions they were pronounced alike, though some believe that the *t* so placed had a sibilant sound. But whatever was their exact pronunciation in the Augustan age in Rome, certain it is that in later days in Gaul *t* and *c* in any of the above combinations was pronounced *s*, as is proved by Frankish charters which write indifferently *ti*, *ci*, *si*, as we have seen in such words as *etiam*, *solatio*, *pretium*, *perditio*, etc. In French the Latin *t* and *c*, so placed, usually became *s* pronounced like *s* when between two vowels; as, *rationem*, *raison*; *potionem*, *poison*; *ligationem*, *liaison*; or, *c* pronounced like *s* when before *e*, and *ç* before *a*, *o*, *u*; as, *spatium*, *espace*; *provincialis*, *provençal*; *lectionem*, *leçon*; and *nuntius* or *nuncius*, in Spanish *nuncio*, in Italian *nunzio*, and in French, *nonce*.

<sup>2</sup> *Æ* in Ennius, Lucilius, Lucretius, sounds like *af* with diæresis:

Et micat interdum *flamma* fervidus ardor . . . .

Et nunc montibus e magnis decursus *aqua* . . . .

Sustineat corpus tenuis fima vis *anima* . . . .

LATIN.	FRENCH.	LATIN.	FRENCH.
<i>frivolus</i>	frivole	<i>nobilis</i>	noble
<i>credulus</i>	crédule	<i>solubilis</i>	soluble
<i>circularis</i>	circulaire	<i>gloria</i>	gloire
<i>vulgaris</i>	vulgaire	<i>memoria</i>	mémoire
<i>vicarius</i>	vicaire	<i>meritorius</i>	méritoire
<i>seminarium</i>	seminaire	<i>auditorium</i>	auditoire
<i>socialis</i>	social	<i>civicus</i>	civique
<i>ruralis</i>	rural	<i>rusticus</i>	rustique
<i>naturalis</i>	naturel	<i>famosus</i>	fameux
<i>mortalis</i>	mortel	<i>tenebrosus</i>	ténébreux
<i>corpus</i>	corps	<i>ursus</i>	ours
<i>tempus</i>	temps	<i>surdus</i>	sourd
<i>fundus</i>	fond	<i>lupus</i>	loup
<i>plumbum</i>	plomb	<i>cuculus</i>	coucou
<i>ardor</i>	ardeur	<i>libertas</i>	liberté <sup>2</sup>
<i>doctor</i>	docteur	<i>veritas</i>	vérité
<i>color</i>	couleur	<i>sanitas</i>	santé
<i>dolor</i>	douleur <sup>1</sup>	<i>civitas</i> <sup>3</sup>	cité
<i>spatium</i>	espace	<i>asper</i>	âpre
<i>species</i>	espèce	<i>hostis</i>	hôte

and that the two vowels, even when they made but one syllable, were pronounced separately, appears from a passage in Varro, where he notices the bad pronunciation of the country people who said *mesius* instead of *mæsius*, and *hedus* for *hadus*, only pronouncing the *e*.—*De Ling., lat. lib., vi.*

<sup>1</sup> The Latin *o* was first pronounced *ou* in French; *amour, favour, honour*, and often written by *u* alone, as *pro deo amur*, etc. See page 601. The *ou*, which was prevalent in the Langue d'oc, becomes generally *eu* after the twelfth century in the northern dialects, in which, however, *œu* seems to have been taken in some words as a compromise between *eu* and *ou*, as *œuvre, ouvrage; cœur, courage*. Sometimes both forms have been retained in the same word, or words of the same conjugation, as *je meurs, tu meurs, il meurt, nous mourons, vous moures ils meurent; je peux, nous pouvons; je meus, nous mouvons*. From *douleur* we have *douloureux*, and *labeur* is connected with *labour, labourer, labourage*. *Trouveur (trouvère)* and *troubadour*, two words of the same meaning and origin, further illustrate this difference between northern and southern dialects.

<sup>2</sup> The northern dialects wrote this termination with an *e* where the southern retained the *a*, as *charitet, caritat; veritet, veritat; appelet, appellat*, etc.; *et* was afterward contracted into *é*.

<sup>3</sup> The Latin *v* was not pronounced like the French *v*, in the middle of words, but rather like the English *w* or the French *ou*. Thus *pavonem*, pronounced *pa-ou-nem, pa-oun*, naturally became *paon*. Similarly *avunculus*, pronounced *a-ou-unculus*, was soon contracted to *a-unculus*, "oncle." The Latin poets treat it as a trisyllabic word; it is found as *avunculus*, and *avuncus* in several inscriptions. In the same way we find *noember* for *no-v-ember, juentutem* for *ju-v-entutem*. The loss of the *v* occurs in classical Latin in *boum* for *botum; audii* for *audivi; redii* for *redivi; amarunt* for *amaverunt; plueri* for *pluvere*. Accordingly *pavonem* became *paon* in French; *pavorem, peur; aviolus, aieul; vivenda, viande; pluvia, pluie; ovicula, ouaille; obliviosus, oublicux*, etc. On the initial *V*, see note 4, page 587.

LATIN.	FRENCH.	LATIN.	FRENCH.
<i>spina</i>	épine	<i>festum</i>	fête
<i>studium</i>	étude	<i>bestia</i>	bête <sup>1</sup>
<i>cantus</i>	chant	<i>candela</i>	chandelle
<i>campus</i>	champ	<i>capella</i> <sup>2</sup>	chapelle
<i>calor</i>	chaleur	<i>camelus</i>	chameau
<i>cantor</i>	chanteur	<i>castellum</i>	château
<i>actionem</i> <sup>3</sup>	action	<i>carbonem</i>	charbon
<i>petitionem</i>	petition	<i>falconem</i>	faucon

<sup>1</sup> Priscianus, who wrote on Latin grammar, informs us that, already among the Romans the *s* often lost its force. He quotes from Virgil: "*Ponite spes sibi quisque suas*," which was pronounced "*ponite 'pes*"; he says, "if not, the *e* in *ponite* would have become long." And if the assertion of Priscianus may seem doubtful, we have but to open the remains of the ancient poets to see that in their time the *s*, followed by a consonant, was often dropped, not only in speaking but also in writing, as shown in note 1, page 577. Here are some more examples: *Volito vivu' per ora virum*.—Ennius. *Tum mare velivolam florebat navidu' pandis*.—Lucretius. *Majorem interea capiunt dulcedini fructum*.—Ibid. *Tum laterali dolor certissimu' nuntiu' mortis*.—Lucilius.

If afterward, Horace and Virgil wrote differently, it by no means follows that they pronounced differently, as we find in Cicero the same elision: "*De terra lapsu' repente, magnu' leo*," etc. And that such continued always to be the case may be inferred from a passage of Abbon, a Benedictine monk, who, in the tenth century, wrote to his English pupils that in "*Deus Summus*" the first *s* was not pronounced in order to avoid the hissing: "*Inter duas etiam partes cum s precedit, ut Deus summus, ne nimius sibilus fiat, prior s sonum perdit*."—*Quæst. grammat.* ap. Maio. Bibl. Vaticana, vol. v, p. 337.

<sup>2</sup> *Capella* was the name given to the arched sepulchres excavated in the walls of the catacombs of Rome, which afterward became places where prayer was wont to be made. The Low Latin *capella* is the hood or covering of the altar. An inscription in the catacombs, which is in very bad Latin, reads *literatim* as follows: "*Ego secunda feci capella bone memorie filiem meam secundam ne recessit in fidem cum fratrem sum laurentium in pace recessund*."

<sup>3</sup> The loss of the termination *em* of the Latin accusative is constant in French. Thus we have *bos, bovem, boeuf*; *flos, florem, fleur*; *pes, pedem, pied*; *lac, lactem, lait*, etc. But this elision of the *m* existed already among the Romans. Quintilian says of this letter that, whenever found at the end of a word, and the following word begins with a vowel, so little of it is pronounced that in such phrases as *multum ille* or *quantum erat*, the *m* scarcely has any sound.—*De orthog.* Cassiodorus, a compiler from old writers, and in this instance from one Cornutus, says, to pronounce *m* before a vowel had a hard and barbarous sound. "*Durum ac barbarum sonat, par enim atque idem est vitium ita cum vocali sicut cum consonante m literam exprimere*."—*De orthog.*, cap. i. The *m* is also elided and omitted in some inscriptions, examples of which may be found in the Index of Gruterus; as, for instance, "*Ante ora posita est*." So, also, in the epitaph of Lucius Scipio, the son of L. Scip. Barbatus, the *m* is omitted even before a consonant. Thus, "*Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romæ bonorum optimum fuisse virum, Lucium Scipionem filium Barbati. Consul, censor, hic fuit apud vos. Hic coepit Corsicam Aleriamque urbem; Dedit tempestatibus aedem merito*," is written in his inscription with every final *m* but one omitted, thus: "*Honc oino ploirume consentiont R. . . duonoro optumo fuisse viro Luciom Scipione filios Barbati. Consol, censor, aidiliis hic fuet a . . . Hec cepet Corsica Aleriaque urbe—Dedet tempestatibus aide merito*." This elision of the letter *m* will account for such contractions as

LATIN.	FRENCH.	LATIN.	FRENCH.
<i>lectionem</i>	leçon	<i>draconem</i>	dragon
<i>factionem</i>	façon	<i>saponem</i>	savon
<i>silvaticum</i>	sauvage	<i>lactuca</i>	laitue
<i>ramaticum</i>	ramage	<i>tortuca</i>	tortue
<i>viaticum</i>	voyage	<i>curruca</i>	charrue
<i>formaticum</i>	fromage	<i>verruca</i>	verrue
<i>venenum</i>	venin	<i>humanus</i>	humain
<i>terrenum</i>	terrain	<i>villanus</i>	vilain
<i>levamen</i>	levain	<i>paganus</i>	payen
<i>aeramen</i>	airain	<i>medianus</i>	moyen
<i>granum</i>	grain	<i>sanctus</i>	saint
<i>plenum</i>	plein	<i>unctus</i>	oint
<i>fanum</i>	foin	<i>pugnus</i>	poing
<i>junius</i>	juin	<i>cuneus</i>	coin
<i>lex</i>	loi	<i>pix</i>	poix
<i>rex</i>	roi	<i>vox</i>	voix
<i>tres</i>	trois	<i>nux</i>	noix
<i>tectum</i>	toit	<i>crux</i>	croix
<i>gratus</i>	gré	<i>plaga</i>	plaie
<i>pratium</i>	pré	<i>baja</i> <sup>1</sup>	baie
<i>casa</i>	chez	<i>carus</i>	cher
<i>nasus</i>	nez	<i>amarus</i>	amer
<i>amare</i>	aimer	<i>ferire</i>	férir
<i>donare</i>	donner	<i>venire</i>	venir
<i>jurare</i>	jurer	<i>mentiri</i>	mentir
<i>necare</i> <sup>2</sup>	noyer	<i>moriri</i>	mourir
<i>agere</i>	agir	<i>dicere</i>	dire
<i>querere</i>	quérir	<i>legere</i>	lire
<i>currere</i>	courir	<i>scribere</i>	écrire
<i>tenere</i>	tenir	<i>occidere</i>	occire
<i>habere</i>	avoir	<i>sedere</i>	seoir
<i>sapere</i>	savoir	<i>pluere</i>	pleuvoir
<i>volere</i>	vouloir	<i>credere</i>	croire
<i>movere</i>	mouvoir	<i>bibere</i>	boire

*venum eo* and *animus aduerto* into *veneo* and *animaduerto*; and it must have been very general in the popular idiom to cause the same in all languages derived from the Latin.

<sup>1</sup> *Baja* is found in Isidore of Seville: "Hunc portum veteres vocabant *baias*."

<sup>2</sup> *Necare* is so used in Latin writers of the decadence, as in "Postremo Eliae jussu profani sacerdotes comprehensi, deductique ad torrentem *necati* sunt," says Sulpicius Severus, *Hist.*, i.; and Gregory of Tours has "Matrem ejus lapide ad collum ligato *necare* jussisti." *Necare* becomes *negare* in Carolingian documents. "Si quis alicujus pecus negaverit vel famulus vel infans," in the *Lex Alamannorum*.

LATIN.	FRENCH.	LATIN.	FRENCH.
<i>facere</i>	faire	<i>cingere</i>	ceindre
<i>placere</i>	plaire	<i>tingere</i>	teindre
<i>nascere</i>	naître	<i>ungere</i>	oindre
<i>pascere</i>	paître	<i>jungere</i>	joindre <sup>1</sup>
<i>ille</i>	le <sup>2</sup>	<i>me</i>	moi
<i>illa</i>	la	<i>te</i>	toi
<i>ille</i>	il	<i>nos</i>	nous
<i>illa</i>	elle	<i>vos</i>	vous
<i>votum</i>	vœu	<i>ovum</i>	œuf
<i>nodum</i>	noëud	<i>bovem</i>	bœuf
<i>pavor</i>	peur	<i>novem</i>	neuf
<i>soror</i>	sœur	<i>viduum</i>	veuf
<i>rem</i>	rien	<i>serena</i>	sereine
<i>bene</i>	bien	<i>verbena</i>	verveine
<i>canis</i>	chien	<i>balena</i>	baleine
<i>legamen</i>	lien	<i>magdalena</i>	madeleine
<i>vita</i>	vie	<i>tredecim</i>	treize
<i>pica</i>	pie	<i>sedecim</i>	seize

<sup>1</sup> Euphonic consonants were also used in the Latin, and it seems to be the letter *d* which most pleased the Roman ear. On the Duilian column we find *en Siceliad; in altod marid; pucnandod; navaled praedad*, etc. In the first inscription of the tomb of the Scipio's we read *gnaivod patre prognatus*. In the Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus *Sacra in ocquollos ne quisquam fecise velet*, etc. This *d* has been supposed to be the ablative form, but in the same Senatus Consultum we find *extrad, suprad, facilumed; neve in poplicod neve in privatod neve extrad urbem; utei suprad scriptum est; ubei facilumed gnoscier potisit*. The accusative, having from itself a final consonant, did not want any additional euphonic letter except *me, te, se, ea*, which, in fact, we find written *med, ted, sed, ead*; as, for instance, *Nec nobis prater med alius quisquam est servus Sosia*.—Plautus, *Amphytr.* I, ii, 244. *Solus solitudine ego ted atque ab egestate abstuli*.—Ibid., *Asinar.* I, iii, 11. *Neve quisquam fidem inter sed dedise veiet*.—*Senatus Consultum de Bacchan.* *Sci esent quei arvorsum ead fuisent quam suprad scriptum est*.—Ibid. In the earliest specimens of French we find the letter *d* used in the same way. *Naimes li duc l'oid si l'escultent li Franc.*—*Chanson de Roland*, St. 132. *Qu'en Rencevals ad laiset mors san genz*.—Ibid., St. 180. *Tert lui le vis od ses granz pelz de martre*.—Ibid., St. 289. *Le roi ad ordeigne*.—*Statutes at Large*, A. D. 1463. See page 259. The modern French, which has rejected the euphonic *d* at the end of words, has retained it in the middle, between the letters *n* and *r*, as *centre* from *ciniis, cinerem*; *genre* from *genus, generem*; *tendre* from *tener, tenerem*; *vendredi* from *veneris die*; *viendrais* from *venire (venir-ai)*; *tiendrais* from *tenere (tener-ai)*. In Latin we find the euphonic *d* also in the middle of words in *reddo, redeo, redduco, redhibeo, redintegrō, prodest, proderam*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> It may appear strange that, since the Latin accent was always retained in early French, *ille* should have made one word of its first, and another of its second syllable. But this is explained by the fact that popular Latin, as exhibited by the comic writers, made the last syllable of this word long. Thus *ille* formed *le*; *illa, la*; *illi, lui*; *illos, les*. As an article, the word was used long before it appeared with the verb as an indispensable pronoun subject.

LATIN.	FRENCH.	LATIN.	FRENCH.
<i>fidem</i>	foi	<i>cerasum</i>	cerise
<i>pisum</i>	pois	<i>camisia</i> <sup>1</sup>	chemise
<i>porticus</i>	porche	<i>granea</i>	grange
<i>pertica</i>	perche	<i>extraneus</i>	étrange
<i>manica</i>	manche	<i>laudemia</i>	louange
<i>dominica</i>	dimanche	<i>vindemia</i>	vendange
<i>vivenda</i>	viande	<i>primarius</i>	premier
<i>præbenda</i>	provende	<i>nucarius</i>	noyer
<i>infernum</i>	enfer	<i>focarium</i>	foyer
<i>hibernum</i>	hiver	<i>granarium</i>	grenier
<i>anima</i>	âme	<i>acer</i>	aigre
<i>asinus</i>	âne	<i>macer</i>	maigre
<i>domina</i>	dame	<i>magister</i>	maître
<i>femina</i>	femme	<i>presbyter</i>	prêtre
<i>alter</i>	autre	<i>dulcis</i>	doux
<i>malva</i>	mauve	<i>tussis</i>	toux
<i>bellus</i>	beau	<i>sposus</i>	époux
<i>novellus</i>	nouveau	<i>zelosus</i>	jaloux
<i>caballus</i>	cheval	<i>apostolus</i>	apôtre
<i>diurnalis</i>	journal	<i>epistola</i> <sup>2</sup>	épître
<i>equalis</i>	égal	<i>titulus</i>	titre
<i>legalis</i>	loyal	<i>capitulum</i>	chapitre
<i>crudelis</i>	cruel	<i>siccus</i>	sec
<i>natalis</i>	noël	<i>cippus</i>	cep
<i>nativus</i>	naïf	<i>crispa</i>	crêpe
<i>captivus</i> <sup>3</sup>	chétif	<i>crista</i>	crête
<i>mel</i>	miel	<i>masculus</i>	mâle
<i>fel</i>	fiel	<i>pallidus</i>	pâle
<i>ferus</i>	fier	<i>fragilis</i>	frêle
<i>heri</i>	hier	<i>gracilis</i>	grêle

<sup>1</sup> See page 538, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Epistola* made first *epistle*. So it is found in the translation in the book of Job, and so it has come into English. There is a strange permutation between *l* and *r*. The Latin *peregrinus* is found in the form *pelegrinus* as early as in the inscriptions. *Sanctus Peregrinus*, Bishop of Auxerre, who died A. D. 304, was called in French *Saint Pèlerin*. *Luscimia*, in Old French, is *lossignol*; in modern French it has become *rossignol*. "*Luscignol*, vel apud Parrhisios corrupto labio *rossignol*."—Bouvelles, *de vitis ling. vul.*, 66. We now say *mélancolie*; the writers of the sixteenth century had *mérencolie*. The English word "colonel" is pronounced as if written with an *r*, and the cook will say "flitters" for "fritters." So the uneducated in France say *colidor* for *corridor*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Captivus* means "a prisoner" in classical Latin, but used in the sense of *chétif*, "mean, poor-looking," in Imperial times, as we see in the *Mathesis* of Firmicus Maternus, viii, 24, a treatise on astrology written by this Christian controversialist, who was a contemporary of Constantine, and died about A. D.



LATIN.	FRENCH.	LATIN.	FRENCH.
<i>humilis</i>	humble	<i>vendita</i>	vente
<i>flebilis</i>	faible	<i>rendita</i>	rente
<i>cumulus</i>	comble	<i>debita</i>	dette
<i>turbulus</i>	trouble	<i>perdita</i>	perte
<i>malignus</i>	malin	<i>viridis</i>	vert
<i>benignus</i>	bénin	<i>nitidus</i>	net
<i>maturus</i>	mûr	<i>digitus</i>	doigt
<i>securus</i>	sûr	<i>frigidus</i>	froid <sup>1</sup>
<i>bucca</i>	bouche	<i>linea</i>	ligne
<i>musca</i>	mouche	<i>vinea</i>	vigne
<i>pulverem</i>	poudre	<i>tructa</i>	truite
<i>fulgerem</i>	foudre	<i>fructus</i>	fruit
<i>velum</i>	voile	<i>jocus</i>	jeu
<i>tela</i>	toile	<i>focus</i>	feu
<i>tepidus</i>	tiède	<i>pius</i>	pieux
<i>rigidus</i>	raide	<i>deus</i>	dieu
<i>filia</i>	fille	<i>honorem</i>	honneur
<i>familia</i>	famille	<i>seniorem</i>	seigneur
<i>patrinus</i> <sup>2</sup>	parrain	<i>pagensis</i>	pays
<i>matrina</i>	marraine	<i>marchensis</i>	marquis
<i>abbatissa</i>	abbesse	<i>monachus</i>	moine
<i>ducatissa</i>	duchesse	<i>canonicus</i>	chanoine
<i>tristitia</i>	tristesse	<i>Burgundia</i>	Bourgogne
<i>pigritia</i>	paresse <sup>3</sup>	<i>verecundia</i>	vergogne

436: "Vicesima pars Sagittarii, si in horoscopo inventa fuerit, homines facit nanos, gibbosos, captivos, ridiculosque."

<sup>1</sup> *Frigidus* was the popular Latin for *frigidus*, and changes *i* into *oi*, like *pix*, *poix*; *digitus*, *dig'ius*, *doigt*; *fidem*, *foi*; *bibere*, *boire*, etc. Palsgrave, in his specimens of French pronunciation (A. D. 1530, Book i, p. 61), gives us *droit* and *victoire*, pronounced as *droat* and *victoare*. Still, this pronunciation of *oi* as *oa*, which was that of the Parisian citizens, as Henri Estienne tells us, was not at once adopted at the court and the literary circles; they retained the *ouf* sound for more than two centuries after. Molière makes fun of the peasantry for saying *oua* for *oi*, and Louis XIV and Louis XV used to say *un outreau*, *la foud*, *la loué* for *oiseau*, *foi*, *loi*. The stage stuck to this pronunciation up to the beginning of the present century, and as late as 1830 Lafayette even pronounced *le roi*, *le roud*.

<sup>2</sup> The word *patrinus* is found in Carolingian documents, as in "Sanctissimus vir patrinus videlicet seu spiritualis pater noster," from a Charter, A. D. 752. Compare *aviolus* and *filiolus* on page 588.

<sup>3</sup> The chance likeness of *paresse* and *vapouris* has led etymologists in old times to connect the two words; but if we divide the word *paresse* into its elements, we shall see that the suffix *esse* must answer to a termination *itia*, as *latitia*, *liesse*; *mollitia*, *mollisse*, etc.; such words as *entière* from *integra*; *noire* from *nigra*, show us that the *r* of *paresse* answers to a Latin *gr*; the Latin *i* often changes into the French *a*, as *bilancia*, *balance*; *hirundo*, *aronde*; *sine*, *sans*, etc.; and thus we reach by these three observations the word *pigritia*, which is the true original of *paresse*.

LATIN.	FRENCH.	LATIN.	FRENCH.
<i>scutarius</i>	ecuyer	<i>octo</i>	huit <sup>1</sup>
<i>medietarius</i>	métayer	<i>ostrea</i>	huître <sup>2</sup>
<i>vervecarius</i>	berger	<i>cocere</i>	cuire
<i>vaccalarius</i> <sup>3</sup>	bachelier	<i>nocere</i>	nuire
<i>laudare</i>	louer	<i>vitellus</i>	veau
<i>jocare</i>	jouer	<i>agnellus</i>	agneau
<i>nodare</i>	nouer	<i>phasianus</i>	faisan
<i>pacare</i> <sup>4</sup>	payer	<i>hortulanus</i>	ortolan <sup>5</sup>
<i>vicinus</i>	voisin	<i>lenticula</i>	lentille
<i>orphaninus</i>	orphelin	<i>canicula</i>	chenille
<i>peregrinus</i>	pèlerin	<i>craticulum</i>	gril
<i>pergamena</i>	parchemin	<i>periculum</i>	péril
<i>judicem</i>	juge	<i>gubernaculum</i>	gouvernail
<i>pollicem</i>	pouce	<i>suspiraculum</i>	soupirail
<i>perdicem</i>	perdrix	<i>portalia</i>	portail
<i>berbecem</i> <sup>6</sup>	brebis	<i>bestialia</i>	bétail

<sup>1</sup> *Oct* changed first into *oit*, then into *uit*, and later into *huit*. The change of *ct* into *it* is not uncommon in French, as *coctus*, *cuit*; *fructus*, *fruit*; *lactem*, *lait*; *factus*, *fait*, etc. On the initial *H*, see note 5, below.

<sup>2</sup> As late as Villon, in the fifteenth century, we find the word spelled *oistre*, whence the English "oyster."

<sup>3</sup> See page 519-526.

<sup>4</sup> *Pacare*, "to appease, to satisfy." In the sense of "to pay," it is found in several mediæval Latin documents, as "Et si non pacaverint, non tenentur plus commodare," in the *Leges Burgorum* of Scotland; and in another passage of the same ordinances, "Pacabit mercatori a quo prædicta mercimonia emit, secundum forum prius statutum."

<sup>5</sup> Quintilian informs us that the ancients used the letter *h* but seldom. "Parcissime littera *h* uti sunt veteres, etiam in vocalibus cum ædos ircosque dicebant."—Quintil., i, 5. The most ancient manuscripts write *ortus*, *ospitium*, *erus*, etc.; inscriptions of imperial days give *oc*, *omo*, *ordeus*, *onestus*. In the same way French makes *on*, *or*, *orge*, *avoir*, *oui*, *encore*, of *homo*, *hora*, *hordeum*, *habere*, *hoc-illud*, *hanc-horam*. But in the fourth century, it seems, this elision got out of fashion, and Marius Victorinus, a grammarian of that period, directs his countrymen thus: "Profundo spiritu, anhelis faucibus exploso ore fundetur." St. Augustine says: "Ut qui illa sonorum vetera placita teneat aut doceat, si contra disciplinam grammaticam, sine aspiratione primæ syllabæ *ominem* dixerit, displiceat magis hominibus, quam si contra tua precepta hominem oderit, cum sit homo."—Conf., i, 29. This rough aspiration of the *h* suited the Frankish accent exactly, and may account for that initial in some French words where it had none in Latin, as *altus*, *haut*; *oleum*, *huile*; *armenia*, *hermine*; *eremitus*, *hermite*, etc. In modern French the *h* is silent.

<sup>6</sup> *Berbicem* for *berbecem*, instead of *vervecem*. That the initial Latin *V* was not represented by the vowel *v* of the Greeks is shown by the latter constantly employing *B* to represent it. Thus Severus, Valentia, Varro, were spelled Σεβηρος, Βαλεντια, Βαρρον. Nor could it have had among the Romans the vowel sound of the medial *v*, as noticed in note 3, page 581, since they too often wrote *b* instead of *v* at the beginning of the word. *Berbecem* is of Petronius, who wrote in the first century. Pliny writes *bettonica* for *vettonica*. The custom must have been very common, for Isidorus, speaking of this habit, says, "*Birtus*, *boluntas*, *bita* et his similia, quæ Afri scribendo vetiant omnino rejicienda

LATIN.	FRENCH.	LATIN.	FRENCH.
<i>apicula</i>	abeille	<i>aviolus</i> <sup>1</sup>	aieul
<i>auricula</i>	oreille	<i>filiolus</i>	fileul
<i>pariculus</i> <sup>2</sup>	pareil	<i>capriolus</i>	chevreuil
<i>vermiculus</i>	vermeil	<i>bovariolus</i>	bouvreuril
<i>viginti</i>	vingt	<i>quomodo</i>	comme
<i>triginta</i>	trente	<i>hanc-horam</i>	encore <sup>3</sup>
<i>quadraginta</i>	quarante	<i>subitaneus</i>	soudain
<i>quinginginta</i>	cinquante	<i>demane</i>	demain <sup>4</sup>
<i>sine</i>	sans	<i>magis</i>	mais
<i>de-intus</i>	dans	<i>jam magis</i>	jamais
<i>ab-ante</i> <sup>5</sup>	avant	<i>tam diu</i>	tandis
<i>subinde</i>	souvent	<i>jam diu</i> <sup>6</sup>	jadis
<i>ubi</i>	où	<i>ibi</i>	y <sup>7</sup>

sunt, et non per *b* sed per *v* scribenda." Still the practice continued, and so we find *berbecarius* for *vervecarius*, berger; *baccalarius* for *vaccalarius*, bachelier. See page 520. *Berbicem* is a form common in the Salic Law "si quis berbicem furaverit."—IV, § 2. In the Ambrosian Library at Milan is a MS., probably dating from the sixth century, in which *b* and *v* are constantly interchanged. *Voluntas* is spelled *boluntas*; *vetustas*, *betustas*; and even in the middle of words we find *cibica* for *civica*; *lavoribus* for *laboribus*; *absolvunt* for *absolvunt*; and *devitorem* for *debitorem*. This permutation of *b*, *p*, *v*, *f* is constant in modern languages—*Habana*, *Havana*; *Sebastopol*, *Sevastopol*; *April*, *Avril*; *pater*, *vader*, *father*; etc.

<sup>1</sup> From *avius* the Romans made *aviolus*, and from *filius*, *filiolus*. *Aviolus*, properly meaning "a little grandfather," soon supplanted *avius*, in accordance with the Roman tendency to use diminutives. The church, giving the name of spiritual father and mother to those who held the child at the baptismal font as sponsors, has also given the name of *filiolus*, that is—"darling little son," to the baptized infant.

<sup>2</sup> *Pariculus* is found in very ancient mediæval Latin documents. "Hoc sunt pariculas cosas," says the *Lex Salica*.

<sup>3</sup> Originally spelled *anc-ore*.

<sup>4</sup> The Latin *mane* gives the French substantive *main*: *Il joue du main au soir*, "he plays from morn to eve." *Demane* formed the adverb *demain*, which meant originally "early in the morning."

<sup>5</sup> The old Roman grammarian Placidus strongly objects to this as a vulgar word, and warns his readers against it—"Ante me fugit dicimus, non *Ab-ante me fugit*; nam prepositio prepositioni adjungitur imprudenter: quia ante et ab sunt duæ prepositiones."—*Glossæ*, in Mai, iii, 431.

<sup>6</sup> The letter *j* was pronounced *i-i* by the Romans; they said *mai-ior* and *i-juvenis* for *major* and *juvenis*. Quintilian informs us that Cicero even wrote so. "Sciat enim Ciceroni placuisse aii, Maiiamque geminata *i* scribere."—*Inst. Orat.*, i, 4, 11. We find *Isulius* for *Julius* in inscriptions under the empire. Those inscriptions and manuscripts which wrote *Hiesu*, *Hiericho*, *Trahiana*, for *Jesu*, *Jericho*, *Trajani*, have accurately represented this pronunciation.

<sup>7</sup> *Y* was in Old French *i*, and previous to that written *iv*, which was the Latin *ibi* shortened. The permutation of *b* to *v* is constant, as *liber*, *livre*; *proba*, *preuve*; *faba*, *fève*, etc. The word *ibi* often occurs in Merovingian Latin in the sense of *illi*, *illis*. "Ipsum monasterium expoliatum, et omnes cartæ, quas de supra dicto loco *ibi* delegaverunt ablatæ."—*Diploma* of Hlotair III, A. D. 664. "*Tradimus ibi terram*" and "*dono ibi decimas*" are found in a Charter of A. D. 883.

LATIN.	FRENCH.	LATIN.	FRENCH.
<i>subtus</i>	SOUS	<i>inde</i> <sup>1</sup>	en
<i>super</i>	SUR	<i>quem</i>	que <sup>4</sup>
<i>susum</i> <sup>2</sup>	SOUS	<i>ego</i> <sup>3</sup>	je

In this list of words, taken from the classical, popular, ecclesiastical, and mediæval Latin, the student may have noticed many which have changed their meaning considerably in passing from Latin into French. Sometimes the sense is wider, as *carpentarius*, "a wheelwright," which becomes *charpentier*, "a carpenter"; *caballus*, "a nag," has risen to nobility in *cheval*; *minare*, which originally meant "to drive a cart or a flock," has the sense of "to lead," in general, in the word *mener*; *villa* was first "a farmstead," then "a hamlet," and in the form *ville* it is "a city"; the inhabitant of such a farm, such a hamlet, the *villanus*, *villain*, has not fared so well. Indeed, the sense of words is often narrowed, passing from general to particular; *jumentum*, for instance, originally "a beast of burden," becomes *jument*, "a mare"; *peregrinus*, properly "a stranger; a person who travels," is restricted in *pèlerin* to "travelers to the Holy Land or some other holy place"; *arista*, both "a fish-bone and an ear of wheat," has lost its second meaning in the word *arête*; *carruca*, "a chariot," has become an agricultural cart in *charrue*, "a plow." Sometimes the abstract Latin word becomes concreted in

<sup>1</sup> *Inde* had in popular Latin the sense of *ex illo, ab illo*: "Cadus erat vini; inde implevi Cirneam."—Plautus, *Amphytr.*, i, 1. This use of *inde* was very common in Merovingian Latin, and the documents of the time have many examples of it. Thus, in a formula of the seventh century we find "Si potes inde manducare," *si tu peux en manger*; and in a diploma of 543, "Ut mater nostra ecclesia Viennensis inde nostra hæres fiat," etc. In Old French *inde* becomes *int*; in the tenth century it is *ent*, a form still surviving in the word *souvent* from *subinde*; in the twelfth century it is *en*, and has remained so.

<sup>2</sup> *Susum* was often used for *sursum*, and is so found in Plautus, Cato, Terullian, and others. St. Augustine writes *Jusum vis facere Deum, et te susum*, "you wish to depress God, and exalt yourself." *De-susum* has produced *dessus*.

<sup>3</sup> The *g* of *ego* seems to have been pronounced somewhat like *y* in the English word "year," to judge from the form *eo* which it takes in the oath of Ludwig the German, A. D. 842, and *io* in the oath of his brother's soldiers—a difference like that of *leonem* and *lion*. Later on we find the word spelled *jeo, jio, jous, jœu*—dialectic differences indicating a somewhat broader pronunciation than *je* has at present.

<sup>4</sup> The Latin pronunciation of *qu* seems to have been very much what it is now in French, since in many words we find the letter *c* used instead before the vowels *o* or *u*, as in *quotidie*, sometimes spelled *cotidie*; *loquutus, locutus; quum, cum; quur, cur*, and others. This pronunciation of *qu*, like the English *k*, is further indicated by the double pun of Cicero, who, being requested to give his vote for the son of a cook, answered "Ego quoque tibe jure favebo," punning on the words *quoque* and *jure*.

French, as *punctionem*, the act of pricking, becomes *poignon*, "an awl"; *tonsionem*, the act of shearing, becomes *toison*, "a fleece"; *morsus*, the act of biting, becomes *mors*, "a bit, a bridle"; and *nutritionem*, nutrition, is "a nursling" in *nourrisson*. A Latin concrete word, on the other hand, occasionally becomes abstract or metaphorical in French. Thus *ovicula*, a tender diminutive of *ovis*, "sheep," has produced the word *ouailles*, which in French ecclesiastical language is used in reference to a spiritual pastor. It is clear that the French language, having before it many rich and slightly different senses of the Latin word, takes one of its facets, regards it as if it were the only one, and thus gives birth to the modern signification. But these changes of meaning do not merely occur in words passing from Latin into French, nor are they confined to French alone; they, on the contrary, have occurred at all times, as we have seen already, and are common to all living languages.

The principal characteristic of the French language, and that which distinguishes it from all other languages, both ancient and modern, is the logical construction of the sentence. The order in which the words are placed is almost always the same, and this order may be said to be founded on reason. Every proposition names first the person or thing that acts, afterward the action, and then the object upon which the action falls, so that the ideas class themselves, not according to the importance which the imagination gives to each, but in obedience to the order indicated by reason and by the succession of facts.

Thus, a French writer, wishing to make the panegyric of a magnanimous sovereign, would express himself thus: "Je ne puis nullement passer sous silence cette admirable douceur, cette clémence inouïe et sans bornes, cette modération dans l'exercice du pouvoir suprême." Here the person who speaks is expressed first: "*Je*"; then follows the action: "*Je ne puis nullement passer sous silence*"; and after this the object on which the action falls: the "*douceur, clémence, and modération*," of the man he wishes to praise. Cicero, from whom this passage is translated, establishes an order directly opposite. "Tantum mansuetudinem tam inusitatam inauditamque clementiam, tantumque in summa potestate rerum omnium modum tacitus nullo modo præterire possum."<sup>1</sup> By him, the real motive of the phrase

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<sup>1</sup> *Pro Marcello*, i.

is enounced first, that is, the three virtues which form the object of his eulogy; the person who acts and the action itself are only mentioned at the end of the sentence. This inverted order of the Latin is certainly more brilliant and more animated, as it expresses the thought exactly in the way it presents itself to the imagination; but the French, not having preserved the use of these varied terminations which in Latin distinguish the cases of nouns and the tenses of verbs, and by which the relation of words is indicated whatever place they occupy in the sentence, is obliged to keep strictly to the direct order to insure clearness. In this particular, perhaps, the foreign influence is the most strongly felt. The Teutonic invaders of Gaul, in adopting the Roman language, dropped the Latin case system, and the terminations of the Latin verbs, as altogether too intricate to be of any use to them. Harmony of language they cared but little for, and they never disturbed themselves to please the imagination by submitting words to any particular arrangement. Their sole aim was to express their ideas in the plainest possible manner, and in an order the most easily intelligible. The process, of course, deeply affected the character of the language; but what it lost in one way it gained in the other, clearness and precision becoming the leading feature of the language which, polished to suit the requirements of modern thought and modern institutions, proclaims as its axiom *Ce qui n'est pas clair n'est pas Français.*

## CHAPTER III.

### SCRAPS FROM ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS ILLUSTRATING EARLY FRENCH LITERATURE AND THE FRENCH LANGUAGE.

#### PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

ON reading the specimens of Early French, and the extracts from some of the leading authors from the ninth to the seventeenth centuries, collected in this chapter, the student will find that, at a very early epoch, the language was substantially what it is now, though its orthography resembled but little our present mode of spelling. This difference may even present at first some difficulties, which a few explanations no doubt will readily remove.

In the beginning of the twelfth century, Saint Bernard said: "*Ne fuir mies; ne dottier mies. Il ne vient mies à armes; il te requiert ne mies por dampnier, mais por salvier*"; which, translated into Modern French, would read: "*Ne fuis pas; ne tremble pas. Il (Dieu) ne vient pas avec des armes; il ne te cherche pas pour te damner, mais pour te sauver*"; certainly a very slight difference in wording. Nor is it probable that his pronunciation differed much from what we hear at present, making allowance for a dialectic difference, the author being a native of Burgundy. These dialectic differences, however, varying as they did in every feudal division of France, must have necessarily affected in some way the mode of spelling of each author and each copyist, in the absence of any standard authority, and in their endeavors to represent by written signs the various sounds, accents, and intonations of all these dialects, of which each person, of course, thought his own the best. In reference to this, a translator of the Psalter, "*en laingue lorenne selonc la veriteit commune at selonc lou commun laingaige,*" in the fourteenth century, remarks: "*Pour ceu que nulz ne tient en son parler ne rigne certenne, mesure ne raison, est laingue romance si corrompue qu'à poinne li uns entent l'aulture, et à poinne peut-on trouver à jour d'ieu persone qui saiche escrire, anteir ne prononcieir en une meisme*

*semblant meniere, mais escript, ante et pronounce li uns en une guise, et li aultre en une aultre.*"<sup>1</sup> Comparing this with the remarks made by Caxton, some hundred years later, in reference to English orthography,<sup>2</sup> we shall readily come to the conclusion that this unsettled mode of wording and of spelling must have existed in French, as indeed it has in all languages, until some standard, based on either custom or principle, was considered correct and adopted as such.

Old French, it must be remembered, was spoken a long time before it was written, and the words must have undergone thousands of variations before there was any thought of committing them to writing. Mixed up in various ways by ignorant Celts and Romans, the language in the earlier stages of its formation was only a confused jargon, in which each one put as much as he knew of his own and of each other's language. Fortunately the vocabulary of the uneducated is not very extensive, and thus the written Latin was damaged much less than the unwritten Celtic by this process of amalgamation. As time went on, however, and dialects were formed, the first attempts of the clergy to write out their sermons in the language of their district must have been exceedingly embarrassing. Having only the Roman alphabet to represent sounds and articulations, which for generations had been altered, dulled, and flattened in the mouths of Celts, Franks, and others, and differing in utterance from one place to another, it was impossible for them to write down the words as they heard them spoken, or to invent new signs for every sound which ignorance had contrived, for every articulation ill use had perverted. The only means at hand to accomplish the task approximately was to reduce the written word to its original Latin form, as far as was remembered, thereby introducing even a certain uniformity into the language of the pulpit, which tended to diminish considerably the number and variety of the dialects that had sprung up all over the country, century after century. Later on, when Celtic and Teutonic idioms were all absorbed into the Romance language, the written documents that have come down to us exhibit an increasing disposition on the part of their authors to be guided by the sound of words as well as by their etymology, which greatly assists us in deci-

<sup>1</sup> Leroux de Lincy, *Introduction du Livre des Rois*.

<sup>2</sup> See pages 361 and 451.



phering ancient manuscripts by reading them aloud. For, whatever be the mode in which the word is written, it makes but little difference in point of its significance; as indeed we know, from experience, that every relation between sign and sound is conventional and often arbitrary. In English, for instance, we have a multitude of sounds and peculiar intonations, all of which are represented by five vowels only. These, as well as many consonants, are sometimes silent, then again pronounced, and in some instances stand one to represent another. Take such words, for instance, as *angle* and *angel*, *cough* and *rough*, *those* and *whose*, *hoe* and *shoe*, *colonel* and *kernel*, the verb *to read*, its participle *read*, and the color *red*,—and fancy the perplexity of Macaulay's South Sea Islander on the ruins of St. Paul's, trying to pronounce English as he finds it written. Still, to-day we find no difficulty in reading from these signs fluently and correctly; and fluent reading is even one of the first accomplishments acquired by our young people at school. To one who knows a language, its antiquated forms can cause but little trouble; and if he does not know it, no spelling, good or bad, will make him know it better. Considering, then, that modern orthography is only a modification of older forms, which have been changed gradually, partly on etymological considerations, partly on account of their not representing sufficiently well the spoken language according to later notions, we may come to the conclusion, and adopt as a rule, that—“Words were pronounced in former times very much as they are now, however differently written.” Thus *nies*, *altre*, *nepvuld*, *il donct*, *elire*, *cuer*, *muete*, *bues*, *iex*, *suer*, *anme*, and the like, look odd and barbarous enough; but pronounce them as we now would *niece*, *autre*, *neveu*, *il donne*, *elire*, *cœur*, *meute*, *bœufs*, *yeux*, *sœur*, *âme*, and they are quite familiar. By this single rule, to which we have already adverted in speaking of Early English manuscripts, we get rid at once of fully half the difficulty in reading texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, if only we look at them kindly and attentively, not with the passive interest which we would take in a curious fossil or dry Egyptian mummy, but rather in the light of some dear old friend or relative who should happen to look a little quaint in her old-fashioned dress and manners.

To this main rule we may add some minor ones, which seem to correspond to the three qualities which, according to Palsgrave, in his *Esclaircissement*, the French of his

time aimed at in their pronunciation—"harmony, conciseness, and distinct articulation." Thus, for the sake of harmony of sound, we shall find that every kind of hiatus was carefully avoided; that only such consonants as were necessary to give distinctness to the word were well articulated; and that all others which were retained in the word to show its etymology were usually not pronounced. The following brief review of the French vowels and consonants will complete our explanation of the principles of orthography and pronunciation observed in olden times.

Before the invention of the circumflex accent, the long *a* was increased by the duplication of that letter, or by an *e* preceding or an *i* following it. Thus, while pronouncing *Age*, they wrote *aage*, *eage*, or *aige*, up to the seventeenth century. It is even probable that *ai* was always pronounced as *a* long; such forms as *montaigne*, *saige*, *raige*, *langaige*, for *montagne*, *sage*, *rage*, *langage*, seem to prove it. We even now write indifferently *je vais* and *je vas*, which is evidently a remnant of that practice.

The vowel *e* represents three sounds—*e* mute, *é*, and *eu*. It was mute as now at the end of words of more than one syllable, or when preceding an *a*, to indicate that this *a* was long, as explained above. Followed by a final *r* or *s* it was pronounced *é*, as it is at present in the words *nez*, *chez*, *aimer*, *cordonnier*. Anywhere else, as an accented syllable, it sounded *eu*. *Emperere*, *vendere*, *vies*, *dicx*, were pronounced *empereur*, *vendeur*, *vieux*, *dicu*. In the word *trouvére*, modern pronunciation has allowed itself to be guided by ancient orthography; in the middle ages it was pronounced *trouveur*, which gave a more distinct idea of its meaning. Before *i* and *u* the letter *e* formed at first a distinct syllable; but this did not last long, and very early such words as *que je feisse* began to be pronounced as *que je fisse*; <sup>1</sup> *meur*, *mûr*; *seur*, *sâr*, etc. As long as the letter *u* represented the sound *ou* the *e* preceding it was maintained to indicate that *u* had the sound which it has at present, as: *heurler*, *eune blesseure*, which were pronounced then as they are now, *hurler* and *une blessure*. From the moment *u* and *ou* were made to represent two different sounds the *e* disappeared before *u*, except where *eu* forms part of the conjugation of the verb *avoir*—*eu*, *nous étûmes*, *que j'eusse*—another remnant of the time, which

<sup>1</sup> In connection with this, it is interesting to observe that Cicero, in his third book *de oratore*, corrects Cotta for suppressing the *e* and only pronouncing the *i* in words which formerly were written with *ei*, as *leiber*, *leibertas*, etc.

may also be observed in the popular pronunciation of *Eugène, Eustache*, in which the initial *e* is not heard.

The vowel *i* before *e* was not heard, and *rochier, couchier, vergier*, were pronounced *rocher, coucher, and verger*, as at present. When following another vowel, the office of the letter *i* seems to have been to impart to the sound thus represented a peculiar modulation; and even as *ai* stands for *a*, as we have seen, so *ei* stands for *è*; *oi* for *o*; and *ui* for *u*. Another detail is to be observed in regard to the letter *i*. In the same way as the Romans pronounced *j* like *ii*, so the Early French writers use *i* for *j* in many instances. Thus we find *ie* for *je*; but especially is this the case when the pronoun follows its verb, as: *vourroie, aie, pensoie*, which contractions must be pronounced as if written *voudrais-je, ai-je, pensais-je*.

The vowel *o* had the same sound which it has at present. Followed by an *i*, it did not then make a diphthong, but was pronounced shorter, as even now is done in *oignon, empoigner*. They wrote *cigoigne*, but they said *cigogne*. How they pronounced *histoire* and *gloire* may be inferred from the derivatives *historien, glorieux*. The *o* also represented the sound *ou*. Thus *jour* was pronounced *jour*; *por, pour*; *Bologne, Boulogne*; *forvoyer, fourvoyer*, etc. It sometimes sounded *eu*. *Dolor*, which made *douloureux*, has also left *douleur*. Labor has left both *labour* and *labeur*. The former sound occurred more in the southern, the latter in the northern dialects. In order to represent the sound of *eu*, the Normans placed an *e* before or after the *o*, as *nocve, jocne, empercor, jugleor*,<sup>1</sup> which were pronounced *neuve, jeune, empeur, jougleur*, or *jongleur*. We follow now the same method in the word *œil*, where *æ* represents the sound *eu*.

The vowel *u* kept for a long time its Latin sound of *ou*, and *amour* was spelled *amur*; *nous, nus*; *coutelas, cutelas*; *coupe, cupe*, etc. Followed by an *e*, this vowel had exactly the sound which we have given it since by inverting their positions; *suer, bues, il puet*, were pronounced *sœur, bæufs, il peut*. Traces of this practice are found in the words *cueiller, orgueil, cercueil*, which are spelled as in the Middle Ages. Before the present sound of the vowel *u* was represented by that letter, it was indicated sometimes by an *e* placed before that vowel, as we have seen

<sup>1</sup> *Joglar, juglar* in Langue d'oc; *jugleor, jongleor* in Langue d'oïl, from the Latin *joculator*.

above, but generally by an *i* following it, as: *étuide, il buit, il fuit*, which were pronounced *étude, il bût, il fut*. The Latin mode of using *u* and *v* indiscriminately was kept up in France until the sixteenth century, and was the cause of much confusion. The future of *avoir* was first written *avrai*, and afterward became *aurai*; *januarius*, on the contrary, became *janvier*. *Deus* being written *Devs* as well, has made *Deu* and *Dev*,<sup>1</sup> hence the forms *deusse, devesse, déesse*. Sometimes a diæresis over the letter *v* served to indicate that it was to be pronounced as our present *u*.

Two vowels placed in succession were at first pronounced separately, as: *seur, meur*, recalling their origin *securus, maturus*. In the same way *traditor*, before becoming *traître*, was written *traitre*, and sometimes even *trahitre*, so as to indicate clearly its pronunciation. The latter form has survived in the words *trahir* and *trahison*. *Aider* and *aide*, derived from *adjuvare*, were likewise written *aïder* and *aïde*, and are still so pronounced in Picardy.

The French consonants are the same as the Latin, and, as in Latin, many were silent in certain positions, though not always following the same rules. A final consonant seems to have imparted sometimes only a peculiar sound to the vowel preceding it, without being itself pronounced. Thus *ex* was pronounced *eux*; *ies, yeux*; *Diex, Dieu*; in the eleventh century we find *Dex* for *Dieu*. The *p* in *nepvuld*, which remained for a long time in the word *nepveu*, now written *neveu*, indicated its Latin origin, *nepos*. The intelligent reader must have already noticed several instances where English orthography and traditions of old Norman pronunciation may serve as a key to many old forms now obsolete in French, but in full vigor yet in English.

The letter *k*, which is not used in Modern French, is constantly found in manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and gradually disappeared in the course of the century following. *Ke, ki, kel, kar, katre, karakter*, etc., found especially in Norman compositions of that time, have since been written *que, qui, quel, car, quatre, caractère*. *Kex, keux, koke*, in English "cook," is afterward found in the form of *queux, mattre-queux*. *Chien, chat, château, chanson, charrette*, were then written *kien, kat, kastel, kansoun, karett*, and probably so pronounced, as we

<sup>1</sup> On the loss of the final *s*, see note 1, page 577.

may infer from the peasant language in Picardy. The word *chœur*, from the Latin *chorus*, is still pronounced *kœur*.

The letter *l*, when following the vowels *a*, *e*, or *o*, had the value of our present *u*, placed in the same position. Thus *altre*, *cheval*, *chevel*, *licol* were pronounced *autre*, *chevau*, *cheveu*, *licou*. This ancient pronunciation explains the plural form of nouns ending in *al*; and when we now say *cheval*, *égal*, it is a return to ancient orthography on etymological considerations, while in writing *chevaux*, *égaux*, we employ a new orthography to express an ancient pronunciation. We now write *cheveu* for what in the Middle Ages they wrote *chevel*, and derived by the modern pronunciation of the latter form, they have made the words *chevelu*, *chevelure*, *échevelé*, of which the *l* disappears again in *écheveau*. This last word, moreover, shows the close relation between the forms *el*, *eu*, and *eau*, as *pellis*, *peau*; *camelus*, *chameau*; *agnellus*, *agneau*; *ramellus*, *rameau*; *pratellum*, *préau*, etc. These variations it is important to observe, as the word may assume different forms in the pen of ancient writers, according to their more or less conformity with the original Latin.

The final *t* was characteristic of the third person singular: *il at*, *il donet*, *il aimet*. It was not pronounced except before a vowel: *at il*, *donet il*, *aimet il*. Modern orthography has suppressed this *t*, but has been obliged to return to it as a euphonic letter, in the interrogative form, third person singular between the verb and the pronoun; *a-t-il*, *aime-t-il*, *aimera-t-il*.

As regards the juxtaposition of consonants, the rule is that, when two or more consonants come together, only one is pronounced. Thus *esponge* is pronounced *éponge*; *debte*, *dette*; *subject*, *sujet*; *loign*, *loin*. We still follow this rule in the words *seign*, *vingt*, *corps*, *temps*, etc. The plan of suppressing letters, and other contrivances lately proposed for English as well as French and other modern languages, in order to make the written word look exactly as it sounds, on phonetic principles, is of a very doubtful propriety. It may be an advantage perhaps to the uneducated, who will naturally adopt it, and phonographers may favor the idea; but to the scholar it would be a deplorable loss, as it would kill the word by stripping it of all its etymological features, and reduce it to a mere signal, no more or less than the call of a bugle or a soldier's drum. As an instance of the importance of preserving etymological letters we give the word *faubourg*, which,

in the thirteenth century, was written *forsbourg*, that is, that part of the city situated beyond its regular inclosure—the mediæval *forisburgus*. Deceived by the pronunciation, which kept the *rs* silent, they first began to write *fobourg*. Then, in the fifteenth century, in order to give it some sort of sense, they wrote *les faux bourgs*, whence finally came the word *faubourg*, which has no sense at all. Every language has some words that have been thus ill-treated, but the mass are full of life with well-defined meanings. To the ignorant these may be conveyed in a vague manner by the means of sound alone, and so they may serve well enough his simple purposes; but to the scholar the written word presents additional features which reveal its vital principle, and which, once destroyed, would spoil it for him as an instrument of fine thought and clear communication.

This digression seemed necessary to show how letters may be missing in the words of some old texts, while in others again they are superabundant, according as either phonetic or etymological considerations were prevailing with their authors. As a general rule, though, in the absence of any accepted authority on orthography, there was in former times but little regularity of spelling, and, in the older specimens especially, every writer seems to have contented himself with putting together such combination of letters as he imagined would best express the sound of the word he was using, without at all considering what letters others used, or what he himself had used on former occasions, often on the same page, for exactly the same purpose. This has been so in every language, and by an intelligent reader is easily rectified. Webster, in his "Dictionary of the English Language," says: "A great portion of Saxon words are written with different letters, by different authors, most of them are written two or three different ways, and some of them fifteen or twenty." But this should not astonish us when even such a name as that of William the Conqueror occurs in six different forms on the Tapestry of Bayeux,<sup>1</sup> and when in the time of Shakespeare his name was spelled in fourteen different ways.<sup>2</sup> This, however, did not prevent that name from

<sup>1</sup> *Nvntii Wilielmi dvcis venervnt ad Widonem.—Vbi nvntii Willelmi. . . .—Hic venit nvntivs ad Wilgelmvm dvcem.—Hic Willielmvs dvx et exercitvs ejvs venervnt ad montem Michaelis.—Hic Willem venit Bagias.—Hic est Wilel.*

<sup>2</sup> In the council book of the corporation of Stratford, during the period that John Shakspeare, the poet's father, was a member of the municipal body, "The

being pronounced then as it is at present, which will show the importance of the rule that, "in reading ancient documents, we should always give the words their modern pronunciation." By following this advice, and commencing with authors of the more recent date, and from them back, century by century to the earlier documents, we have no doubt that, with proper application and some linguistic tact, the student will soon be able to read every specimen in the following pages to his entire satisfaction.

#### OATH OF LOUIS THE GERMAN, A. D. 842.

##### *First monument of the French Language.*

The kings of France of the second race adopted, after the example of Charlemagne, the injudicious practice of dividing their dominions among their children, whose ambition, thus excited, led to a long succession of civil discord. The sons of Louis the Pious, even during his lifetime, were constantly in arms against each other, and often against their father; and their dissensions after his death produced a dreadful waste of blood during the war which was terminated by the destructive battle of Fontenet, in June, 841. It was therefore thought necessary that their reconciliation should be marked by the greatest possible degree of solemnity. Their respective armies assembled at Strasburg, March, 842, as witnesses and parties to the Oath by which they bound themselves to rest satisfied with the division of territory finally adjudged to each; and, that the terms of this Oath might be perfectly intelligible to all, it was translated into the vulgar tongue of the several nations whom it concerned. Louis the German addressed the French army of Charles the Bald in Romance; the latter read his oath in Tudesque or Teutonic, and both received the assent of the troops to the agreement in the same languages, respectively.

It appears from this document, the original of which is preserved in the Vatican Library, and of which a *fac-simile* copy is found on the plate opposite next page, that the Romance of the year 842, which very nearly resembles the present Provençal, was the general language of France, and not a southern dialect, as, from this resemblance, it has been by some supposed, because the provinces of Aquitaine and Neustria were the original dominions of Charles; they were anew confirmed to him by the treaty in question, and their inhabitants furnished the larger part of his army. It is also remarkable that this document, with the exception of the proper names, does not contain a word of Celtic or German origin.

*Ergo xvi kalend. marcii Lodhuwicus et Karolus in civitate, quae olim Argentaria vocabatur, nunc autem Strâsburg vulgo dicitur, convenerunt, et sacramenta, quae subter notata sunt, Lodhuwicus romana, Karolus vero teudisca lingua juraverunt. Ac sic ante sacramentum circumfusam plebem alter teudisca, alter romana lingua alloquuti sunt. Lodhuwicus autem, qui major natu, prior exorsus sic coepit:*

name occurs one hundred and sixty-six times, under fourteen different modes of orthography, viz.: Shackesper, Shackesper, Shacksper, Shaksper, Shakespere, Shaksper, Shakspeare, Shakspeyr, Shakyspere, Shakspeare, Shaxpear. Shaxper, Shaxpere, Shaxpear."—*Litt. Gaz. et Lond. and Par. obs.*, Jan. 5, 1840.





## Oath of Louis-the-German.

Pro dō amur & p̄cipian poblo & rōi cōmun  
 saluament . dist d̄ p̄ auant . in quant  
 saur & poder medunat . si saluarateo .  
 cist meon fradre Karlo . & in ad iudha .  
 & in cad huna cosa . sicū om p̄dre son  
 fradra saluar dist . Ino quid il nuatre  
 si fazet . Et abluher nul plaid nūq̄a  
 prindrai qui meon uol cist . meon fradre  
 Karle in damno sit .

## Oath of the Soldiers of Charles-the-Bald.

Silothu

uing sagrament . que son fradre Karlo  
 urat conseruat . Et Karlus meo sendra  
 deuo part n̄ lofant . si uo returnar non  
 lunt pouz . n̄ cō n̄ eculs cui eo returnar  
 int pouz . in nulla a iudha contra lothu  
 uing nunt uer .

Fac-simile of the oldest monument extant  
 of the French language . A.D. 842, preserved  
 in the library of the Vatican in Rome.

"*Quotiens Lodharius me et hunc fratrem meum,*" etc. *Cumque Karolus haec eadem verba romana lingua perorasset, Lodhuvicus, quoniam major natu erat, prior haec deinde se servaturum testatus est :*

Pro deo amur et pro christian poblo<sup>1</sup> et nostro commun salvament, d'ist di en avant, in quant deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvarai eo cist meon fradre Karlo et in adiuudha et in cadhuna cosa, si cum om per dreit son fradra salvar dist, in o quid il mi altresi fazet, et ab Ludher nul plaid numquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meon fradre Karle in danno sit.

*Quod cum Lodhuvicus explesset, Karolus teudisca lingua sic haec eadem verba testatus est :* In godes minna ind in thes christiânes folches ind unser bêdhêrô gehaltnissi, fon thesemo dage fram-mordes, sô fram sô mir got gewizci indi mahd furgibit, sô haldih tesan mînan bruodher, sôsô man mit rehtû sînan bruodher scal, in thiû thaz er mig sô sama duo, indi mit Ludheren in nohheiniu thing ne gegango, thê minan willon imo ce scadhên werdhên.

*Sacramentum autem quod utrorumque populus quique propria lingua testatus est, romana lingua sic se habet :* Si Lodhuvigs sagrament, que son fradre Karlo<sup>2</sup> jurat, conservat, et Karlus meos sendra de suo part non los tanit, si io returnar non l'int pois, ne io ne neuls, cui eo returnar int pois,<sup>3</sup> in nulla aiudha contra Lodhuvig nun li iv er.<sup>4</sup>

*Teudisca autem lingua :* Oba Karl then eid, then er sînemo

<sup>1</sup> *Christian poblo* is the complement of *salvament*, as *Deo* is the complement of *amur*.

<sup>2</sup> *Fradre Karlo* is the indirect complement of *jurat*.

<sup>3</sup> *Si io returnar non l'int pois*, literally translated is *si je ne puis l'en détourner*. In Latin compound words the prefix *re* has two different meanings: First, that of *rursus*, as in *reficere, relegere*; and, second, that of *retro*, as in *refluere, repellere*. It has the latter meaning in *returnar*, "to turn off; to draw away." *Int* is the Latin *inde*; in the tenth century it was written *ent*. See note 1, page 589.

<sup>4</sup> These last two words, *iv* and *er*, may be somewhat difficult to understand, but are readily accounted for by a comparison with the Teutonic version. The form *er* occurs still in the twelfth century, in the sense of the Latin *ero*; we find the example of it in the *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, i, p. 149:

Amis me seiez e aidables.  
Et j'os er par tut securables;  
Seum mais un en amor fine,  
Leiaus, durable et enterrine.

*iv* is an abbreviation of *ivi*, in Latin *ibi*. In this sentence the adverb *iv* performs the same office as the adverb *int*; both have reference to the same noun, which is not expressed but understood; and one of these adverbs being expressed, clearness and precision require the other to be expressed likewise. The literal translation, therefore, would be: "Si je ne puis l'en (*de ce dessein*) détourner, ni moi ni aucun que je puis en (*de ce dessein*) détourner, ne l'y (*en ce dessein*) serai en aucune aide contre Ludhwig."

Translation into Modern French of the Oath sworn by Louis the German: "Pour l'amour de Dieu, et pour notre commun salut et celui du peuple chrétien, dorénavant, autant que Dieu me donnera savoir et pouvoir, je préserverai mon frère Karle que voilà, et par aide et par toute chose, ainsi qu'on doit, par devoir, préserver son frère, pourvu qu'il en fasse de même pour moi; et ne

brudher Ludhuwige gesuor, geleistit, indi Ludhuwig mfn hërro, then er imo gesuor, forbrihchit, ob ih inan es irwenden ne mag, noh ih noh thêrô nohhein, then ih es irwenden mag, widhar Karle imo ce follusti ne wirdhit.

#### CANTILÈNE DE SAINTE EULALIE.

The manuscript of the following poem on the martyrdom of Sainte Eulalie was discovered in 1837 in the library of the ancient abbey of Saint-Amand, whence it has been taken to the library of Valenciennes, where it is now preserved. The writing of this manuscript bears the character of the tenth century. This poem, which is the earliest yet found in Langue d'oll, presents the kind of imperfect rhymes called "rhymes of assonance," in which *conseilliers* is made to rhyme with *ciel*; *chielt* with *christien*; *tost* with *coist*; *pagiens* with *chief*; *ciel* with *preier*, etc. In the first two lines, and in the last line, it will be also noticed that feminine substantives and adjectives still terminate in *a*, as in Latin.

Buona pulcella<sup>1</sup> fut Eulalia;  
 bel auret corps, bellezour anima.  
 Voldrent la veintre li deo inimi,  
 voldrent la faire dtaule servir.  
 Elle non eskoltet les mals conselliers,  
 qu'elle deo raneiet, chi maent sus en ciel,  
 Ne por or ned argent ne paramenz,  
 por manatce regiel ne preiement.  
 Niule cose non la pouret omque pleier,  
 la polle sempre non amast lo deo menestier.<sup>2</sup>

---

prendrai jamais avec Ludher aucun accommodement qui, par ma volonté, soit au préjudice de mon frère Karle ici présent."

Translation into Modern French of the Oath sworn by the soldiers of Charles the Bald: "Si Ludhwig garde le serment qu'il jure à son frère Karle, et si Karle, mon seigneur, de son côté ne le tient pas, si je ne puis le détourner de cette violation, ni moi ni aucun que je puisse en détourner, nous ne lui serons en cela d'aucun aide contre Ludhwig."

<sup>1</sup> *Pulcella*, in the twelfth century *puclle*, now *pucele*, from the Latin *puella*, itself a diminutive of *puer*, and which also made *polle*, found in the tenth line. Notice that in this passage the complement of the verb *pleier*, after being once expressed by the pronoun *la* is again used as a noun in *polle*. This term, though not now correct, is still heard in the mouth of the people. Prosper Mérimée makes a soldier say: "Cela va nous couter bon pour l'avoir *cette fameuse redoute*;" and Molière:

L'une de son galant, en adroite femelle,  
 Fait fausse confidence à son époux fidèle,  
 Qui dort en sûreté sur un pareil appas,  
 Et le plaint, *ce galant*, des soins qu'il ne prend pas.

*L'École des femmes*, acte I, sc. I.

Notice also the suppression of the conjunction *que* in the same sentence, the full construction of which would be: "Non la pouret omque pleier *que* sempre non amast lo Deo menestier,"—a common ellipsis among the earliest French writers.

<sup>2</sup> In other words: Elle ne se fût laissé persuader de renier Dieu par les mauvais conseillers, ni pour or, etc.

E poro fut presentede Maximien,  
 chi rex eret a cels dis soure pagiens.  
 Il li enortet, dont lei nonque chielt,  
 qued elle fuïet lo nom christiien.  
 Ell' ent adunet lo suon element,  
 melz sostendriet les empedementz,  
 Qu'elle perdesse sa virginitet :<sup>1</sup>  
 poros furet morte a grand honestet.  
 Enz enl fou la getterent, com arde tost.  
 elle colpes non auret, poro nos coïst.  
 A ezo nos voldret concreïdre li rex pagiens ;  
 ad une spede li roveret tolr io chief.  
 La domnizelle celle kose non contredist,  
 volt lo seule lazsier, si ruovet Krist.  
 In figure de colomb volat a ciel.  
 tuit oram, que por nos degnet preier,  
 Qued auisset de nos Christus mercit  
 post la mort et a lui nos laïst venir  
 Par souue clementia.

TRANSLATION.

Eulalie fut une bonne jeune fille ;  
 elle avait beau corps et plus belle âme.  
 Les ennemis de Dieu voulurent triompher d'elle,  
 voulurent lui faire servir le diable.  
 Elle n'eût écouté les mauvais conseillers,  
*afin* qu'elle reniât Dieu qui habite là-haut dans le ciel,  
 ni pour or, ni pour argent, ni pour parures ;  
 ni par menace de roi, ni par prière ;  
 et aucune chose ne la put jamais faire fléchir  
 la jeune fille, *de telle sorte que elle* n'aimât pas toujours le ser-  
 vice de Dieu.  
 Aussi fut-elle traduite devant Maximien,  
 qui était roi des païens à cette époque.  
 Il l'exhorte à ce dont elle ne se soucie jamais,  
*savoir*, qu'elle abandonne le nom chrétien.<sup>2</sup>  
 Avant que d'abandonner ses principes,  
 elle souffrirait plutôt les tortures,  
*Elle souffrirait plutôt* de perdre sa virginité.  
 Pour cela elle est morte avec grand honneur.  
 Ils la jetèrent dans le feu, de façon à la faire brûler vite.

<sup>1</sup> *Sostendriet* has for its first complement a noun (*les empedements*), and for its second an incidental preposition (*qu'elle perdesse sa virginitet*). Such constructions are not uncommon yet in plain colloquial language, such as for instance: Je désire autant que vous votre mariage avec ma cousine et que, tous deux, vous puissiez être heureux ensemble.

<sup>2</sup> *Nom chrétien* is an expression still in use for *christianisme*: Ce sultan fut le plus redoutable ennemi du nom chrétien.

Elle n'avait pas de faute à se reprocher ; c'est pourquoi elle ne brûla pas.

Le roi païen ne se voulut fier à cela ;  
il commanda de lui couper la tête avec une épée.  
La demoiselle ne sy'opposa point ;  
elle veut quitter le monde si Christ l'ordonne.  
Elle s'envola au ciel sous la forme d'une colombe.  
Tous nous prions qu'elle daigne prier pour nous.  
*Afin* que Christ ait pitié de nous  
après la mort, et nous laisse venir à lui  
par sa clémence.

The next important monument in the history of French literature is the "Laws of William the Conqueror," found on pp. 270-273.

#### CHANSON DE ROLAND.

The most ancient French epos, and the most remarkable composition of the period, is the famous *Chanson de Roland*. In its original form it dates back as far as Louis the Pious, whose anonymous biographer informs us that, even then, the heroes who fell at the battle of Roncevaux were the object of popular songs. The form in which it has come down to us is supposed to be from the pen of Turold, a Norman trouvère, the son of William the Conqueror's preceptor, and afterward Abbot of Peterborough. The subject of the poem may be outlined as follows:

Spain is conquered ; Saragossa alone is still holding out, but the Saracen king proposes to surrender the city, and to receive baptism. Ganelon, a Christian knight, is sent to treat about the terms of surrender ; but he proves traitor, and engages the heathen king to hold out until the retreat of the main army, when he promises to lead Roland and the elite of the Christians, who form the rear guard, into an ambush. Every arrangement is made for the intended assault. Charlemagne has commenced his retreat, and the bulk of his army is already across the mountains, when Roland and his band are suddenly attacked by overwhelming forces. In this strait he might easily have summoned to his aid the main body of the army by a mere blast on his *olifant*, an ivory horn of marvelous power, the sound of which would surely have reached the emperor and brought the needed assistance, but he disdained this act of prudence, suggested to him by Oliver, his faithful friend and companion, and determined to meet the enemy on his own ground. Impossible it would be to describe the high deeds of valor attributed to Roland, Archbishop Turpin, Oliver, and the small band of Christian soldiers fighting against fearful odds. Every thing here is grand, noble, and homeric—the site, the struggle, and the prowess of the combatants. Thousands of Saracens are slain, and still their numbers are increasing, while Roland's men, falling one after another, leave him with but few to bear the brunt of battle. Overcome at last, he blows his horn, and the emperor, who knows its sound, hastens back to the aid of his heroic nephew. But too late, alas ! all the soldiers have perished. Oliver, too, has fallen after prodigies of valor. Roland and the Archbishop Turpin once more put to flight a furious band of infidels ; but, utterly exhausted with fatigue and the loss of blood, they die in their turn, still facing the enemy, at the moment their avenger appears on the scene of battle.

The following fragment describes the moment when Roland, exhausted and ready to die, seeks shelter under the shade of a pine-tree near a large rock, against which he tries to break his trusty sword, his famous *Durandal*, lest it may fall into the hands of the infidels :

Ço sent Rollanz la vëue a perdue,  
 met sei sur piez, quanqu'il poet s'esvertlet ;  
 en sun visage sa culur ad perdue.  
 tint Durendal s'espee tute nue.  
 dedevant lui ad une pierre brune :  
 dis colps i fiert par doel e par rancune,  
 cruist li aciers, ne fraint ne ne s'esgruignet.  
 e dist li quens 'sancte Marie, aïue !  
 e, Durendal, bone si mare fustes !  
 'quant jo n'ai prud, de vus nen ai mais cure !  
 tantes batailles en camp en ai vencues  
 e tantes terres larges escumbatues,  
 que Carles tient, ki la barbe ad canue.  
 ne vos ait hum ki pur altre s'en fuiet !  
 mult bons vassals vus ad lung tens tenue,  
 jamais n'iert tels en France l'asolue.'

TRANSLATION.

Roland sent qu'il a perdu la vue ;  
 se lève sur ses pieds, tant qu'il peut s'évertue ;  
 en son visage sa couleur a perdue.  
 Son épée Durendal il la tient toute nue.  
 Devant lui se dressait une pierre brune :  
 de dépit et de fâcherie il y détache dix coups,  
 l'acier grince, sans rompre ni s'ébrécher.  
 Ah ! dit le comte, sainte Marie, aidez-moi !  
 Eh ! bonne Durendal, je plains votre malheur ;  
 vous m'êtes inutile à cette heure , indifférente jamais.  
 J'ai par vous gagné tant de batailles,  
 tant de pays, tant de terres conquises,  
 qu' aujourd'hui possède Charles à la barbe chenue.  
 Jamais homme ne soit votre maître à qui un autre fera peur !  
 Longtemps vous fûtes aux mains d'un capitaine  
 dont jamais le pareil ne sera vu en France, pays libre.

ADMONITION.

*From a Manuscript believed to be from the early part of the Eleventh Century.*

Nos jove omne quan dius estam,  
 de grant follia per folledat parlam,  
 quar no nos membra per cui vivri esperam,  
 qui nos soste tanquan per terra nam,  
 e qui nos pais que no murem de fam,  
 per cui salves mes per pur tan quell clamam.

Nos jove omne menam tar mal jovent,  
 queng nono prezasistrada son parent,  
 senor, ne par sill mena malament,  
 ni lus vel laitre sis fais falls sacrament.

## TRANSLATION.

Nous jeunes hommes tous tant que nous sommes, parlons follement des grandes folies, car il ne nous souvient pas de celui par qui nous espérons vivre, qui nous soutient tant que nous allons sur terre, et qui nous nourrit de peur que nous ne mourions de faim, lui par qui nous sommes sauvés, pourvu que nous elevions notre voix vers lui.

Nous jeunes hommes menons si mal notre jeunesse, qu'aucun de nous ne prend garde aux voies frayées par ses pères et par les anciens ; si elles mènent à mauvaise fin, ni les uns ni les autres ne prennent garde s'ils font un faux serment.

## FROM A SERMON OF THE SAME PERIOD.

*Believed to be a Translation of Saint Athanasius.*

Kikumkes vult salf estre devant totes choses besoning est qu'il tienget la comune foi.

Laquele si caskun entière e néent malmis me ne guarderas sans dotance pardurablement perirat.

Iceste est a certes la comune fei que uns deu en trinitet et la trinitet en unitet aorums. . . .

## TRANSLATION.

Quiconque veut être sauvé, avant toute chose doit tenir la commune foi.

Si chacun ne la garde entière et sans mélange, sans aucun doute il périra pour toujours.

Cette commune foi est bien certainement que un Dieu en Trinité et la Trinité en Unité nous adorions. . . .

## TRANSLATION OF THE PSALMS,

*From the end of the Eleventh Century.*

## LIBRI PSALMORUM VERSIO ANTIQUA GALLICÆ.

## PSALMUS I.

1. Beneurez lí huem chi ne alat el conseil des feluns, e en la veie des peccheurs ne stóut, e en la chaére de pestilence ne sist ;
2. Mais en la lei de nostre seignur lá voluntét de lui, e en la sue

lei purpenserát par jurn é par nuit. 3. Et fert ensemment cume le fust quéd est plantét dejuste les decürs des éwes, chi dunrát sun frut en sun tens. 4. Et sá fúille ne decurrát, e tútes les coses que il unques ferát serúnt fait próspres. 5. Nient eissi li felun, nient eissi : mais ensemment cume la puldre que li venz getet de la face de terre. 6. Empuríce ne resurdent li felun en juíse, ne li pecheur el conseil des dreituríers. 7. Kar nostre sire cundíst la véie des jústes é le eire des felúns perirát.

TRANSLATION.

PSEAUME I.

1. Bienheureux est l'homme qui ne marche point selon le conseil des méchants, et qui ne s'arrête point dans la voie des pécheurs, et qui ne s'assied point au banc des moqueurs ;
2. Mais qui prend plaisir en la loi de l'Eternel et qui médite jour et nuit en sa loi ;
3. Car il sera comme un arbre planté près des ruisseaux d'eaux, qui rend son fruit en sa saison,
4. et duquel le feuillage ne se flétrit point, et ainsi tout ce qu'il fera prospérera.
5. Il n'en sera point ainsi des méchants, mais ils seront comme la poudre que le vent chasse au loin.
6. C'est pourquoi les méchants ne subsisteront point en jugement, ni les pécheurs dans l'assemblée des justes.
7. Car Dieu connaît la voie des justes ; mais la voie des méchants périra.

EXTRACT FROM THE FOUR BOOKS OF KINGS,

*From the beginning of the Twelfth Century.*

LI SECUND LIVRES DES REJS.

Sathanas se eslevad encuntre Israël et entichad David qu'il feist anumbred ces de Israël è ces de Juda. Et li reis cumendad a Joab ki esteit maistre cunestables de la chevalerye le rei qe il alast par tutes les lignées de Israël des Dan jesqe Bersabee è anumbrast le pople.

TRANSLATION.

LE SECOND LIVRE DES ROIS.

Satan s'éleva contre Israël et suggéra à David de faire dénombrer ceux d'Israël et ceux de Juda. Et le roi commanda à Joab, qui était maître connetable de la chevalerie du roi, qu'il allât par toutes les familles d'Israël, depuis Dan jusqu' à Bersabée, et qu'il dénombbrât le peuple.



## SAINT BERNARD.

Saint Bernard was born in 1091, in the village of Fontaine, in Burgundy, and died the 20th of April, 1153. Having become illustrious in the Church, and being endowed with a strong and powerful eloquence, he shook Europe to its very foundations when he preached the Crusades; but, tired of so stormy a life, he retired to his abbey of Clairvaux, to finish his days there. The following extract is taken from a sermon for the Twelfth-night (Epiphany):

Hui vinrent li troi Roi querre lo soloil de justise que neiz estoit, de cui il est escrit : *Cy ke vos uns bers vient, et Orianz en ses nonz.* Il ensevirent hui lo conduit de la novele estoil, et si aorèrent le novel enfant de la Virgine. Ne prenons nos assi granz solaiz ci, sy cum en celei parole del Apostle, dont nos là davant avons parleit? Cil apelet Deu, et cist lo dient assi, mais par oyvre et ne mies par voix.—Ke faites-vous, signor Roi, ke faites-vous? Aoreiz-vous dons un alaitant enfant en une vil maison, et enveloppeit en vilz draz? Est dons cist enfès Deus?—Deus est en son saint temple, et en ciel, en ses sieges, et vos en un vil estaule lo quareiz, et en les cors d'une femme!—Ke faites-vous, ke vos or li offrez assi? Est il dons Rois? Où est li royals sale, et li sieges royals, où sunt li cours et li royals fréquence?—Est dons sale li estaules, siege li maingevre, cors li fréquence de Joseph et de Marie? Coment sunt devenuit si sots si saiges hom ki un petit enfant aorent, ki despeitaules est et por son aige et por la poverteit des siens?

Certes, chier freire, bien faisoit à dotteir ke cist ne fussent escandaliziet, et k'il ne se tenussent por escharniz quant il si grant vilteit, et si grant poverteit vireint?—Des la royal citeit où il cuidarent trover lo Roi, furent tramis en Betléem, petite vilate; en un estaule entrèrent et lai atrovèrent un enfancegnon enveloppeit en povres draz. Nul de totes ces choses ne lor furent à grevance. Li estaules ne lor fut onkes encontre cuer, n'en onkes ne furent ahurteit de povres draz, ne escandaliziet de l'enfance del laitant; anz misent lor genoz à terre, si l'onorarent si cum Roi, et aorèrent si cum Deu. Mais cil mismes les ensaigriavet ki amenes les avoit, et cil mismes les ensaigriavet par dedens en or cuer, ki par l'estoile les semonoit par deforz. Ceste apparicions nostre Signor clarifiet vi cest jor, et li dévociions et li honoremz des Rois lo fait dévot et honoravle.

## TRANSLATION.

A pareil jour, les trois Rois se mirent à la recherche du Soleil de justice qui venait de naître, et dont il est écrit : "*Un Roi vous est né du côté de l'Orient.*" Ils suivirent la route que leur indiqua l'étoile nouvelle, et ils adorèrent l'enfant nouveau-né de la vierge. Ne nous fierons-nous pas autant à cette parole qu'à celle de l'Apôtre dont nous avons parlé tout à l'heure? L'Apôtre appela l'enfant Dieu, et les trois Rois l'appelèrent de même; mais ce fut

par leurs œuvres et non par leurs paroles.—Que faites-vous, seigneurs Rois, que faites-vous? Vous adorez un enfant à la mamelle, dans une vile étable, et enveloppé de vils langes. Cet enfant est-il donc un Dieu?—Dieu est dans son saint temple et dans le ciel, sur son trône, et vous le cherchez dans une vile étable et dans le corps d'une femme!—Que faites-vous, vous qui lui offrez ainsi de l'or? Est-il donc Roi? Où est alors l'appartement royal, le siège royal? où est la cour, où est l'entourage royal?—L'étable est-elle donc une salle de réception, la mangeoire un trône, et la présence de Joseph et de Marie une cour? Comment des hommes sages sont-ils devenus insensés au point d'adorer un petit enfant méprisable par son âge et par la pauvreté des siens?

Certes, chers frères, on devait s'attendre à ce que les Mages seraient scandalisés, et qu'ils se regarderaient comme raillés en voyant un si grand abaissement et une pauvreté si grande.—Au lieu de la cité royale, où ils pensaient trouver le Roi, ils furent conduits à Bethléem, petite bourgade. Là, entrés dans une étable, ils y trouvèrent un tout petit enfant au maillot, enveloppé de pauvres draps. Rien de tout cela ne réussit à les ébranler; l'étable ne leur vint point à contre-cœur, ils ne furent point choqués de la pauvreté des langes, ni scandalisés de l'âge de cet enfant à la mamelle; mais ils mirent les genoux en terre, honorèrent Jésus comme leur Roi, et l'adorèrent comme leur Dieu; car celui-là même les enseignait, qui les avait amenés, et celui-là qui au dehors les avait conduits par une étoile, les guidait aussi au fond de leur cœur. Ce fut le jour où nous sommes qui vit glorifier de la sorte Notre Seigneur. La dévotion et l'hommage des rois rend donc ce jour honorable et le consacre à la dévotion.

#### MAURICE DE SULLY.

Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris, was born of very poor parents in the village of Sully, on the banks of the Loire, and studied at Paris, where he afterward taught theology. In 1165 he baptized Philip Augustus. At this period he had commenced building the cathedral of *Notre Dame*, the corner-stone of which was laid in 1163 by Pope Alexander III. He died the 11th of September, 1196. The following extract from an explanation of the Lord's Prayer, as well as the preceding, both delivered before the people, afford good specimens of the spoken language of that time, and illustrate, moreover, the difference of idiom in the different parts of the country. Both sermons are of the same epoch; but that of Saint Bernard offers an instance of the *provincial Roman* dialect, while that of Maurice de Sully represents the language of Paris, principal center of the *Langue d'oïl*:

En trestotes les paroles et les orisons qui furent onques establies ne dites en terre, si est li plus sainte et li plus haute la *Patre nostre*. Quar ceste noméement establit Deus meismes, et commanda à ses Apostres; et par ses Apostres le commanda à dire a tos ceus qui lui croient. Por ce est-elle plus dite et plus

doit être en sainte église que nule autre orisons ; mais ce saciés, por voir, que tels poés vos estre que plus demandés vos mal que bien à vostre ues quant vos dites la *Patre nostre* ; et porce que vos saciés que vos dites et que vos demandés à Deu quant vos dites la *Patre nostre*, si vos dirons et demosterrons en romans ce que la latre a en soi, et ce que ele nos ensegne, etc.

## TRANSLATION.

De toutes les paroles et les prières qui jamais ont été récitées et dites sur la terre, la plus sainte et la plus haute est le *Pater noster* ; car Dieu lui-même l'établit spécialement, et il commanda à ses Apôtres de la dire, et par eux il enjoignit la même chose à tous ceux qui croient en lui. Aussi le *Pater* est-il et doit-il être récité en sainte Église plus qu'aucune autre prière ; mais apprenez, en vérité, que vous pouvez être tels qu'il arrive que vous demandiez plus de mal que de bien, sans le savoir, quand vous dites le *Pater noster*. Donc, pour que vous sachiez ce que vous dites et ce que vous demandez à Dieu quand vous récitez le *Pater noster*, nous vous dirons ici et démontrerons en langue romane ce que la lettre a en elle-même et ce qu'elle nous enseigne, etc.

While the sermons of Saint Bernard, especially those in which he preaches the Crusades, are more stirring and of a higher order of pulpit eloquence, those of Maurice de Sully are the types of popular religious teaching of the same epoch. His method is always simple and effective. Generally it is the gospel of the day, of which he first gives a version or a paraphrase in the popular idiom, and which he then uses as a text for further development and practical edification, always within reach of his humble hearers. It is thus that his sermons obtained, far and wide, a popularity which has seldom been surpassed. Copied and re-copied by the many theological students who then frequented the University of Paris, there is hardly a library of any note which does not possess some manuscript copy of the homilies of this prelate. Trinity College, Dublin, has a well-preserved copy ; Oxford has another, dating back as far as the year 1197 ; while a manuscript copy of five short sermons, translated into the Kentish dialect, together with their originals in French, is preserved in the Bodleyan Library, and this may even be found printed in "An Old English Miscellany," pages 26-36. As specimens of the style and method of this distinguished orator, we give the following extracts, which will be readily understood without other explanation than a reference to the originals on which they are founded :

## DOMINICA XI POST PENTECOSTE.

*Saint Luke*, xviii, v. 10-14.

"Si lor dist ceste samblance : Doi home aloient al temple orer. Le uns estoit phariseus, le autres publicanus. Phariseu estoient apelez cil qui par religion estoient desevré del poeple et se faisoient juste ne mie por ce quil le fussent, mais il en faisoient le samblant. Publican estoient apelez cil qui par les reches et par les marchiés demandoient les rentes a l'empereor, si faisoient pluisors mals a la gent, et por ce estoient forment pecheor. Le

phariseu sarestoit et si disoit quant il oroit : Dieu toi rent graces que je ne sui mie tels comme cil robeor, ne torconnier, ne encore tels comme cil publicans est. Le publicans estoit loing et ne valt ses iex lever vers le ciel ains les tint vers terre et feroit son pis devant et si disoit : *Deus esto propitius mihi peccatori* ; Dieu, dist-il, pitoyables soiés a moi pecheor. Et comme N. S. D. ot dite ceste samblance si dist : *Amen dico vobis*, voirement dije, dist-il, que cist cest publicans sen ala plus iustes que li phariseus."

## DOMINICA XIII POST PENTECOSTE.

*Saint Luke, x, v. 25-36.*

"Si li dist uns sages de loy : Maistres que feroi-je que puisse avoir la vie perdurable. Et N. S. D. li respondi : Tu ameras Dieu de tot ton cuer, de tote ta force, de tote ta pensée, et ton proisme com toi meisme ; ice si fai si auras la vie perdurable. Dont velt cil glorifier soi meisme, et si dist à N. S. : Et qui est mes proismes ? Et N. S. esgarda amont, et si dist : Uns hom descendi de Iherusalem en Jhericho et chai en la voie as larrons, et il le despoillierent et navrerent, et sen alerent et le laisserent demi mort. Ore avint que uns prestres passe par cele voie et si le vit et si le trespasa, et ne li dist noient. Au daerrain si vint uns hom de la cité qui est apelés Saumarie, en laquelle estoient paien ; et com il le vit si en ot pitié et si aproisma de lui et li oinst ses plaies et si mist oile et vin et le lia et le mist sor sa jument et l'en mena en une estable et si en prist garde. Et l'autre ior prist II. d. et si les dona a lestable si li dist : Tien ces II. d. pren garde de cest hom navré, et quant je revenrai si tu vels rien del mien jel te saudrai. Et quant N. S. ot dite ceste samblance, ensi li demanda lequels, dist-il, te samble qui fu plus prochain a celui qui chai as larrons."

## DOMINICA VI POST PENTECOSTE.

*Saint Luke, xvi, v. 19-25.*

"Nostres sires Dieu nos aparole en l'Evangile dhui par 1 exemple. Si dist qu'il fu 1 riches hom qui se vestoit molt richement de chiers draps de soie et de porpre, et mangoit chascun ior molt richement. Si estoit 1 chaitis povres et mendis, 1 malades qui estoit apelés ladres ; si gisoit devant la porte au riche hom et estoit molt covoiteux quil peut soi saoler des mies qui charroient de la table al rice hom, et li chien venoient a lui et li lechoient ses mains. Apres ce si morut cil riches hom et fu emportés en ynfer, et li ladres morut si lenporterent li angele en paradis, el saim S. Abraham. Li rices hom qui estoit és tormens dyntfer leva ses iex, si vit le ladre qui estoit el saim S. Abraham, si sescria et li dist : *Pater Abraham, miserere mei*, Père Abraham,

aies merci de moi ; envoie moi le ladre qu'il moillette meniel en laigue et le degoutete sor ma langue, *quia crucior in hac flamma*, car je suis crucefiés ens tormens dynfer et en ceste flambe. Abraham li repondi et si li dist : Fiex, dist-il, ramembre toi que tu receus molt de bien en ta vie, et le ladres molt de mals."

#### THE LORD'S PRAYER,

*From a Manuscript of the Eleventh Century.*

Sire Pere que es ès Ciaux,  
 sanctifiez soit li tuens Nons ;  
 avigne li tuens Regnes ;  
 soit faite ta volantè, si comme ele est faite el Ciel, si soit ele  
 faite en Terre.  
 Nostre Pain de chascus Jor nos done hui ; et pardone nos nos  
 Meffais, si come nos pardonons a cos qui meffait nos ont ;  
 Sire ne soffre que nos soions tempté par mauvesse Temptacion,  
 mes sire deliure nos de Mal.

Compare the above with the Lord's Prayer from the psalter of William the Conqueror, page 270.

#### REGNAULT DE COUCY,

More generally known under the name of *Châtelain de Coucy*, is one of the celebrated men of the Middle Ages, with whose life we are but little acquainted. All that we know about him is, that in 1190 he accompanied Richard Coeur-de-Lion to Palestine, where he was killed in 1192, in an encounter with the Saracens, when they endeavored to carry away the English king. He has left us twenty-four songs, which are nearly all models of simplicity, grace, and good taste. One of them commences with the following stanza :

Bele dame me prie de chanter,  
 si est bien drois que je face chançon ;  
 je ne m'en sai ne m'en puis destorner,  
 car n'ai pover de moi, se par li non.  
 Ele a mon cuer, que jà n'en quier oster,  
 et sai de voir qu'il n'i trait se mal non.  
 Or le doinst Dex à droit port ariver :  
 car il s'est mis en mer sans aviron.

#### TRANSLATION.

Belle dame me prie de chanter ; il est bien juste que je fasse une chanson : je ne sais ni ne puis m'en tirer autrement ; car je n'ai pouvoir sur moi-même que par cette dame. Elle a mon cœur, et je ne cherche pas à le lui ôter, sachant, de vrai, qu'il ne

peut que lui arriver du mal ; aussi, que Dieu lui donne d'arriver à bon port, car il s'est mis en mer sans aviron.

JOFFROI DE VILLE-HARDOUIN.

Joffroi de Ville-Hardouin was born about the year 1167. He was present at the taking of Constantinople in 1204. The Emperor Baudouin gave him the post of marshal of Romania. He died in Thessalia about the year 1213. The only work he produced is a history of the conquest of Constantinople, which comprises a space of nine years, from 1198 to 1207. His work does not possess the fascination and simplicity of Joinville (see page 619), but Ville-Hardouin writes with vigorous eloquence, and relates many interesting facts which give to the reader a better idea of chivalry and feudalism at their best than any other work. Speaking of the arrival of the Crusaders before Constantinople, he says :

Or poez savoir que mult esgarderent Constantinople cil qui onques mais ne l'avoient veue ; que il ne povient mie cuidier que si riche vile peust estre en tot le mond. Cum il virent ces halz murs, et ces riches tours dont ère close tot entor a la ronde, et ces riches palais, et ces haltes yglises dont il i avait tant que nuls ne poist croire se il ne le veist a l'oïl, et le lonc et le lé de la vile que de totes les autres ère souveraine. Et sachiez que il n'i ot si hardi, cui le cuer ne fremist ; et ce ne fut mie merveille, que onques si grant affaires ne fu empris de tant de gent puis que li monz fu estoré.

TRANSLATION.

Or vous pouvez penser qu'ils regardèrent beaucoup Constantinople, ceux qui ne l'avaient jamais vue ; car ils ne pouvaient croire que dans tout le monde il se trouvât une ville aussi riche. Comme ils virent ces hauts murs, et ces riches tours dont la ville était entourée, et ces riches palais, et ces hautes églises dont il y avait tant que nul ne pourrait le croire s'il ne l'eût vu de ses yeux, et le long et le large de la ville qui de toutes les autres était souveraine. Et sachez qu'il n'y eut de si hardi à qui le cocur ne battit ; et ce ne fut point merveille, car jamais de si grandes affaires ne furent entreprises par tant de gens, depuis le commencement du monde.

THIBAUT IV, KING OF NAVARRE AND COUNT OF CHAMPAGNE.

Thibaut IV, son of Thibaut III, Count of Champagne and Brie, was born in 1201. In 1234 he succeeded his maternal uncle, Sanche-le-Fort, King of Navarre, and shortly after joined the Crusaders. On his return he applied himself to the government of his states, and made himself beloved by his people. He cultivated literature, and, having a love for poetry, covered with honors those who distinguished themselves in this art. He died at Pampeluna, in June, 1253. Thibaut was the first who mingled masculine and feminine rhymes,

and as such created an era in the history of French poetry. There is much grace and *naïveté* in his compositions. The following stanzas are from a song written to excite the Crusaders :

## ORIGINAL TEXT.

Signor, sachiez, ki or ne s'en ira  
 en cele terre, u Diex fu mors et vis,  
 et ki la crois d'outre mer ne prendra,  
 a paines mais ira en paradis.  
 Ki a en soi pitié et ramembrance  
 au haut seignor, doit querre sa vengeance,  
 et délivrer sa terre et son país.

Diex se laissa por nos en crois pener,  
 et nous dira au jour où tuit venront :  
 " Vos, qui ma crois m'aidâtes à porter,  
 vos en irez là, où li angele sont ;  
 là me verrez, et ma mère Marie.  
 Et vos, par qui je n'oi onques aie,  
 descendez tuit en enfer le parfont."

Douce dame, roine coronée,  
 proiez por nos, virge bien eurée,  
 et puis après ne nos puit meschéoir.

## TRANSLATION.

Seigneur, sachez que celui qui ne s'en ira en cette terre où Dieu mourut et vecut, et ne prendra pas la crois d'outre-mer, aura grande peine à gagner le paradis. Qui en soi a pitié et souvenir du Haut Seigneur doit chercher à le venger, et à delivrer sa terre et son pays.

Dieu se laissa martyriser en crois pour nous, et il nous dira au jour où tous viendront devant lui : " Vous qui m'aidâtes à porter ma crois, allez où sont les anges : là vous me verrez avec ma mère Marie. Et vous par qui je n'eus jamais aucun aide, descendez tous en profond enfer."

Douce dame, reine couronnée, priez pour nous, Vierge bienheureuse, et qu'après la mort il ne nous arrive point de mal.

## GUILLAUME DE LORRIS.

This poet flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century, and died about the year 1262. It was he who first undertook the "*Roman de la Rose*," of which, however, he only composed the first part. He was endowed with a brilliant and fertile imagination, his versification is always easy, and his style natural. His poems abound in rich descriptions, pictures of manners and maxims of

morality. Clément Marot called him "the French Ennius." The following extract, portraying "Time," is a fair specimen of the author's style :

Li tens s'en va nuit et jor  
 sans repos prendre et sans séjor,  
 et de nous se part et emble  
 si celément, qu'il nous semble  
 qu'il s'arreste adès en ung point,  
 et il ne s'i arreste point ;  
 Ains ne fine de trespasser,  
 que nus ne puet néis penser  
 quex tens ce est qui est présens  
 Sel' demandés as clers lisans,  
 ainçois que l'en l'eust pensé,  
 seroit-il jà le tens passé.

TRANSLATION.

Le temps marche nuit et jour, sans prendre de repos et sans séjour ; il se sépare de nous et nous quitte si doucement qu'il nous semble qu'il s'arrête en un point, tandis qu'il ne s'y arrête pas ; il ne cesse, au contraire, de passer outre, tellement que personne ne peut dire quel est le temps présent. Si vous le demandez aux clercs qui savent lire, avant que ceux-ci n'aient répondu, ce temps sera déjà le temps passé.

JEHAN DE MEUNG.

Jehan de Meung, who continued the work of Lorris, was born in 1260, and died in 1320. Though possessed of less warmth and imagination, he was not the less a poet of great merit, and passed for one of the most learned men of his time. The numerous beauties of the "Roman de la Rose" excited his admiration, and induced him to continue the work. He succeeded so well that this poem, so renowned in former ages, is still relished by those who understand its antiquated language. "This poem," says Warton, "is esteemed by the French the most valuable piece of their old poetry. It is far beyond the rude efforts of all their preceding romancers ; and they have nothing equal to it before the reign of Francis I, who died in the year 1547. But there is a considerable difference in the merit of the two authors. William of Lorris, who wrote not one quarter of the poem, is remarkable for his elegance and luxuriance of description, and is a beautiful painter of allegorical personages. John of Meung is a writer of another cast. He possesses but little of his predecessor's inventive and poetical vein ; and in that respect he was not properly qualified to finish a poem begun by William of Lorris. But he has strong satire and great liveliness. He was one of the wits of the court of Charles le Bel. The difficulties and dangers of a lover in pursuing and obtaining the object of his desires are the literal argument of this poem. This design is couched under the argument of a rose, which our lover, after frequent obstacles, gathers in a delicious garden. He traverses vast ditches, scales lofty walls, and forces the gates of adamantina and almost impregnable castles. These enchanted fortresses are all inhabited by various divinities ; some of which assist, and some oppose, the lover's progress." The entire poem consists of no fewer than 22,734 verses, of



which only 4,149 are the composition of William of Lorris. All this portion has been translated by Chaucer, and also about half of the 18,588 lines written by De Meung; his version comprehends 13,105 lines of the French poem. These, however, he has managed to comprehend in 7,701 (Warton says 7,699) English verses: this is effected by a great compression and curtailment of De Meung's part; for, while the 4,149 French verses of De Lorris are fully and faithfully rendered in 4,432 English verses, the 8,956 that follow by De Meung are reduced in the translation to 3,269. The following extract, in which the author describes an ideal beauty, will give an idea of the general style of his work:

Icele dame ot nom Biautés.  
 El ne fu obscure, ne brune,  
 ains fu clère comme la lune,  
 envers qui les autres estoiles  
 ressemblent petites chandoiles.  
 Tendre ot la char comme rousée,  
 simple fu cum une espousée,  
 et blanche comme flor de lis.  
 Si ot le vis cler et alis,  
 et fu greslete et alignie.  
 Ne fu fardée ne guignie,  
 car el n'avoit mie mestier  
 de soi tifer ne d'afetier.  
 Les cheveus ot blons et si lons  
 qu'il li batoient as talons;  
 Nez ot bien fait, et yelx et bouche.  
 Moult grant douçor au cuer me touche,  
 si m'aïst Diex, quant il me membre  
 de la façon de chascun membre,  
 qu'il n'ot si bele fame où monde.  
 Briément el fu jonete et blonde,  
 sade, plaisant, aperte et cointe,  
 grassete et gresle, gente et jointe.

## TRANSLATION.

Cette dame s'appelait Beauté. Elle n'était ni noire ni brune, mais claire comme la lune, à l'égard de laquelle les autres étoiles semblent de petites lumières. Elle eut la chair tendre comme de la rosée; elle fut simple comme une fiancée et blanche comme une fleur de lys. Elle eut le visage clair et joyeux; elle fut frêle et régulière. Elle n'avait ni fard ni autres appas trompeurs, car elle n'avait pas besoin de s'attifer ni de s'arranger. Ses cheveux étaient blonds et si longs qu'ils lui tombaient jusqu'aux talons. Son nez était bien fait, ainsi que ses yeux et sa bouche. Il me vient une grande joie au cœur quand, avec l'aide de Dieu, je me rappelle ses traits en détail. Il n'y eut jamais plus belle femme au monde. En un mot, elle était jeune et blonde, gracieuse, agréable, ouverte et polie, grasse et grêle, jolie et bien mise.

TRANSLATION OF THE STABAT MATER.

*From the first half of the Thirteenth Century.*

Delés la croix moult doloureuse  
estoit la mere glorieuse,  
plourant quant son doulx filz pandoit ;  
le glague de sa mort crüeuse  
son ame digne et precieuse  
a grant doleur par my passoit.

O benoiste vierge Marie,  
comment tu fus triste et marie,  
quant tu veiz ton cher enfant,  
de duels et de pleurs si remplie  
et de grant torment amortie,  
pendre en la croiz villainement.

Qui est celuy, tres dousce mere,  
qui te veïst ainsi amere  
et en si doloureux torment,  
qui n'eust pitié de la misere  
du filz et de toy, vierge mere,  
et ne plorast amerement ?

En ta presence, vierge pure,  
tu vëois a si grant laidure  
mourir ton doulx filz debonnaire  
pour le peché et forfaiture  
de toute humaine créature :  
ce te fist rage d'amour faire.

O mere, fontaine d'amour,  
fay moy sentir ta grant dolour,  
et qu'avec toy puisse plorer ;  
fay que mon cuer par grant ardour  
puisse Jesus son doulx seignour  
servir, aymer et honorer.

O sainte mere vierge et gente,  
fay que mon cueur endure sente  
les playes que ton filz souffrit  
en la croiz davant toy dolente  
pour mon ame vile et püante  
et si honteusement mourit.

ORIGINAL TEXT.

Stabat Mater dolorosa,  
Juxta crucem lacrymosa,  
Dum pendebat Filius.

Cujus animam gementem,  
 Contristatam et dolentem,  
 Pertransivit gladius.

O quam tristis et afflicta,  
 Fuit illa benedicta,  
 Mater Unigeniti!

Quæ mœrebat et dolebat,  
 Pia Mater dum videbat  
 Nati pœnas inçlyti.

Quis est homo qui non fletet,  
 Matrem Christi si videret  
 In tanto supplicio?

Quis non posset contristari,  
 Christi Matrem contemplari  
 Dolentem cum Filio?

Pro peccatis suæ gentis,  
 Vidit Jesum in tormentis  
 Et flagellis subditum.

Vidit suum dulcem natum,  
 Moriendo desolatum,  
 Dum emisit spirtum.

Eia Mater, fons amoris,  
 Me sentire vim doloris  
 Fac ut tecum lugeam.

Fac ut ardeat cor meum  
 In amando Christum Deum,  
 Ut sibi complaceam.

Sancta Mater istud agas  
 Crucifixi fige plagas  
 Cordi meo valide.

Tui nati vulnerati,  
 Tam dignati pro me pati,  
 Pœnas mecum divide.

Fac me tecum pie flere  
 Crucifixo condolere  
 Donec ego vixero.

Juxta crucem tecum stare,  
 Et me tibi sociare  
 In planctu desidero.

## JEHAN DE JOINVILLE.

Jehan, sire de Joinville was born in 1223, and died in 1317. He passed his youth at the elegant court of Thibault, King of Navarre, where he early acquired the habits of fine speaking and narrating with that charming simplicity which particularly distinguish his style. In 1248 he set out for the holy land with King Louis IX, to whom he was devotedly attached, and whose life he afterward wrote. With an almost saintly piety, an affectionate and devoted character, a mind as candid and as pure as that of a child, Joinville is one of the writers of the Middle Ages whom we always read with renewed pleasure. He surprises us much by the solidity of his good sense, as he charms by his touching language, when he relates the beautiful actions of his royal friend whose reputation for holiness, justice, and virtue he establishes with a rare eloquence, by means of which he, more than any other author, has contributed to bestow on this prince the surname of *saint*, by which he is generally distinguished in French history. He thus describes the ready and unostentatious mode of the king's dispatching business :

Maintes foiz avint que en esté, il aloit seoir au boiz de Vincennes après sa messe, et se acostoioit à un chesne et nous fesoit seoir entour li ; et tous ceulz qui avoient à faire venoient parler à li ; sans destourbier de huissier ne d'autre. Et lors il leur demandoit de sa bouche : A yl ci nullui qui ait partie ? Et cil se levoient qui partie avoient ; et lors il disoit : Taisiez vous tous, et on vous déliverra l'un après l'autre. Et lors il appelloit monseigneur Pierre de Fontaines et monseigneur Geoffroy de Villette, et disoit à l'un d'eulz : Délivrez moi ceste partie. Et quant il véoit aucune chose à amender en la parole de ceulz qui parloient pour autrui, il meisme l'amendoit de sa bouche. Je le vi aucune fois en esté, que pour délivrer sa gent, il venoit ou jardin de Paris, une cote de chamelot vestue, un seurot de tyreteinne sanz manches, un mentel de cendal noir entour son col, moult bien pigné et sanz coife, et un chapel de paon blanc sur sa teste, et fesoit estendre tapis pour nous seoir entour li. Et tout le peuple qui avoit à faire par devant li, estoit entour li en estant, et lors il les fesoit délivrer, en la manière que je vous ai dit devant du bois de Vincennes.

## TRANSLATION.

Mainte fois il advint qu'en été, il allait s'asseoir au bois de Vincennes après la messe, et s'appuyait à un chêne et nous faisait asseoir autour de lui, et tous ceux qui avaient affaire venaient lui parler, sans empêchement d'huissier ni d'autres. Alors, il leur demandait de sa bouche : "Y a-t-il quelqu'un qui ait partie ?" Et ceux qui avaient partie se levaient, et il leur disait : "Taisez-vous tous, et on vous expédiera l'un après l'autre." Et alors il appelait monseigneur Pierre de Fontaines et monseigneur Geoffroy de Villette, et disait à l'un d'eux : "Expédiez moi cette partie." Et quand il voyait quelque chose à amender dans le discours de ceux qui parlaient pour autrui, lui-même il l'amendait de sa bouche.

Je le vis quelquefois, en été, venir pour expédier ses gens au jardin de Paris, vêtu d'une cotte de camelot, d'un surtout de tiretaine sans manche, d'un manteau de taffas noir, autour du col, bien peigné et sans coiffe, et un chapel de paon blanc sur la tête : il faisait étendre un tapis pour nous faire asseoir autour de lui, et tous ceux qui avaient affaire à lui se tenaient debout devant lui, et alors il les faisait expédier de la manière que je vous ai dit qu'il faisait au bois de Vincennes.

### JEHAN FROISSART.

Jehan Froissart was born at Valenciennes about the year 1338. Destined at first for the clergy, he was educated accordingly ; but his tastes withdrew him from the priesthood. He early felt a desire to learn, and knew but one way to satisfy it, which was to travel, so a great part of his life was spent on horseback. He first went to Spain, where he followed the Black Prince ; then to Italy in company with the Duke of Clarence ; afterward he remained a long time with Richard II, who received him as his father's old friend. After the frightful catastrophe which precipitated the English monarch from his throne, Froissart was so much afflicted at so horrible a scene that he returned to Flanders, where it is believed he died in 1401. His Chronicle is certainly the truest and most lively picture that any writer has bequeathed to us of the spirit of a particular era ; it shows " the very age and body of the time, its form and pressure." Chivalry was the object of his most profound admiration. Brilliant tournaments, and high deeds of arms he celebrates with transport ; but above all he excels in portraying the disorders, ravages, and cruelties which rendered the state of society of this epoch a curse to the middle and lower classes. Candor, integrity, and vivacity form the principal traits of this author, and give an inestimable value to his writings. A remarkably pure translation of Froissart's Chronicles was made by Lord Berners, and published in 1523. The language of his time was exceedingly well suited to render the chivalrous pages of Froissart with picturesque effect, and his translation from this point of view is preferable to the modern one by Mr. Johnes. Mr. Marsh says : " This translation is doubtless the best English prose style which had yet appeared, and, as a specimen of picturesque narrative, it is excelled by no production of later periods." The following extract describes the touching scene of the burghers of Calais bringing the keys of the city to King Edward III :

*Comment les six bourgeois se partirent de Palais, tous nus en leurs chemises, la hart<sup>1</sup> au col, et les clefs de la ville en leurs mains ; et comment la roine d'Angleterre leur sauva les vies.*

. . . . Le roy étoit à cette heure en sa chambre, à grand' compagnie de comtes, de barons et de chevaliers. Si<sup>2</sup> entendit que ceux<sup>3</sup> de Calais venoient en l'arroy<sup>4</sup> qu'il avoit devisé et ordonné ; et se mit hors, et s'en vint en la place devant son hôtel, et tous ces seigneurs après lui, et encore grand' foison qui y survinrent pour voir ceux de Calais, ni comment ils fineroient ; et même la roine d'Angleterre, qui moult étoit enceinte, suivit le roy son seigneur. Si vint messire Gautier de Mauny et les bourgeois de-lez<sup>5</sup> lui qui le suivoient, et descendit en la place, et puis s'envint devers le roy et lui dit : " Sire, vecy<sup>6</sup> la représenta-

tion de la ville de Calais à votre ordonnance." Le roy se tint tout coi et les regarda moult fellement,<sup>7</sup> car moult héoit<sup>8</sup> les habitans de Calais, pour les grands dommages et contraires que au temps passé sur mer lui avoient faits. Ces six bourgeois se mirent tantôt<sup>9</sup> à genoux pardevant le roy, et dirent ainsi en joignant leurs mains: "Gentil sire et gentil roy, vééz<sup>10</sup>-nous cy six, qui avous été d'ancienneté bourgeois de Calais et grands marchands: si<sup>11</sup> vous apportons les clefs de la ville et du châtel de Calais et les vous rendons à votre plaisir, et nous mettons en tel point que vous nous vééz, en votre pure volonté, pour sauver le demeurant<sup>12</sup> du peuple de Calais, qui a souffert moult de griévetés. Si veuillez avoir de nous pitié et mercy par votre très haute noblesse." Certes il n'y eut adonc en la place seigneur, chevalier, ni vaillant homme, qui se pût abstenir de pleurer de droite pitié, ni qui pût de grand' pièce parler. Et vraiment ce n'étoit pas merveille; car c'est grand'-pitié de voir hommes déchecoir et estre en tel estat et danger. Le roy les regarda très ireusement,<sup>13</sup> car il avait le cœur si dur et si épris de grand courroux qu'il ne put parler. Et quand il parla, il commanda qu'on leur coupât tantôt les têtes. Pour les barons et les chevaliers qui là étoient, en pleurant prioient si acertes<sup>14</sup> que faire pouvoit au roy qu'il en voulût avoir pitié et mercy; mais il n'y vouloit entendre. Adonc parla messire de Mauny et dit: "Ha! gentil sire, veuillez refréner votre courage: vous avez le nom et la renommée de souveraine gentillesse et noblesse; or ne veuillez donc faire chose par quoi elle soit amenrie,<sup>15</sup> ni que on puisse parler sur vous en nulle vilenie. Si vous n'avez pitié de ces gens, toutes autres gens diront que ce sera grand' cruauté, si vous êtes si dur que vous fassiez mourir ces honnestes bourgeois, qui de leur propre volenté se sont mis en votre mercy pour les autres sauver." A ce point gringna le roy les dents<sup>16</sup> et dit: "Messire Gautier, souffrez vous;<sup>17</sup> il n'en sera autrement, mais on fasse venir le coupe-teste.<sup>18</sup> Ceux de Calais ont fait mourir tant de mes hommes, que il convient ceux-cy mourir aussi."

Adonc fit la noble roine d'Angleterre grand' humilité, qui estoit durement enceinte, et pleuroit si tendrement de pitié que elle ne se pouvoit soutenir. Si se jeta à genoux pardevant le roy son seigneur et dit ainsi: "Ha! gentil sire, depuis que je repassai la mer en grand péril, si comme vous savez, ne vous ai rein requis ni demandé; or<sup>19</sup> vous prié-je humblement et requiers en propre don, que pour le fils Sainte Marie, et pour l'amour de moi vous veuillez avoir de ces six hommes mercy. Le roy attendit un petit<sup>20</sup> à parler, et regarda la bonne dame sa femme, qui pleuroit à genoux moult tendrement; si lui amollia le cœur, car envis,<sup>21</sup> l'eût couroucée au point où elle étoit; si dit: "Ha! dame, j'aimasse trop mieux que vous fussiez autre part que cy. Vous me priez si acertes que je ne le vous ose escondire;<sup>22</sup> et combien que je le fasse envis, tenez, je vous les donne; si en

faites votre plaisir." La bonne dame dit : " Monseigneur, très grands mercis " ! Lors se leva la roine et fit lever les six bourgeois et leur ôter les chevestres<sup>23</sup> d'entour leur cou, et les emmena avec li<sup>24</sup> en sa chambre, et les fit revêtir et donner à diner tout aise, et puis donna à chacun six nobles, et les fit conduire hors de l'ost<sup>25</sup> à sauveté ; et s'en allerent habiter et demeurer en plusieurs villes de Picardie.

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1, La corde dont en étranglait les criminels. 2, il. 3, les gens. 4, état. 5, après. 6, voici. 7, durement. 8, haïssait. 9, tout de suite. 10, voyez. 11, nous. 12, reste. 13, en colère. 14, sérieusement. 15, amoindrie, diminuée. 16, grinça des dents. 17, permettez. 18, bourreau. 19, maintenant, aujourd'hui. 20, un peu. 21, malgré soi. 22, refuser. 23, cordes. 24, elle. 25, armée.

#### CHARLES D'ORLÉANS.

Charles d'Orléans, father of Louis XII, and uncle of Francis I, King of France, was born at Paris in 1391. From childhood he applied himself to letters, whence he derived great consolation afterward amid the misfortunes which assailed his long and stormy life. Vanquished twice in the space of a few years, he was taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt, and carried to England, where he remained twenty-five years. In the year 1440, Philippe-le-Bon, Duke of Burgundy, brought him back to France, where he died the 8th of January, 1467. His compositions display that elegance of tone and aristocratic diction which seem to belong only to very cultivated eras. His style is always fine and graceful ; but he is a poet in heart when he speaks of France and of the numerous friends whom he left there.

#### SUR LE BRUIT QU'ON AVAIT RÉPANDU DE SA MORT.

Nouvelles ont couru en France  
par maints lieux que j'estoye mort,  
dont avoient peu desplaisance  
aucuns qui me hayent à tort.  
Aultres en ont eu disconfort,  
qui m'ayment de loyal vouloir,  
comme mes bons et vrais amis.  
Si fais à toutes gens sçavoir  
qu'encore est vive la souris.

Je n'ay eu ne mal, ne grevance,  
Dieu mercy ! mais suis sain et fort :  
et passe temps en espérance  
que paix, qui trop longuement dort,  
s'esveillera et par accort,  
a tous fera liesse avoir.  
Pour ce, de Dieu soient maudis  
ceux qui sont dolents de veoir,  
qu'encore est vive la souris.

Jeunesse sur moy a puissance,  
 mais veillesse fait son effort  
 de m'avoir en sa gouvernance.  
 A présent faillira son sort ?  
 Je suis assez loing de son port,  
 de ploures vueil garder mon hoir.  
 Loué soit Dieu de paradis  
 qui m'a donné force et pouvoir  
 qu'encore est vive la souris.

Nul ne porte pour moy le noir.  
 On vent meillieur marchié drap gris.  
 Or tiengne chascun pour tout voir  
 qu'encore est vive la souris.

OLIVIER BASSELIN,

A mighty drinker and a good singer; was born in 1350, in the district of Vire, near Vaux, where he had a fulling-mill. Tradition points to his wife as the working partner of the firm, which suffered from his inattention to business to such an extent as finally to cause his relations to interfere and to sequester, alienate, or put in safe keeping the mill, if not the person of Basselin himself. Though we have no detailed particulars about his life, we gather from certain of his songs some which relate to his habits and preferences. Thus we learn that he preferred wine of Orleans to any other when he could get it; that he drank cider when he could not get wine, and perry when he could not get cider. His songs, which were especially drinking songs, were called *vaux-de-vire*, probably because they were first sung in or about his native place. These songs, sixty-two of which are still extant, were the origin of the French *vaudeville*, a sort of play whose dialogue is intermingled with light or comic songs. Our poet, as we have said, was fond of his cup, and his countenance showed it. One day, some of his friends having remarked on the color of his nose, he wrote the following lines:

Beau nez dont les rubis ont couste mainte pipe  
 de vin blanc et claret,  
 et duquel la couleur richement participe  
 du rouge et violet;

Gros nez ! qui te regarde à travers un grand verre  
 te juge encore plus beau :  
 tu ne ressemble point au nez de quelque hère  
 qui ne boit que de l'eau.

Un coq d'Inde sa gorge à toy semblable porte.  
 Combien de riches gens  
 n'ont pas si riche nez ! Pour te peindre en la sorte,  
 il faut beaucoup de temps.

Le verre est le pinceau duquel on t'enlumine ;  
 Le vin est la couleur



dont on t'a peint ainsi plus rouge qu'une guisne  
en buvant du meilleur.

On dit qu'il nuit aux yeux : mais seront ils les maistres ?  
Le vin est guairison  
de mes maux ; j'aime mieux perdre les deux fenestres  
que toute la maison.

### FRANÇOIS VILLON.

François Corbueil, called Villon, was born at Paris in the year 1431. Little is known of the circumstances of his life from his contemporaries. He himself relates that, born of poor parents, and associating with young men of dissolute habits, he soon became a knave and robber, and at the age of twenty-five had been imprisoned several times. At length an important robbery caused him, with several others, to be condemned to be hanged. It was then that he composed the following ballad on the approaching exposition of their bodies on the gallows of Montfaucon. However, by the intercession of Louis XI, who appreciated his talent, the parliament commuted his sentence of death to that of perpetual banishment, when he crossed over to England, where, according to Rabelais, he also knew how to gain the good graces of Edward IV. The verses of Villon are generally well turned, his rhyme is rich, and his works are full of wit. If at a first reading he is more difficult to comprehend than Charles of Orléans, it is because he is more true, more local, and more French. The language of Charles of Orléans is the idiom used among the higher classes in France, and at the court of Henry V of England, where the courtiers affected to speak nothing but French. Villon, on the contrary, wrote the French of the people of Paris, and took his language from the places where his ideas originated. He is the first French poet who has emancipated himself from chivalric gallantry, metaphysical abstractions, insipid allegories, and the confused and unintelligible learning of his predecessors, and has made national poetry come from its true source, the people.

La pluye nous a débuez et lavez,  
et le soleil desséchez et noirciz,  
pies, corbeaux, nous ont les yeux cavez,  
et arraché la barbe et les sourcilz.  
Jamais nul temps nous ne sommes rassiz,  
puis ça, puis là, comme le vent varie,  
à son plaisir sans cesse nous charie,  
plus becquetez d'oyseaux que des à coudre.  
Hommes, ici n'usez de mocquerie,  
mais priez Dieu que tous nous veuille absouldre.

When he arose above the trivial, his language often reached the sublime. The following lines remind us of Shakespeare's scene of the grave-diggers :

Quand je considère ces têtes  
entassées en ces charniers,  
tous furent maîtres des requêtes,  
ou tous de la chambre aux deniers,  
ou tous furent porte-paniers (porte-faix).

autant puis l'un que l'autre dire :  
 car d'évêques ou lanterniers  
 je n'y connais rien à redire.

Et icelles qui s'inclinaient  
 une contre autres en leurs vies ;  
 desquelles les unes régnaient,  
 des autres craintes et servies ;  
 là les vois, toutes assouvies  
 ensemble en un tas pêle-mêle.  
 seigneuries leur sont ravies :  
 clerc ni maître ne s'y appelle.

PHILIPPE DE COMINES.

Philippe de Comines was born in 1445, of one of the most illustrious families in Flanders, and died the 16th of August, 1509. It is extremely difficult to class the chroniclers of different centuries by their order of merit. However, general opinion places Comines at the head of the French authors, previous to Montaigne, his great admirer. His style is elegant and nervous, equally free from harshness and affectation. Comines was a skillful observer of human nature, which enabled him to draw his characters with truth and accuracy. He has written with a rare talent the history of the memorable reign of Louis XI ; unfortunately the mind of the author was too much in accordance with that of the monarch, the most despotic that has ever reigned, not to affect his impartiality as a historian.

*Comment le Roy Loys XI feist faire plusieurs cages de fer dont en l'une fust mis l'auteur de ce liure l'espace de huit mois.*

Il est vrai qu'il auoit fait de rigoureuses prisons, comme cages de fer et d'autres de bois, couuertes da pates de fer par le dehors et par le dedans, avec terribles fermures, de huit pieds de large, de la hauteur d'un homme, et un pied plus. Le premier qui les deuisa fust l'euesque de Verdun, qui, en la première qui fust faite, fust mis incontinent, et y a couché quatorze ans. Plusieurs depuis l'ont maudit, et moy aussi qui en ay tasté soubz le Roy de present huit mois. Autres fois auoit fait faire a des Allemans, des fers trespesans et terribles pour mettre aux pieds. Et y restoit vn anneau pour mettre au pied fort mal aisé a ouurir, comme a vn carquant, la chaine grosse et pesante : et vne grosse boulle de fer au bout beaucoup plus pesante que n'estoit de raison, et les apeloit on les fillettes du Roy.

CLÉMENT MAROT.

Clément Marot, son of Jean Marot, a poet of some note himself, was born at Cahors, in 1497, and came very young to Paris. His father destined him for the magistracy, but Marot, who already felt in himself the genius of poetry, very

soon abandoned the dry study of law, and found himself a situation in the household of Marguerite de Valois, sister of Francis I. At the age of seventeen he distinguished himself by some charming compositions, which gained him the favor of this prince. Without ceasing to be as popular as Villon, Marot rather succeeds Thibault and Charles of Orléans, as he gained from the delicate and witty conversations of men of taste and noble ladies a certain elegance and a peculiar euphony, only to be acquired in the company of well-bred women, and of which advantage Villon had been utterly deprived. In other respects Marot entirely resembles the latter. Poets of the same family, chance left the elder in the mire of the streets, and raised the younger to the service of the court. Hence the difference in the tone of their writings. Each, however, remained true to his origin, natural, and frank, and kept free from all the sentimental affectation of the old school. Marot has not so much changed as improved the rules of French poetry, by giving it a more easy turn, and especially by infusing more grace, spirit, and amiable satire through his verses than had been done before. His compositions abound in wit and good humor. Once, when he wanted to borrow money from the king, he addressed him the following *épître* :

On dit bien vray, la mauvaise fortune  
ne vient jamais qu'elle n'en apporte une  
ou deux ou trois avecques elle, sire ;  
Votre cœur noble en sçauroit bien que dire :  
Et moy, chétif, qui ne suis roy, ni rien,  
l'ay éprouvé ; et vous conteray bien,  
si vous voulez, comment vint la besogne.

J'avois un jour un valet de Gascogne,  
gourmand, ivrogne, et assuré menteur,  
pipeur,<sup>1</sup> larron, jureur, blasphémateur,  
sentant la hart de cent pas à la ronde,  
au demeurant le meilleur fils du monde.

Ce vénérable ilot<sup>2</sup> fut averti  
de quelque argent que m'aviez départi,  
et que ma bourse avoit grosse apostume.  
Si se leva plutôt que de coutume,  
et me va prendre en tapinois ycelle ;  
puis la vous met très-bien sous son esselle,  
argent et tout (cela cø doit entendre) ;  
et ne crois point que ce fut pour la rendre,  
car oncques puis n'en ay ouy parler.

Bref, le vilain ne s'en voulut aller  
pour si petit, mais encore il me happe  
saye,<sup>3</sup> bonnets, chausses, pourpoint et cappe ;  
de mes habits, en effet, il pilla  
tous les plus beaux ; et puis s'en habilla  
si justement, qu'à le voir ainsi estre,  
vous l'eussiez pris, en plein jour, pour son maistre.  
Finalement, de ma chambre il s'en va  
droit à l'étable, où deux chevaux trouva ;

laisse le pire, et sur le meilleur monte,  
pique et s'en va. Pour abréger le conte,  
soyez certain qu'au partir dudit lieu  
n'oublia rien, fors à me dire adieu.

Ainsi s'en va, chatouilleux de la gorge,<sup>4</sup>  
ledit valet, monté comme un saint George ;  
et vous laissa monsieur dormir son saoul,  
qui au réveil n'eust sçu finer<sup>5</sup> d'un soul.  
Ce monsieur-là, sire, c'étoit moi-même,  
qui, sans mentir, fus au matin bien blesme,  
quand je me vis sans honneste vesture,  
et fort fâché de perdre ma monture :  
mais de l'argent que vous m'aviez donné,  
je ne fus point de le perdre étonné,  
car votre argent très-débonnaire prince,  
sans point de faute, est sujet a la pince.<sup>6</sup>

Bientost après cette fortune-là,  
une autre pire encore se mesla  
de m'assaillir, et chacun jour m'assaut,  
me menaçant de me donner le saut,  
et de ce saut m'envoyer à l'envers,  
rimer sous terre, et y faire des vers.

C'est une longue et lourde maladye  
de trois bons mois, qui m'a toute étourdye  
la pauvre teste, et ne veut terminer ;  
ains me contraint d'apprendre à cheminer,  
tant foible suis. Bref, à ce triste corps,  
dont je vous parle, il n'est demeuré, fors  
le pauvre esprit, qui lamente et soupire,  
et en pleurant tasche à vous faire rire.

Voilà comment, depuis neuf mois en ça  
je suis traicté. Or ce que me laissa  
mon larronneau, long-temps a l'ay vendu ;  
et en sirops et juleps despendu :  
Ce néantmoins, ce que je vous en mande,  
n'est pour vous faire ou requeste ou demande :  
Je ne veux point tant de gens ressembler,  
qui n'ont soucy autre que d'assembler.<sup>7</sup>  
Tant qu'ils vivront, ils demanderont, eux ;  
mais je commence à devenir honteux,  
et ne veux plus à vos dons m'arrester.

Je ne dis pas, si voulez rien prester,  
que ne le prenne. Il n'est point de presteur  
s'il veut prester, qui ne fasse un débiteur

Et sçavez-vous, sire, comment je paye ?  
 Nul ne le sçait, si premier ne l'essaye.  
 Vous me devrez, si je puis, du retour ;  
 et vous feray encores un bon tour.  
 A cette fin qu'il n'y ait faute nulle,  
 je vous feray une belle sédulle,  
 à vous payer (sans usure s'entend)  
 quand on verra tout le monde content ;  
 ou, si voulez, à payer ce sera  
 quand votre los<sup>1</sup> et renom cessera.

Voilà le point principal de ma lettre :  
 Vous sçavez tout, il n'y faut plus rien mettre.  
 Rien mettre, las ! certes et si feray,  
 et ce faisant, mon style j'enferay,  
 disant : O roy amoureux des neuf muses !  
 Roy en qui sont leurs sciences infuses,  
 Roy, plus que Mars, d'honneur environné,  
 Roy, le plus roy qui fut onc couronné ;  
 Dieu tout puissant te doint, pour t'étrener,  
 les quatre coins du monde à gouverner,  
 tant pour le bien de la ronde machine,  
 que pour autant que sur tous en es digne.

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1, fripon au jeu. 2, name which the Spartans gave to their slaves. 3, overcoat. 4, craignant la corde, craignant d'être pendu. 5, financier. 6, sujet à être volé. 7, amasser et entasser écus sur écus. 8, votre louange, votre gloire (in Latin *laus*).

### FRANÇOIS RABELAIS.

François Rabelais was born in the year 1495, near Chinon in Touraine. His early education was much neglected; he formed evil connections, contracted licentious habits, and led a life of vice and dissipation. He assumed, cast off, and reassumed religious orders, which he disgraced by his conduct and writings. Never will he be pardoned for having dipped his pen into the mire of debauchery, and for the manner in which he attacked religion by his raillery. Yet amid the most licentious pages, there are some stamped with enlightened reason and noble eloquence. His "*Gargantua*" has exercised a great influence on French literature. La Fontaine copied his language, which he has not improved, while Molière has appropriated his characters and dialogues as his own. The following letter, from Gargantua to his son, will give an idea of Rabelais' style, and of the system of education which then appeared the best. It will show that he was not at heart an infidel, as has been sometimes asserted :

Par quoy, mon fils, je t'admoneste qu'employe ta jeunesse à bien profiter en estude et en vertus. Tu es à Paris, tu as ton précepteur Epistemon, dont l'un par vives et vocables instructions, l'autre par louables exemples te peut endoctriner. J'entens et veulx que tu apprennes les langues parfaitement. Première-

ment la grecque comme le veult Quintilian, secondement la latine et puis l'hébraïque pour les saintes lettres et la chaldaïque et arabe pareillement, et què tu formes ton style quant à la grecque, à l'imitation de Platon; quant à la latine, de Cicéron: qu'il n'y ait histoire que tu ne tiennes en mémoire présente, à quoi t'aydera la cosmographie de ceulx qui en ont escript. Des arts libéraux, géométrie, arithmétique et musique, et t'en donnay quelque goût quand tu estois encore petit en l'aage de cinq ou six ans; poursuis le reste, et d'astronomie saches en tous les canons. Laisse moy l'astrologie divinatrice et l'art de Lullius comme abuz et vanitez. Du droit civil je veux que tu sçaches par cueur les beaux textes et me les confère avecques philosophie.

Et quant à la cognoissance des faitz de nature, je veux que tu t'y adonnes curieusement, qu'il n'y ait mer, rivière, ni fontaine dont tu ne cognoisses les poissons; tous les oyseaulx de l'air; tous les arbres, arbustes et frutices des forests, toutes les herbes de la terre, tous les métaulx cachés au ventre des abymes, les pierreries de tout orient et midi, rien ne te soit incongneu.

Mais parceque, selon le sage Salomon, sa science n'entre point en ame malivole, et science sans conscience n'est que ruïne de l'ame, il te convient servir, aimer et craindre Dieu et en lui mettre toutes les pensées et tout ton espoir, et par foy formée de charité, estre à lui adjoint, en sorte que jamais n'en soys désemparé par péché, aye suspectz les abus du monde, ne metz ton cueur à vanité: car cette vie est transitoire; mais la parolle de Dieu demeure éternellement. Sois serviable à tous tes prochains et les ayme comme toy mesme. Révere tes précepteurs, fuy les compagnies des gens esquelz tu ne veulx point ressembler, et les graces que Dieu t'ha données, icelles ne reçois en vain. Et quand tu congnoistras que tu auras tout le sçavoir de par de là acquis, retourne vers moi, afin que je te voye et donne ma bénédiction devant que mourir.

#### PIERRE DE RONSARD.

Pierre de Ronsard was born the 10th of September, 1524, in Vendome, and sent quite young to Paris, where he entered college when hardly nine years old. But soon feeling a distaste for study, he entered as page the service of the Duke of Orléans, and, at the marriage of James Stuart with Mary of Lorraine, followed the latter to Scotland, where he remained about three years. Afterward, while traveling in divers parts of Europe, he became suddenly deaf, and it was only then, at the age of twenty, that he seriously applied himself to letters. No author has ever found more enthusiastic admirers during his lifetime, nor has any been more severely criticised by posterity. Deeply versed in the ancient languages, his learning, added to his genius, might have gained him an imperishable fame, were it not that, by his injudicious endeavors to improve the language by words and phrases borrowed from the Greek, his real merits have been eclipsed by his rash attempts at coining new words, in which, it must be said, he was not always fortunate. It must, however, be remembered that this was

the tendency of the age. At his time all minds were turned toward antiquity. The last expeditions into Italy had given access to the most valuable manuscripts. Already numerous but inferior translations had endeavored to reveal to the French public the genius of the Greek and Latin languages, but they were of no avail in the progress of the vernacular. Ronsard was the first who made any real effort. Thoroughly imbued with the beauties of antique eloquence, the national poetry seemed to him poor, timid, feeble, and without dignity; he desired to impart to it the majesty, strength, and brilliancy of his favorite language, the Greek. But, perhaps, through want of taste or a proper sense of euphony, arising from his deafness, or else an inordinate desire for innovation, or, perhaps, through all these combined, he proceeded in his imitations without discrimination, and often with entire disregard for the genius of the French language. He has left us numerous works which are all subject to criticism on this account, and this is why sufficient credit has not been given to him for the notable benefit French poetry derived in other respects from his incessant labors. The following is a speech addressed by him to Charles IX during the minority of the latter:

Sire, ce n'est pas tout que d'estre roi de France,  
il faut que la vertu honore votre enfance.  
Un roi, sans la vertu, porte le sceptre en vain,  
qui ne lui sert sinon d'un fardeau dans la main.

On conte que Thétis, la femme de Pelée,  
après avoir la peau de son enfant brûlée,  
pour le rendre immortel, le prit en son giron,  
et de nuit l'emporta dans l'autre de Chiron;  
Chiron, noble centaure, afin de lui apprendre  
les plus rares vertus, dès sa jeunesse tendre,  
et de science et d'art son Achille honorer.  
Un roi, pour estre grand, ne doit rien ignorer.

Il ne doit seulement sçavoir l'art de la guerre,  
de garder les cités ou les ruer par terre;  
car les princes mieux nés n'estiment leur vertu  
procéder ni de sang ni de glaive pointu,  
ni de harnois ferrés qui les peuples étonnent,  
mais par les beaux métiers que les Muses nous donnent.

Quand les Muses, qui sont filles de Jupiter,  
dont les rois sont issus, les rois daignent chanter,  
elles les font marcher en toute révérence,  
loin de leur majesté bannissant l'ignorance;  
et leur sage leçon leur apprend à sçavoir  
juger de leurs sujets seulement à les voir.

Connoissez l'honneste homme humblement revêtu,  
et discernez le vice, imitant la vertu;  
puis sondez votre cœur, pour en vertu accroistre.  
Il faut, dit Apollon, soi-mesme se connoistre;  
celui qui se connoist est seul maistre de soi,  
et sans avoir royaume il est vraiment un roi.

Commencez donc ainsi ; puis sitost que par l'âge  
vous serez homme fait de corps et de courage,  
il faudra de vous-même apprendre à commander,  
à oufr vos sujets, les voir et demander,  
les connoistre par nom et leur faire justice,  
honorer la vertu et corriger le vice.

Malheureux sont les rois qui fondent leur appui  
sur l'aide d'un commis ; qui, par les yeux d'autrui  
voyant l'état du peuple, entendent par l'oreille  
d'un flatteur mensonger qui leur conte merveille.

Aussi, pour estre roi, vous ne devez penser  
vouloir, comme un tyran, vos sujets offenser.  
Ainsi que notre corps, votre corps est de boue.  
Des petits et des grands la fortune se joue.  
Tous les regrets mondains se font et se défont,  
et, au gré de fortune, ils viennent et s'en vont,  
et ne durent non plus qu'une flamme allumée,  
qui soudain est éprise et soudain consumée.

Or, sire, imitez Dieu, lequel vous a donné  
le sceptre, et vous a fait un grand roi couronné.  
Faites miséricorde à celui qui supplie ;  
punissez l'orgueilleux qui s'arme en sa folie.

Ne soyez point moqueur ni trop haut à la main,  
vous souvenant toujours que vous estes humain.  
Ayez autour de vous personnes vénérables,  
et les oyez parler volontiers à vos tables :  
soyez leur auditeur, comme fut votre ayeul,  
ce grand François, qui vit encores au cercueil.

Ne souffrez que les grands blessent le populaire ;  
Ne souffrez que le peuple aux grands puisse déplaire ;  
Gouvernez votre argent par sagesse et raison.  
Le prince qui ne peut gouverner sa maison,  
sa femme, ses enfants et son bien domestique,  
ne sçauroit gouverner une grand' république.<sup>1</sup>

Or, sire, pour autant que nul n'a le pouvoir  
de chastier les rois qui font mal leur devoir,  
punissez-vous vous-même, afin que la justice  
de Dieu, qui est plus grand, vos fautes ne punisse.

Je dis ce puissant Dieu, dont l'empire est sans bout,  
qui de son trosne assis en la terre voit tout,  
et fait à un chacun ses justices égales,  
autant aux laboureurs qu'aux personnes royales.

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<sup>1</sup> The word *republique* is here employed in the sense of *empire, state*.



## LE LOYAL SERVITEUR.

It is only under this name that the author of the chronicle of Chevalier Bayard is known. His work was printed for the first time in 1527, three years only after Bayard's death. This chronicle is one of the best written works of the time. Its style is elegant and delicate, its narration clear and precise, and its reflections brilliant and just. It is evident that the author lived on terms of close intimacy with his hero, and was imbued with his chivalrous spirit. The following fragment is especially interesting by its recording a tender mother's parting advice to her son Bayard on his leaving the parental roof to join the army of Duke Charles of Savoy :

*Fragment de la très joyeuse et très plaisante histoire composée par Le Loyal Serviteur des faits, gestes, triomphes et prouesses du bon chevalier sans paour et sans reprouche, Le Gentil Seigneur de Bayart.*

. . . La povre dame de mère estoit en une tour du chasteau, qui tendrement plorait ; car combien qu'elle fut joyeuse dont son fils estoit en voye de parvenir, amour de mère l'admonestoit de larmoyer. Toutefois, après qu'on luy fust venu dire : " Madame, si vous voulez venir voir votre fils, il est tout à cheval prest à partir," la bonne gentille femme sortit par le derrière de la tour et fist venir son fils vers elle, auquel elle dist ces parolles : " Pierre, mon amy, vous allez au service d'un gentil prince. D'autant que mère peult commander à son enfant, je vous commande trois choses tant que je puis ; et si vous les faites, soyez assuré que vous vivrez triomphamment en ce monde : la première, c'est que, devant toutes choses, vous aimez, craignez et servez Dieu, sans aucunement l'offenser s'il vous est possible, car c'est celluy qui tous nous a créés, et qui nous fait vivre ; c'est celluy qui nous sauvera : et sans luy et sa grace ne saurions faire une seule bonne œuvre en ce monde ; tous les soirs et tous les matins, recommandez-vous à luy, et il vous aydera. La seconde, c'est que vous soyez doux et courtois à tout gentilhomme, en ostant de vous tout orgueil. Soyez humble et serviable à toutes gens ; ne soyez maldisant ne menteur ; maintenez-vous sobrement quant au boire et au manger. Fuyez envie, car c'est un vilain vice. Ne soyez flatteur ne rapporteur ; car telles manières de gens ne viennent pas volentiers à grande perfection. Soyez loyal en faicts et dicts ; tenez votre parole. Soyez secourable aux povres veufves et aux orphelins, et Dieu vous le guerdonnera. La tierce, que des biens que Dieu vous donnera vous soyez charitable aux povres nécessiteux ; car donner pour l'honneur de luy n'apovrit oncques hommes ; et sachez de moy, mon enfant, que telle aumosne que vous puissiez faire grandement vous prouffitera au corps et à l'âme. Velè tout ce que je vous en charge. Je crois bien que vostre père et moy ne vivrons plus guères, Dieu nous face la grâce, à tout le moins tant que serons en vye, que toujours puissions avoir bon rapport de vous."

Alors le bon chevalier quelque jeune âge qu'il eust, lui respondit : "Madame ma mère, de vostre bon enseignement, tant humblement qu'il m'est possible, vous remercie ; et espère si bien l'ensuivre que, moyennant la grace de celluy en la garde duquel me recommandez, en aurez contentement. Et au demourant, après m'estre très humblement recommandé à vostre bonne grace ; je vais prendre congé de vous."

Alors la bonne dame tira hors de sa manche une petite bourcette, en laquelle avoit seulement six escus en or et ung en monnoye qu'elle donna à son fils ; et appella ung des serviteurs de l'évesque de Grenoble, son frère, auquel elle bailla une petite malette en laquelle avoit quelque linge pour la nécessité de son fils, le priant que, quand il seroit présenté à monseigneur de Savoye, il voulust prier le serviteur de l'escuyer, soubz la garde duquel il seroit, qu'il en prist un peu soing jusqu'à ce qu'il fust en plus grand âge ; et luy bailla deux escus pour luy donner. Sur ce propos print l'évesque de Grenoble congé de la compaignie et appela son nepveu, qui, pour se trouver sur son gentil roussin, pensoit estre en ung paradis. Si commencèrent à marcher le chemin droit à Chambéry, où pour lors estoit le duc Charles de Savoye.

#### PIERRE DE BRANTÔME.

Pierre de Bourdeilles, better known as Brantôme, was born in Perigord in the year 1540, and died the 5th of July, 1614. He is one of the authors of that epoch whose writings possess, perhaps, the greatest charms. As a skillful narrator, as an indefatigable observer, and actor in nearly all the scenes that he narrates, he knows how to arouse his readers, and make them interested in his recitals by his peculiar way of introducing them among the personages whose life he is relating. Although rather a lax moralist, he often finds eloquent words for great and noble actions. The following extract, narrating the death of Bayard, is a good specimen of his style :

En cette mesme retraite fut tué aussi ce gentil et brave monsieur de Bayard, à qui ce jour monsieur de Bonnavet, qui avoit esté blessé en un bras d'une heureuse harquebuzade et pour ce se faisoit porter en litière, luy donna toute la charge et le soin de l'armée et de toute la retraite, et luy avoit recommandé l'honneur de France. Monsieur de Bayard qui avoit eu quelque pique auparavant avec luy, respondit : "J'eusse fort voulu et qu'il eust ainsi plu à Dieu, que vous m'eussiez donné cette charge honorable, en fortune plus favorable à nous autres qu'à cette heure ; toutefois, de quelle manière que la fortune traite avec moy, je ferai en sorte que tant que je vivray rien ne tombera entre les mains de l'ennemy, que je ne le deffende valeureusement." Ainsi qu'il le promit, il le tint ; mais les Espagnols et le marquis de Pescayre, usans de l'occasion, furent trop importuns à chasser les François, qu'ainsi que monsieur de Bayard les faisoit retirer tou-

jours peu à peu, voicy une grande mousquetade qui donna à monsieur de Bayard, qui lui fracassa tous les reins.

Aussitost qu'il se sentit frappé, il s'escria : " Ah, mon Dieu ! je suis mort." Si prit son espée par la poignée et en baisa la croisée, en signe de la croix de nostre Seigneur, et dit tout haut : *Miserere mei Deus* ; puis, comme failly des esprits, il cuida tomber de cheval, mais encore eut-il le cœur de prendre l'arçon de la selle, et demeura ainsi jusques à ce qu'un gentilhomme, son maître d'hostel, survint, qui luy ayda à descendre et l'appuyer contre un arbre.

Soudain voilà une rumeur entre les deux armées, que monsieur de Bayard estoit mort. Voyez comme la renommée soudain publie le mal, comme le bien. Les nostres s'en effrayèrent grandement ; si bien que le désordre fut grand parmy eux, et les Impériaux furent prompts à les chasser. Si n'y eust-il galant homme parmy eux, qui ne le regrettoit ; et le venoit voir qui pouvoit, comme une belle relique, en passant et chassant tousjours ; car il avoit cette coutume de leur faire la guerre la plus honneste du monde et la plus courtoise ; et y en eut aucuns qui furent si courtois et bons, qu'ils le voulurent emporter en quelque logis là-près ; mais il les pria qu'ils le laissassent dans le camp mesme qu'il avoit combattu, ainsi qu'il convenoit à un homme de guerre et qui avoit tousjours désiré de mourir armé.

Sur ce arriva monsieur le marquis de Pescayre qui luy dit : " Je voudrois de bon cœur, monsieur de Bayard, avoir donné la moitié de mon vaillant, et que je vous tinsse mon prisonnier, bien sain et bien sauve, afin que vous puissiez ressentir par les courtoisies que recevriez de moy, combien j'estime vostre valeur et haute prouesse. Je me souviens qu'estant bien jeune, le premier los que vous donnèrent ceux de ma nation, ce fut qu'ils disoient : *muchos grisonnes, y pocos Bayardos*.<sup>1</sup> Aussi, depuis que j'ai eu connoissance des armes, je n'ay point ouy parler d'un chevalier qui approchast de vous. Et puisqu'il n'y a remède de la mort, je prie Dieu qu'il retire vostre belle âme auprès de luy, comme je croy qu'il le fera."

Incontinent monsieur le marquis de Pescayre députa gardes auprès dudit sieur de Bayard, et leur commanda qu'elles ne bougeassent d'auprès de luy, et, sur la vie, ne l'abandonnassent qu'il ne fust mort, et qu'il ne luy fust fait aucun outrage, ainsi qu'est la coutume d'aucune racaille de soldats qui ne savent encore les courtoisies de la guerre, ou bien des grands marauts de goujats qui sont encore pires. Cela se voit souvent aux armées.

Il fut donc tendu à monsieur de Bayard un beau pavillon, pour se reposer ; et puis, ayant demeuré en cet estat deux ou trois heures, il mourut ; et les Espagnols enlevèrent son corps avec tous les honneurs du monde en l'église, et par l'espace de

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<sup>1</sup> Beaucoup de grisons et peu de Bayards.

deux jours luy fut fait service très-solemnel ; et puis les Espagnols le rendirent à ses serviteurs qui l'emmenèrent en Dauphiné, à Grenoble ; et là, receu par la cour de Parlement et une infinité de monde, qui l'allèrent recueillir et luy firent de beaux et grands services en la grande église de Nostre-Dame, et puis fut porté en terre à deux lieues de là, chez les Minimes.

#### MICHEL DE MONTAIGNE.

Michel de Montaigne was born in Périgord, the 28th of February, 1533, of a family originally English. Brought up during his younger years with village children, and among persons of the most humble condition, in order that he might become familiar with the class which bears the heaviest burden of society, Montaigne afterward received, under the paternal roof, a thorough and judicious education, which enabled his mind to follow the dictates of his nature. With the eye of a profound observer he saw the progress of the religious revolution made by Calvin and Luther at the moment that Copernicus overthrew all former notions in the system of the universe. He witnessed the last years of Francis I, and the severities of the latter and son against the Protestants. The reign of Charles IX, the intrigues of Catharine de' Medici, the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, the League, the assassination of Henry III, the rise and fall of the Guises, and the thirty years of civil war, hardly extinguished by the accession of Henry IV, had all passed before him. Rome itself never offered to the observing mind of Tacitus anything so instructive as the manners, opinions, and events of France contemporary with Montaigne. Neither can the writings of Tacitus, nor of any other, be compared with his *Essays* in the knowledge of man which he has portrayed with the utmost truth and exactitude. Montaigne taught us to doubt before Descartes ; he endeavored to reform the human understanding before Bacon, and may, with these great men, be considered the restorer of philosophy in Europe. He died the 13th of September, 1592.

#### MÉPRIS DE LA MORT.

Notre religion n'a point eu de plus assuré fondement humain, que le mépris de la vie. Non seulement le discours de la raison nous y appelle, car pourquoy craindrions-nous de perdre une chose, laquelle perdue ne peult estre regrettée ? Mais aussi puisque nous sommes menacez de tant de façons de mort, n'y a-il pas plus de mal à les craindre toutes qu'à en soutenir une ? Que chault il quand ce soit, puisqu'elle est inévitable ? A celui qui disoit à Socrates : Les trente tyrans t'ont condamné à la mort ; " Et nature, eulx," respondit il. Quelle sottise de nous peiner, sur le point du passage à l'exemption de toute peine ! Comme notre naissance nous apporta la naissance de toutes choses ; aussi nous apportera la mort de toutes choses, nostre mort. Parquoy c'est pareille folie de pleurer de ce que d'icy à cent ans nous ne vivrons pas, que de pleurer de ce que nous ne vivions pas il y a cent ans. La mort est origine d'une aultre vie ; ainsi pleurasmes nous, ainsi nous cousta il d'entrer en cette cy, ainsi nous despouillasmes nous de nostre ancien voile en y entrant. Rien ne peult estre grief, qui n'est qu'une fois. Est-ce raison de craindre si longtemp

chose de si brief temps? Le long temps vivre et le peu de temps vivre, est rendu tout un par la mort : car le long et le court n'est point aux choses qui ne sont plus. Aristote dict qu'il y a des petites bestes sur la rivière de Hypanis, qui ne vivent qu'un jour; celle qui meurt à huict heures du matin, elle meurt en ieunesse; celle qui meurt à cinq heures du soir, meurt en sa décrépitude. Qui de nous ne se mocque de veoir mettre en considération d'heur ou de malheur ce moment de durée? Le plus et le moins en la nostre si nous la comparons à l'éternité, ou encores à la durée des montaignes, des rivières, des estoiles, des arbres, et mesme d'aulecuns animaux, n'est pas moins ridicule.

We here close the list of specimens of Early French which, like those we have seen of Early English, include every class of literature of the time, from the middle of the ninth to the end of the sixteenth century, arranged in chronological order, that the student, in comparing them with the specimens of Anglo-Norman French found in another chapter, may notice the steady progress of the former and the gradual decline of the latter. The different forms which words assume in both—the result of dialectic differences at various times and in various localities—will likewise account for the difference of form we find in many words which French and English have in common, and which, in some instances, is such as to disguise, though never obliterate entirely, the features which mark their real origin. Words, on the other hand, which Modern English and French have retained alike, or nearly so, often present different shades of meaning, owing to causes and circumstances sometimes involving nice historical questions, for which the study of these words generally offers the best solution.

Language, being ever in flux and flow, and, for nations to which letters are still strange, existing only as a sound, we might be induced to believe would prove the least trustworthy of all vehicles whereby the knowledge of the past has reached our present. In actual fact, however, it has not proved so at all. It is the main, oftentimes the only, connecting link between the two—an ark riding above the waterfloods that have swept away or submerged every other landmark and memorial of bygone ages and vanished generations of men. We have had, elsewhere, occasion to notice the marvellous vitality of local names, and their great value in historical investigations; equally

conservative are the powers of common names; and so well is history in most of them imbedded, that we may continually trace in speech the record of customs and states of society which have now passed so entirely away as to survive in words alone. Seeing, then, that language contains so faithful a record of the past, we shall not err if we regard it as the instrument which, better than any other, marks permanently the rise and fall of a nation's life. To study a people's language, especially in its peculiarities, the form of its words, their modified meanings, will be to study the people themselves, and to study them to best advantage—there where they present themselves to us under fewest disguises—not only as they are, but even as they have been.

Applied to the English people and to the English language, we can not better conclude our remarks than by quoting here the words of one of England's ripe scholars who, in a few brilliant sentences, has eloquently summed up the leading features of a subject the details of which we have endeavored, in this work, at some length to explain:

“ You know,” he says,<sup>1</sup> “ how the geologist is able from the different strata and deposits, primary, secondary, or tertiary, succeeding one another, which he meets, to arrive at a knowledge of the successive physical changes through which a region has passed; how he is, so to say, in a condition to preside at those past changes, to measure the forces that were at work to produce them, and almost to indicate their date. Now, with such a language as the English before us, bearing as it does the marks and footprints of great revolutions profoundly impressed upon it, we may carry on moral and historical researches precisely analogous to his. Here, too, are strata and deposits, not of gravel and chalk, sandstone and limestone, but of Celtic, Latin, Low German, Danish, Norman words, and then once more Latin and French, with slighter intrusions from many other quarters: and any one with skill to analyze the language might, up to a certain point, re-create for himself the history of the people speaking that language, might with tolerable accuracy appreciate the divers elements out of which that people was made up, in what proportion these were mingled, and in what succession they followed, one upon the other.

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<sup>1</sup> R. C. Trench, *On the Study of Words*.

“Would he trace, for example, the relation in which the English and Norman occupants of this land stood to one another? An account of this, in the main as accurate as it would be certainly instructive, might be drawn from an intelligent study of the contributions which they have severally made to the English language, as bequeathed to us jointly by them both. Supposing all other records to have perished, we might still work out and almost reconstruct the history by these aids; even as now, when so many documents, so many institutions survive, this must still be accounted the most important, and that of which the study will introduce us, as no other can, into the innermost heart and life of large periods of our history.

“Nor, indeed, is it hard to see why the language must contain such instruction as this, when we a little realize to ourselves the stages by which it has reached us in its present shape. There was a time when the languages which the English and the Norman severally spoke, existed each by the side of, but unmingled with, the other; one that of the small dominant class, the other that of the great body of the people. By degrees, however, with the reconciliation and partial fusion of the two races, the two languages effected a transaction; one indeed prevailed over the other, but at the same time received a multitude of the words of that other into its own bosom. At once there would exist duplicates for many things. But as in popular speech two words will not long exist side by side to designate the same thing, it became a question how the relative claims of the English and Norman word should adjust themselves, which should remain, which should be dropped; or, if not dropped, should be transferred to some other object, or express some other relation. It is not, of course, meant that this was ever formally proposed, or as something to be settled by agreement; but practically one was to be taken and one left. Which was it that should maintain its ground? Evidently, where a word was often on the lips of one race, its equivalent seldom on those of the other, where it intimately cohered with the whole manner of life of one, was only remotely in contact with that of the other, where it laid strong hold on one, and only slight on the other, the issue could not be doubtful. In several cases the matter was simpler still: it was not that one word expelled the other, or that rival claims had to be adjusted; but that there never had existed more than one word, the thing which that word

noted having been quite strange to the other section of the nation.

“ Here is the explanation of the assertion made just now—namely, that we might almost reconstruct our history, so far as it turns upon the Norman conquest, by an analysis of our present language, a mustering of its words in groups, and a close observation of the nature and character of those which the two races have severally contributed to it. Thus we should confidently conclude that the Norman was the ruling race, from the noticeable fact that all the words of dignity, state, honor, and pre-eminence, with one remarkable exception (to be adduced presently), descend to us from them—‘sovereign,’ ‘sceptre,’ ‘throne,’ ‘realm,’ ‘royalty,’ ‘homage,’ ‘prince,’ ‘duke,’ ‘count’ (‘earl’ indeed is Scandinavian, though he must borrow his ‘countess’ from the Norman), ‘chancellor,’ ‘treasurer,’ ‘palace,’ ‘castle,’ ‘hall,’ ‘dome,’ and a multitude more. At the same time the one remarkable exception of ‘king’ would make us, even did we know nothing of the actual facts, suspect that the chieftain of this ruling race came in not upon a new title, not as overthrowing a former dynasty, but claiming to be in the rightful line of its succession; that the true continuity of the nation had not, in fact, any more than in word, been entirely broken, but survived, in due time to assert itself anew.

“ And yet, while the statelier superstructure of the language, almost all articles of luxury, all having to do with the chase, with chivalry, with personal adornment, are Norman throughout; with the broad basis of the language, and therefore of the life, it is otherwise. The great features of nature, sun, moon, and stars, earth, water, and fire; the divisions of time; three out of the four seasons, spring, summer, and winter; the features of natural scenery; the words used in earliest childhood; the simpler emotions of the mind; all the prime social relations, father, mother, husband, wife, son, daughter, brother, sister—these are of native growth and unborrowed. ‘Palace’ and ‘castle’ may have reached us from the Norman, but to the Saxon we owe far dearer names, the ‘house,’ the ‘roof,’ the ‘home,’ the ‘hearth.’ His ‘board,’ too, and often probably it was no more, has a more hospitable sound than the ‘table’ of his lord. His sturdy arms turn the soil; he is the ‘boor,’ the ‘hind,’ the ‘churl’; or, if his Norman master has a name for him, it is one which on his lips becomes more and more a title of opprobrium and contempt, the



'villain.' The instruments used in cultivating the earth, the 'flail,' the 'plow,' the 'share,' the 'rake,' the 'scythe,' the 'harrow,' the 'wain,' the 'sickle,' the 'spade,' the 'sheaf,' the 'barn,' are expressed in his language; so, too, the main products of the earth, as wheat, rye, oats, bere, grass, flax, hay, straw, weeds; and no less the names of domestic animals. You will remember, no doubt, how in the matter of these Wamba, the Saxon jester in *Ivanhoe*, plays the philologer, having noted that the names of almost all animals, so long as they are alive, are Saxon, but when dressed and prepared for food become Norman—a fact, he would intimate, not very wonderful; for the Saxon hind had the charge and labor of tending and feeding them, but only that they might appear on the table of his Norman lord. Thus 'ox,' 'steer,' 'cow,' are Saxon, but 'beef' Norman; 'calf' is Saxon, but 'veal' Norman; 'sheep' is Saxon, but 'mutton' Norman; so it is severally with 'swine' and 'pork,' 'deer' and 'venison,' 'fowl' and 'pullet.' 'Bacon,' the only flesh which perhaps ever came within the hind's reach, is the single exception. Putting all this together, with much more of the same kind, which has only been indicated here, we should certainly gather, that while there are manifest tokens preserved in our language of the Saxon having been for a season an inferior and even an oppressed race, the stable elements of English life, however overlaid for a while, had still made good their claim to be the solid groundwork of the after nation as of the after language; and to the justice of this conclusion all other historic records, and the present social condition of England, consent in bearing witness."

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